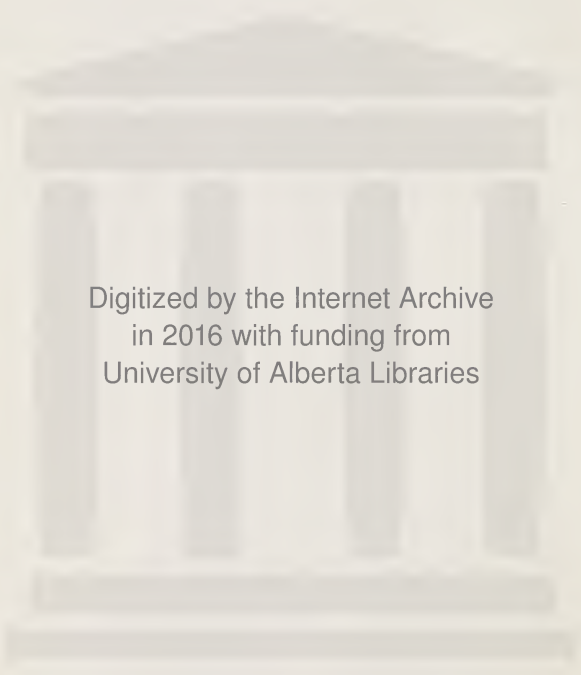


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The Louvre of Charles V. October. Miniature from the Duke de Berry's Book of Hours. Early Fifteenth Century

A HISTORY OF
Medieval Civilization
IN EUROPE

BY
ROSS WILLIAM COLLINS
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA



GINN AND COMPANY

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PREFACE

This book has grown out of ten years' experience in teaching medieval history to university students of the first and second years. Needless to say, it is only here and there that it is based on original research. In the main I have drawn on the work of others, specialists in particular fields; the references and bibliographies will indicate the chief sources of information. For the history of Christianity — especially for its early history, as set forth in Chapter III — I am deeply indebted to my former teacher the late President Arthur Cushman McGiffert, of Union Theological Seminary, whose presentation of the intellectual development of Christianity was an inspiration to many generations of students.

A topical rather than a strictly chronological arrangement of material has been followed, as it is my conviction that such treatment tends to make for clarity in the mind of the student. While placing emphasis upon the social and cultural aspects of the Middle Ages, I have endeavored also to present the development of political institutions, inasmuch as the heritage of modern civilization from the Middle Ages is political as well as social and cultural.

Professor Clyo Jackson and Professor Geneva Misener read the early chapters in manuscript and gave me the benefit of their learning. For assistance in reading the proofs and for valuable suggestions and criticisms, I am under obligation to Dean W. A. R. Kerr; to Mr. D. E. Cameron, Librarian of the University of Alberta; to Professor Clyo Jackson; to Professor Morden H. Long; and to Mr. Duncan R. Innes.

ROSS W. COLLINS

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**A HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION
IN EUROPE**

CHAPTER I

The Roman Empire

DURING the three centuries before the Christian Era, Rome was extending her dominion over the entire Mediterranean basin until it reached from Spain to the Euphrates, from northern Gaul to the Sahara Desert, and from the Danube to the upper Nile. Only a few territories (Britain, Mauretania, Cappadocia, eastern Pontus, Thrace, and Dacia) were added after the time of Christ.

But the very process of achieving world dominion led to social upheaval and revolution at home that ended with the destruction of the republic and the establishment of the empire. The career of Julius Caesar made possible the reorganization of the state by his adopted son Octavian, who, although retaining the old institutions and posing as the "Restorer of the Republic," actually established an absolute monarchy. Octavian assumed the title of "Emperor," which meant that all the sovereign power of the state, the *imperium* of the Roman people, was conferred upon him. As emperor he was head of the army, all soldiers being obliged to take oath before his statue; he had the power of making war or peace; he was the supreme judge, the chief executive, the initiator of legislation, and, as *pontifex maximus*, the head of the state religion. He nominated the governors of the imperial provinces as well as subordinate officials, and fixed the taxes that everybody should pay. Finally, he was called *Augustus* (that is, venerable or sacred, a title applied to gods or divine objects); and before long there arose a cult of Augustus, or emperor worship, that lasted as long as the pagan empire.

The Senate. The only body that shared the power of Augustus was the Roman Senate, the aristocratic advisory council of magistrates under the republic. Its members, limited to six hundred in number, had to possess a fortune of at least one million two hundred thousand sesterces (about fifty thousand dollars) and were forbidden to engage in the degrading activity of commerce. Shorn of some of its former prerogatives, — control of finance and foreign affairs, — the Senate had new powers, of legislation and justice, bestowed upon it. It was the sole legislative body of the early empire, although imperial edicts also had the force of law; and next to the emperor it was the highest tribunal. The chief Roman magistrates and the commanders of the legions were always chosen from the senatorial class; so also, as a rule, were the governors of the provinces. Moreover, the Senate claimed the right to depose an unworthy emperor and, on an emperor's death, to confer the imperium on his successor. Thus it attempted to gain control of the appointment of the emperors.

The Army. Nevertheless, the power of the Senate was more apparent than real. The later emperors tended more and more to curb senatorial authority; and besides, the emperor controlled the army, the real source of power. The empire was a military monarchy, and the army held it together. The emperor's person and position were safeguarded by the Praetorian Guard, which consisted of some ten thousand troops quartered at or near Rome. The rest of the army, comprising about three hundred and twenty thousand men, was stationed along the frontier or in places where rebellion was likely to occur, such as the Rhine and Danube frontiers and Syria. Few troops were maintained in the interior of the provinces. Order was maintained largely by municipal police, and imperial garrisons in cities were rare.¹ A single garrison of twelve hundred at Lyon seems to have been sufficient for Gaul, and there were scarcely any troops in Egypt except those necessary as a protection against the

Ethiopians. The most strategic frontiers were along the Rhine and Danube rivers, where there was danger from the Germanic hordes. Wherever possible, a natural frontier was maintained; but elsewhere — as, for example, between the Rhine and the Danube — an artificial one was constructed, known as the *limes*, consisting of an earth wall, sometimes sixteen feet high, protected by a moat, watchtowers, and fortresses. Outside the *limes* a broad strip of land was kept cleared and left uncultivated. In other places the *limes* seems to have been nothing but a path or road along which fortresses were placed at intervals.

A standing army, more and more recruited from the provinces, gradually took the place of the citizen armies of Italy that had spread the Roman conquests. Twenty or thirty thousand recruits were engaged annually for a period of twenty to twenty-five years. Because popularity with the army was essential to the emperors, they saw to it that the soldiers were frequently rewarded with largesses and, on their retirement, with gifts of land. The importance of maintaining the good will of the soldiers was cynically recognized by Septimius Severus in his advice to his son: "Enrich the soldiers: trouble about nothing else." More than once under the empire their pay was raised and free rations were granted them. Although at first they were not allowed to marry, soldiers were gradually permitted to form more or less regular family relations, and later they were allowed to live in households like other citizens.² Besides, military service conferred citizenship upon those who were non-Romans.

The Navy. The empire also possessed a permanent navy created by Augustus, consisting of two fleets, one having its base at Misenum, to dominate the western Mediterranean, and the other at Ravenna, to guard the Adriatic and the East. They were called *Praetorian*, probably because of their close attachment to the emperor's person and the fact that

they escorted him on his journeys by water. The navy, however, was not large: the total number of sailors, soldiers, and rowers did not exceed ten thousand. Small and light in construction, the ships were designed primarily for police duty, especially for hunting down and capturing pirates.³ Besides these fleets, there seem at times to have been local fleets in the English Channel and off the coasts of Alexandria, Syria, and Pontus. More important were the flotillas, probably composed of small flat-bottomed boats, which patrolled the Rhine and Danube to impress the barbarians with the ever-watchful power of Rome.⁴

Provincial Administration. The various countries that had been brought under Roman rule were organized into provinces, designated as *imperial* if they were placed under the immediate rule of the emperor or *senatorial* if they were under the supervision of the Senate. As a rule the frontier provinces, or those which required the presence of troops, were imperial, while the older ones that enjoyed absolute peace were senatorial. The former were governed by legates, the latter by proconsuls. In these provincial governors were vested all the powers of the state. They were the commanders of the army, where one existed; they directed the recruiting of soldiers; and they were judges in both civil and criminal cases. It was their duty to secure peace and justice for the provinces. The payment of regular salaries to governors and the punishment of those who were guilty of misgovernment tended to prevent the scandalous exploitation of the provinces that had characterized the republican administration. Governors were representatives of the emperor, to whom they were obliged to render an account of their stewardship.

In each province there was also a procurator, primarily the emperor's financial steward, whose duty it was to supervise the collection of the various taxes that each province contributed to the imperial treasury.



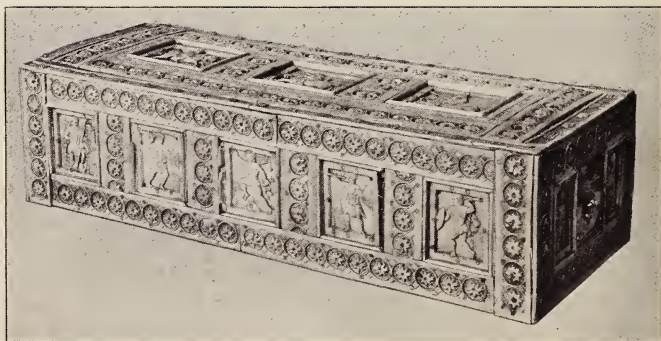
Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. Rome. Fifth Century



*Justinian and Courtiers. Mosaic, San Vitale, Ravenna.
(See pages 157-158)*



Christ of the Apocalypse, Surrounded by the Four Beasts of Revelation iv, 7.
Tympanum, Western Doorway, Chartres Cathedral. Twelfth Century



Metropolitan Museum of Art

Ivory Casket, with Mythological Scenes in Relief.
Byzantine Workmanship. Ninth-Tenth Century

Taxation. Every province, on its incorporation into the empire, had been obliged to pay into the Roman treasury a fixed yearly contribution, "representing," as Cicero said, "the fruits of victory, or as a punishment for engaging in war with the Romans."⁵ Under the republic the right to collect these taxes had been farmed out to *publicani*, who paid a fixed sum to the treasury and squeezed as much more out of the provinces as they could. Under the empire this iniquitous and oppressive system was gradually abolished, and in its stead was introduced that of government officials, procurators, and their subordinates. In order to equalize taxation, Augustus, and later Tiberius, made a survey and took a census of the provinces, the record of which was kept in the Tabularium at Rome. The chief tax was on land, *tributum soli*, from which, however, Italy was free. It possibly amounted to 10 per cent — the tithe. Next in importance was the *tributum capitis*, or poll tax, an impost that assumed different forms in different places, according to the usage of the province. In some provinces it was simply a poll tax; in others, a license paid by shopkeepers and traders or an income or property tax.⁶ Although Italy was exempt from the tribute, it was subject to an inheritance tax of 5 per cent, payable only by Roman citizens. This was "essentially a tax on the rich and brought in large sums."⁷

The most important of the indirect taxes were the customs duties, or *portoria*. They ranged from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent under the early empire, but tended to increase, and reached as high as 25 per cent under the later empire. Another indirect tax, amounting to 4 per cent, was that levied on every purchase of slaves.

The Fisc. In addition to the revenue derived from taxation of the provinces, the emperor possessed extensive domains from which he derived income — the *fisc*. With estates in almost every province, the emperor was by far the greatest landowner in the empire. The whole of Egypt was

an imperial domain and belonged to the emperor as did no other province. The fisc was constantly being increased by bequests to the emperor as well as by confiscation. Many, though not all, of the mines and quarries belonged to the fisc and were exploited by companies or state officials.⁸ Even those mines and quarries that were owned by private individuals paid a certain amount to the state.

From the revenue thus derived the emperors paid the army and a host of public officials; constructed roads, canals, bridges, aqueducts, public baths, and amphitheaters; maintained a posting service by which they and their officials could travel with great rapidity; and fed the proletariat population of Rome, estimated at two hundred thousand. The feeding and amusing of a large part of the population of Rome at imperial expense was one of the heaviest and most important charges on the treasury; for the emperors realized the political necessity of keeping Rome quiet.

Municipal Government. The Roman Empire was essentially a federation of city-states, each one of which enjoyed, at least during the early empire, a large measure of self-government. The ancient city included not only the territory within its walls but the entire surrounding country. The administrative unit was consequently the city rather than the county or township. Cities might have villages under their jurisdiction, as well as the entire countryside. Justice was administered by a prefect sent out by the municipal authorities.⁹

The city government was similar to that of Rome, consisting of six magistrates, annually elected by the people, and a local senate, the *curia*, composed of a hundred members. The magistrates had charge of the revenue, the expenditures of the municipality, and the administration of justice. They decided any cases that were not of sufficient importance to come before the Roman governor, and there is reason to believe that frequently the governor left the municipality to

govern its affairs as it pleased.¹⁰ (These magistrates were chosen from the wealthy classes of the community and had to be over twenty-five years of age and freemen.) No one who had engaged in a petty trade, such as public crier or undertaker, and no convict, gladiator, actor, or person guilty of moral turpitude was eligible.¹¹ Magisterial offices were burdensome; for not only did they necessitate the payment of an initiatory fee, but magistrates were expected to spend their personal wealth freely by building baths, aqueducts, and public edifices for the city, or by providing gladiatorial spectacles for the amusement of the populace.¹² Doubtless the generosity of a candidate had a good deal of weight with electors. Election contests, as we know from inscriptions at Pompeii, were frequently keen and exciting. On the completion of his term of office the magistrate usually became a member of the curia, which was thus largely made up of ex-officials and in no sense of the word a popular or representative body.¹³ Members of the curia — or decurions, as they were called — were required to possess a fortune of one hundred thousand sesterces (five thousand dollars), they wore a distinctive dress, they had special seats at all games and spectacles, they were exempt from degrading forms of punishment, and they could claim a larger share of money distributions by private benefactors.¹⁴

The power of the decurions was considerable. It was from them that magistrates received instructions and advice. They superintended the erection of buildings, aqueducts, baths, and roads; they supervised the collection of taxes; they had control, along with the magistrates, over the expenditure of the municipal funds for public works and for the amusements of the populace; they issued edicts, and to them the rescripts of the emperors were sometimes addressed.)

The revenue of a city came largely from the territory over which it ruled and from the public lands which it owned.

Residents of the city were practically exempt from the payment of local taxes, because a tax was a sign of servitude; but

they were obliged to pay water rates and the *octroi*, or duties on goods brought into the city. An important group of sources for municipal revenue seems to have been the following: the sale of fishing privileges in lakes or streams, the collection of harbor dues and customs, the imposition of fines, the rental of shops and stalls in the market place, and the honoraria payable on the assumption of office by a magistrate or decurion.¹⁵ Furthermore, gifts were frequently made for the embellishment of the city. From the close of the first century, towns had the right to receive bequests or legacies,¹⁶ and the munificence of private benefactions rivaled that of modern times. Pliny the Younger, it has been estimated, expended more than four hundred thousand dollars on his native Como. In the event of any devastating calamity, such as an earthquake or fire, the emperor freely gave relief.¹⁷

On the other hand, the expenditures of a Roman city were not comparable to those of modern times. There was scarcely any outlay for salaries; for offices were honorary, and all menial labor was performed by slaves whom the city owned. Public slaves cleaned the streets, took care of public buildings, and performed other duties of a similar nature.¹⁸

Trade. The flourishing condition of city life within the Roman Empire during the first two centuries of its existence is clearly shown by the splendor of the buildings which modern excavations have brought to light. That cities were able to build on such an elaborate scale was due to the presence of many wealthy citizens whose main source of wealth had been commerce. It was commercial enterprise, for instance, that enriched the freedman Trimalchio, whose vulgar ostentation Petronius describes with such vivid touch in his *Satyricon*. The wealthiest cities were those that lay near the sea, on great trade routes, or were centers of a flourishing river traffic, and thus had experienced the greatest commercial development.¹⁹

The largest percentage of the commerce of the Roman world dealt with the prime necessities of life. Much of it was connected with supplying the great cities such as Rome, which had upwards of a million inhabitants, and the army with provisions. The great grain-producing countries were Egypt, North Africa, and Sicily, and it was the constant care of the government to see that this essential product was transported regularly. For this purpose ~~the government encouraged the organization of guilds of merchants and ship-owners.~~ The trade in wine and oil was also extensive. Spain was the chief producer of fine brands of olive oil, and Africa of the cheaper ones. The finest wines were produced in Italy, Gaul, Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria.

A less extensive commerce dealt with manufactured goods. Syria and Egypt were famed for their linens, and Asia Minor for woollens. Egypt had a large trade in papyrus, although papyrus was rivaled by the parchment of Asia Minor and Syria. The fine glassware of Syria and Egypt was greatly prized throughout the Roman world. The best leather goods were produced in Syria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Egypt. Oriental jewelry was also in great demand throughout the empire. The most popular tableware at the time of Augustus was the red glazed pottery, ornamented with designs in low relief, called Arretine after the most important center of its manufacture in Italy. During the early empire Gaul began to produce large quantities of pottery in imitation of Arretine ware, which was shipped to Britain, Spain, Africa, and even Italy.

The bulk of commerce in the Roman world was inter-provincial; but under the empire there developed an important foreign trade, chiefly in articles of luxury from the Far East. With the increase of wealth there arose, on the part of the middle and upper classes, a demand for articles of luxury, many of which were imported from India and China. An extensive trade with India developed via the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, especially after Hippalus, a

sea captain of the first century A.D., observing the periodicity of the monsoons, discovered that it was possible to sail direct to India without hugging the coast. By this route were imported ivory, tortoise shell, silk, cotton, rice, and spices, such as pepper (which was highly prized); precious stones, such as diamonds, pearls, agate, and jasper; and fine woods, such as teak and ebony for the manufacture of furniture. These products were paid for partly in tin and lead, — minerals which India did not produce, — wine, coral, and glass, and especially by the export of the precious metals. Pliny the Elder informs us that at least five million dollars a year went to Arabia, India, and China to pay for articles of luxury. From China came silk, which the Romans imagined — so Vergil tells us — was combed from trees. It was, says Pliny, one of the most expensive and precious products, which only the wealthy could afford. From Arabia came incense, myrrh, spices, ginger, diamonds, and topazes. Through Egypt there was some trade with Ethiopia, whence came ivory, ebony, and precious stones.²⁰

Industry. Another source of wealth within the Roman world was industry. In the main, industry was carried on in small shops where the owners, with the aid of a few slaves or free laborers, manufactured the articles which they sold. The producer was thus much nearer the consumer than he is today. Production was consequently decentralized, and there was a tendency for many articles to be produced locally rather than imported. This was particularly true of cumbersome articles that could not easily be transported long distances. On the other hand, there were some things that could more conveniently be produced in certain places in large quantities, and here we find an approximation to the factory system. A case in point was the Arretine ware, manufactured first at Arretium in Italy and later in Gaul, and apparently in factories employing a multitude of slaves. The remains of furnaces and storehouses have been discovered in such large

numbers near Clermont, in France, as to indicate that here there must have been a population of twenty-five to thirty thousand engaged in the production of this ware for the world market.²¹ A similar situation obtained in the manufacture of glass, for which Syria and Egypt were early famous. But after the invention of glass-blowing, in Augustus's day, the manufacture seems to have developed on a large scale in Italy. In both these industries the difficulty of obtaining clay or sand except in certain localities probably led to mass production. A real factory system appears also to have developed at Capua for the manufacture of bronze and copper ware, where there were possibly factories large enough to employ thousands of workmen.²² On the other hand, weaving remained largely within the small shop and the household. Sometimes the factory and small shop existed almost side by side; this showed the inability of mass production to destroy the individual workshop. For instance, the establishment of state factories for the manufacture of arms did not ruin the individual armorers.

Another feature of industrial life was large-scale production on the great estates. By the second century some of these properties belonging to wealthy owners boasted industries whose output was not for the estate alone but also for export. Remains of a woolen factory have been discovered on a villa near Toulouse, in France, and the ruins of another on a villa in Britain. Pottery kilns have been unearthed on a Belgian villa, and the villa of Anthée in Belgium possessed a factory for the production of enameled bronze articles.²³ Many large *villae* conducted an extensive manufacture of bricks and tiles, and brickmaking seems to have been open to the aristocrat as a source of profit.

Labor, whether in the small shop or in the factory, was largely, though not exclusively, that of slaves.²⁴ Guilds existed, but for the most part they were probably associations of shopowners. In Asia Minor, for instance, there were corporations of men whose hereditary occupation was a special

trade, the secrets of which were carefully guarded. A similar situation obtained at Pompeii, where there were associations, or guilds, of fullers, millers, bakers, small shopowners, and keepers of market stalls.²⁵ Here there seem to have been also associations of workingmen, such as dyers, porters, and woodworkers. This would indicate that free labor was of more importance than has sometimes been thought.

Mining. With the establishment of the empire the tendency was to connect with the fisc the more important mineral deposits, such as the gold of Aquileia, Spain, and Dacia, the copper of Lusitania and Cyprus, the silver of Pannonia and Dalmatia, the lead and tin of Spain, the iron of Noricum, Pannonia, and Lyon, and the sulphur of Sicily.²⁶ Some of these mines were operated by the state, under the direction of a procurator; others were leased to large capitalists or even to small entrepreneurs. At the same time, all over the empire there existed mines owned and operated by private individuals who paid a certain percentage to the state.²⁷ During the reign of Vespasian the extraction of gold in Spain brought in four million dollars annually to the treasury. For the most part the labor was performed by slaves or convicts, whose lot was miserable in the extreme. Sometimes slaves were chained in pairs and beaten by overseers if they relaxed their efforts.

That industry in the ancient world did not attain anything like the proportions of modern times was due to several facts. In the first place, there was a lack of inventions such as characterized the modern Industrial Revolution. Except for several new devices in the glass industry, no new invention in industrial technique can be traced after the age of Augustus. In the second place, aside from a few articles of common use, there was no extensive demand for manufactured goods. The mass of the population had few wants except the barest necessities of life. The clothing that they wore was simple and not often renewed. Even Rome, with

upwards of a million inhabitants, was, because of its large proletarian population, a poor market for industrial products.²⁸ Such a situation did not tend to foster industrial development. Finally, perhaps because of these circumstances, industry did not become an attractive field for the investment of capital. When a merchant amassed a fortune through trade, as did the Trimalchio of Petronius, he invested it not in industry but in land.

Agriculture: the Latifundia. As a consequence, the economic basis of the Roman Empire was agriculture. Most of the provinces were almost exclusively agricultural, and where industries existed they were overshadowed by the exploitation of the soil. "Though statistics are lacking," says Rostovtzeff, "we may safely affirm that the largest part of the population of the empire was engaged in agriculture, either actually tilling the soil or living on an income drawn from the land."²⁹ For the upper classes a revenue from landed property was the only respectable form of wealth. The only means by which a freedman who had amassed wealth by trade could remedy the defect of his birth and of his rise in social scale was to buy land. "Trade was 'sordid'; but the merchant who retired and employed his fortune in agriculture was worthy of praise."³⁰

The early empire was characterized by a great expansion of agriculture, not only through more extensive cultivation but also through the employment of more scientific methods. The treatises of Cato, Varro, and Columella led to the spread of practical advice for increasing the yield. Implements were improved, and the practices of manuring and irrigating became both methodical and widespread.³¹ Another characteristic of the early empire was the development of capitalistic husbandry, the gradual disappearance of the small peasant proprietors, and the rise of medium-sized and large estates — the *latifundia*, or *villae*. Wealthy bourgeois were more and more turning to the soil for investment and consequently

seeking to make it yield them a profitable income by means of scientific methods. Usually the owner lived in the city, leaving the management of his estate to a capable slave or freedman — the *villicus*. On each of these estates was a group of buildings around which its life centered. These buildings were erected around a central court and consisted of slave barracks, stables, workshops storage rooms, and a residence, often beautifully appointed, that was occupied by the owner when he visited his villa. Near the slave barracks, located in the rear, was the *ergastulum*, or the slave prison, with its iron stocks into which offending slaves might be cast. During the first century of the empire the villa system was being extended to the provinces, and more and more land was being brought under cultivation. Pliny tells us that in Nero's time half the arable land of the province of Africa was owned by six persons. Many of these *villae* were owned by the emperor and thus formed part of the fisc. Although the labor was performed mainly by slaves, hired labor was also employed, and land was leased to tenants. The lot of the slaves on these great estates was hard. When not at work in the fields, to which they were driven by the whip of the overseer, they were shut-up in their barracks. Stock-raising and the production of wine, oil, and cereals, such as wheat and barley, constituted the chief activity of the villa, although, as has already been pointed out, there was a tendency on some *villae* toward industrial development.

Banking. Any description of the economic life of the Roman Empire would be incomplete without mention of its monetary system. The spread of Roman dominion led to the rise of a uniform gold and silver coinage, and this was a great factor in furthering commercial development. Inasmuch as the Roman mint, however, was unable to meet the demand for small coins, cities were allowed to strike their own copper coinage. Besides, in almost all the large cities and even in

some of the smaller places throughout the empire, retail merchants, innkeepers, barmen, owners of passenger boats and ferries, and the like issued their own money in the form of tokens. These tokens or *tesserae*, mostly of lead, have been found in great quantities in the Tiber at Rome, at Aquileia, at Smyrna, and elsewhere.³² Under the empire an extensive banking business, partly private and partly public, also developed. Every town and city had its banks, which accepted money on deposit, paid interest on some of their accounts, and lent money at interest. They made payments by the transfer of money from one account to another, and even transferred money from one city to another. Their operations were subject to government inspection, in Rome by the prefect and in other cities by the governor, to whom they had to submit their accounts. One of their main occupations consisted in financing the payment of taxes. The largest banker in the Roman world was the imperial fisc, which lent money like private individuals and banks. In times of crisis it was not unusual for the emperors to cancel debts to the imperial treasury.

Roads and Travel. Travel and commerce were greatly facilitated by the peace and security assured by the roads which the emperors had built. Many writers wax eloquent over the comparative safety of travel. "You perceive," declares Epictetus, "that Caesar has procured us a profound peace; there are neither wars nor battles, nor great robberies nor piracies, but we may travel at all hours, and sail from east to west."³³ Pirates were exterminated in the Mediterranean, and the highways were kept reasonably free from robbers, probably more so than in England in the eighteenth century.

In order to administer the vast empire over which they ruled, the emperors constructed a magnificent system of roads which spread like a network over all the provinces. Built chiefly for military purposes, they were laid out in long,

straight lines and often encountered steep slopes. They were constructed to endure and to render expensive upkeep unnecessary. On a foundation consisting of several layers of rock was placed a surface of concrete or of paving stones cut polygonally.³⁴ These roads were provided with milestones showing the distances between the principal places. To expedite the travel of officials, a posting service was established, consisting of resthouses at twenty-five-mile intervals in which officials traveling on public business could be housed, and stables where imperial couriers could change horses at five-mile intervals. As many as forty horses were sometimes kept at one of these relay stations. An official could thus cover as much as a hundred miles a day. Used for state officials, this imperial post might also be placed at the disposal of private individuals who could secure a permit. There was no postal system, however, and letters had to be entrusted to traveling merchants, sea captains, and chance or special messengers.

Travel by sea was common, for the Mediterranean was the great highway of the empire; but it was not without its dangers, especially in winter, when sailings were ordinarily suspended. The voyage from Rome to Alexandria could be made in twenty days, from Rome to Carthage in four days, and from Rome to Cadiz (Gades) in ten days. A Phrygian merchant, according to an inscription on his tombstone, made the journey to Rome seventy-two times. But people traveled to see the wonders of the world and to study, as well as to carry on trade. "The first thing a man does in a strange city," says Epictetus, "is to ask the citizens, 'What are the sights?'" "You travel to Olympia that you may see the works of Phidias, and each of you thinks it is a misfortune to die without visiting these sights."³⁵ Greece in particular attracted travelers, and the work of Pausanias, a sort of old-world Baedeker, reveals the interest which the society of the second century took in Hellenic monuments. People traveled also to study under famous teachers at Rome, Athens,

Alexandria, and Rhodes, which were celebrated places of learning. Then, as today, one's education was regarded as incomplete unless one had studied "abroad."

Roman Law. Another unifying factor within the empire was Roman law. Originating in the customs of a small peasant city-state, and first codified in the Twelve Tables (c. 450 B.C.), Roman law developed and expanded until it was capable of adjusting the social and business relationships of the entire Mediterranean world. Of fundamental importance in its development, besides custom and legal enactments, were the decisions of the jurists. Originally in the hands of priests, Roman law came to be the monopoly of a small group of jurists, the *prudentes*, whose decisions on legal matters were recognized as authoritative. When lawyers were uncertain about a particular case, they referred it to the *prudentes*, whose *responsum* was considered binding. Such was the work of Scaevola, Gaius, Ulpian, and Papinian, to mention only a few of the foremost names in legal history. Under the influence of Stoic philosophy, with its emphasis upon the law of nature binding all men together, Roman law came to be renowned for its justice and humanity, although torture and cruel punishments continued to be employed. The Romans made no attempt to force their law upon the conquered, but its superiority eventually led to its widespread adoption. The Roman legal tradition thus became an important part of the heritage of medieval and modern times from antiquity.

Building and Art. The early Roman Empire, with its wealth and prosperity, was also noteworthy for its culture; for it had fallen heir to the art and learning of Greece. The Romans, under Greek tuition, became great engineers and builders. Every city in the early centuries of the Christian Era was adorned with fine houses, splendid temples, public baths, theaters, amphitheaters, and race courses. Aque-

ducts, erected on arches, brought water over plain and valley to supply the public baths and urban houses, into which it was carried by lead pipes. The Romans knew how to build with concrete, and exploited all the stone and marble quarries of the Mediterranean world to beautify their buildings. They employed extensively the arch, the vault, and the dome, as well as the trabeated system of the Greeks, consisting of column and entablature. The interiors of the houses of the wealthy were decorated with fine furniture made of precious woods and ivory; the floors were inlaid with beautiful mosaics; and the walls were covered with paintings depicting scenes from daily life, myth, and heroic deed. Fine sculpture that reflected the influence of the great period of Greek art embellished public buildings, temples, public squares, and private houses alike.

Literature and Learning. Another important characteristic of the Roman world was its literary activity. The chief writing material used in antiquity was papyrus; but by the first century A.D. parchment and vellum were coming into use. Books were at first in the form of rolls, and it was not until the fourth century that the codex, or book as we know it, became common. Printing, of course, was unknown, which meant that all books had to be laboriously transcribed by hand. Yet this fact did not prevent the existence of bookstores, libraries, and even publishing houses, all of which might be found in any of the great cities, especially Rome and Alexandria. In fact, it is by no means improbable that the publishing business was a profitable one. For instance, we find Cornelius Nepos, the friend of Cicero, utilizing part of the fortune which he had inherited in such an enterprise. Slave labor was cheap and Cornelius bought slaves who were skilled copyists. Bookstores also existed in all the more important cities. Pliny the Younger was pleasantly surprised to learn that his books were on sale at Lyon, in Gaul. When literary men wrote books, it was with the

intention that they should be made available to the reading public. Moreover, textbooks were necessary for the schools.

Both private and public libraries were not uncommon. The most famous of all was that of Alexandria, possessing in the middle of the first century B. C. seven hundred thousand volumes; and the rival library of Pergamum, in Asia Minor, boasted two hundred thousand. Temples had their libraries, especially those of the mystery religions, one of the most famous of which was that of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria. Libraries existed also in Italy; and Domitian, at the close of the first century A. D., is said to have repaired their deficiencies by having transcripts made from Alexandrian manuscripts. Every educated man, especially if he was wealthy, possessed his own library and eagerly purchased the latest book. Municipal libraries were frequently presented to a city by some wealthy citizen, as Pliny's gift to his native Como well illustrates. Benefactors often provided a fund for the upkeep of the building and for the purchase of books. Such a library consisted of a storage room for books and a reading room. "The reading room was generally ornamented by busts of distinguished authors and contained *armaria* in which a certain number of books were kept for immediate reference. A stone bench usually ran round the room, but for the most part, no doubt, the readers sat upon portable chairs or stools."³⁶

The literary activity of the early empire was noteworthy for the production of writings that have become world classics. On the very threshold of the empire stands Cicero (106-43 B. C.), who is highly significant not only for his numerous writings but also for his role of transferring Greek thought into Latin. This was well understood by a contemporary who remarked, "You have my praise and admiration, Cicero, and Greece my pity and commiseration, since those arts and eloquence which are the only glories that remain to her will now be transferred by you to Rome." He enriched the Latin vocabulary by his "admirably adequate"

renderings of Greek philosophical terms. A contemporary of Cicero was Varro (116–27 B.C.), whose *Nine Books of Knowledge* provided the basis for the seven liberal arts of the Middle Ages. There followed a group of writers whose works have ever since cast a mighty spell over students: Vergil (70–19 B.C.), the poet of Roman patriotism, who in his *Aeneid* sang of the glories of the empire; Horace (65–8 B.C.), the greatest lyric poet of the empire, whose *Satires*, *Epistles*, and *Odes* have given us a brilliant picture of the Augustan Age; Ovid (43 B.C.–c. 18 A.D.), a great story-teller, whose poems made him for thirty years the poet of the smart set in Rome and who profoundly influenced the Middle Ages and the Renaissance; Livy (59 B.C.–17 A.D.), the national historian of Rome, whose history of Rome from its foundation remains one of our chief sources of knowledge of Roman history; Tacitus (c. 55–c. 117 A.D.), whose *Annals* and *History* depict the vices of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and whose *Germania* gives us our chief information about the barbarian world of his time. Seneca, a philosopher, statesman, and littérateur, and Pliny, a provincial governor, are both renowned for their letters.

But Greek, even more than Latin, was a universal language of the empire, and it is significant to find an emperor of the second century (Marcus Aurelius) writing his *Meditations* in Greek. The Christian Gospels and the letters of Saint Paul circulated in Greek throughout the Roman world, and the *Discourses* of Dion Chrysostom, the *Lives* of Plutarch, and the *Satires* of Lucian were also widely read in that language.

Characteristic of the Greco-Roman world were also the schools of philosophy, of which the most important were the Platonic, the Peripatetic (Aristotelian), the Stoic, the Cynic, the Sceptic, and the Epicurean. Not only did philosophers have their lecture halls in which they discoursed, but the itinerant philosopher, with his shabby cloak and long beard, was a familiar figure in every city, where he might be found

on the street corner or in the market place haranguing the multitude on the tenets of his creed. One of the most influential of these schools was Stoicism.

Stoicism. An offshoot of Socratic teaching, Stoicism was transplanted in the second century B. C. to Roman soil, where it became popular and influential. Epictetus, the slave-born philosopher, Seneca, the millionaire minister of Nero, and Marcus Aurelius, the emperor, were all Stoics. The purpose of Stoicism, like that of all philosophic creeds of the day, was a practical one: to enable the philosopher to live rightly; hence it approximated a religion. The basic principle of Stoic thought was the unity of nature. God, nature, and reason are all one and the same thing. The universe is permeated by one uniform law to which gods as well as men must conform. Because of this, man must make his will bow before the will of the universe, or God. To accept the fate that nature had in store for him without murmur was a feature of Stoicism. "Demand not that events should happen as you wish," said Epictetus; "but wish them to happen as they do happen, and you will go on well."³⁷ "You need a change of soul rather than a change of climate,"³⁸ wrote Seneca to a friend who was discontented. "To create in the midst of this rushing, fevered, tumultuous, distracted world," says Bevan, "the wise man, a figure of abiding and unearthly calm,"³⁹ was the object of Stoicism.

From its doctrine of the unity of nature Stoicism was also led to emphasize "humanity" and the "interrelationship of all mankind." "Nature has made us of one blood, has implanted in us mutual love, has made us for society," said Seneca. "Man" is "a sacred thing to man."⁴⁰ Before Christianity, Stoicism thus taught the brotherhood of man. The cosmopolitanism of the Roman administration was to a large degree the practical application of Stoic principles. Not less important was Stoic influence in undermining slavery, the cruelty of which Seneca denounced.

Emphasis upon the duties of citizenship was another result of the Stoic doctrine of the unity of nature. Men should not shun public or social life but participate in them, for nature demands such participation. The citizen should constantly act with the good of the whole, whether city or nation, before his eyes. As Epictetus said: "To hold nothing as profitable to himself; to deliberate about nothing as if he were detached from the community"⁴¹ — such was the Stoic's ideal.

Pliny the Elder. Science as well as philosophy had its devotees in the Greco-Roman world. On natural science one of the most influential writers was Pliny the Elder (23–79 A.D.), whose great work, *Natural History*, Gibbon has described as "that immense register where Pliny has deposited the discoveries, the arts and the errors of mankind." Pliny realized the necessity of observation and experiment in arriving at truth. He gives tests that should be applied to drugs, gems, and metals to discover their efficacy or genuineness. He cites the example of lowering a lighted lamp into a cask or well to detect the presence or absence of noxious vapors. He heaps ridicule upon the impostures of the magicians. Yet Pliny believed many absurd things that he never sought to test, — for instance, that the entrails of the field mouse correspond in number to the moon's age, that adamant can be broken only with the warm blood of a goat, and that the starfish scorches everything it meets by its fiery heat. He likewise believed that medicinal plants, to be efficacious, must be plucked in a certain way; that the wearing of amulets warded off disease; and that there was a magical potency in incantations.

Galen. Another scientist whose work was influential in the Middle Ages was Galen (c. 130–c. 200 A.D.), a Greek from Asia Minor, who, after studying in the schools of Pergamum, Smyrna, and Alexandria, enjoyed a large practice at Rome

and finally became court physician to the Emperor Commodus. Like Pliny, Galen insisted on experiment. "I will confess my disease," he says, "from which I have suffered all my life long, that I have trusted no one of those who narrate such things until I have tested it myself, if it was possible for me to have experience of it."⁴² One of the most learned anatomists of his day, Galen obtained his knowledge chiefly from the dissection of apes and other animals, for Roman law prohibited the dissection of human bodies. He discovered many things about the nervous system; he invented a new form of surgical knife; and in his practice he was accustomed to make inferences from the pulse. Although he ridiculed the use of such things as philters and dream-drafts, yet he believed in bleeding, indulged in practices that were essentially magical, and advocated the wearing of amulets.

Claudius Ptolemy. In the realm of astronomy and geography the most influential figure was Claudius Ptolemy, who was active at Alexandria between 125 and 161 A.D. His *Geographical Outline* is the only complete ancient geography we have, and may be said to have synthesized the knowledge of the earth's surface that antiquity possessed. Even more important was his contribution to astronomy. In his *Syntaxis*, or *Almagest*, as the Arabs later called it, he produced the definite formulation of Greek astronomy as it was known during the Middle Ages.* The earth was the center of the universe, according to the Ptolemaic view, and all the planets

* Ptolemy's *Syntaxis* really represented a retrogression in the realm of thought. Heraclides of Pontus, in the fourth century B.C., had discovered that the earth rotated on its axis once in twenty-four hours and that Mercury and Venus revolved about the sun as satellites. Aristarchus of Samos (c. 310-c. 230 B.C.) went farther and put forward the theory that the sun was at rest and that the earth, as well as the other planets, revolved in circular orbits about the sun. Thus he anticipated the Copernican hypothesis of the sixteenth century. But Aristarchus's conception of the universe was offensive to religion; and when there was put forward a more palatable theory that explained the known facts, as the Ptolemaic did, it was readily accepted.

revolved around it in concentric spheres. It was this geocentric conception of the universe, based upon Ptolemy, that held the field down to the sixteenth century.

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CHAPTER II

The Decline of Roman Civilization

BY THE third century there had begun a marked decline in the brilliant civilization depicted in the previous chapter. Many attempts have been made to account for this phenomenon by some theory such as exhaustion of the soil, increase in tyranny and bureaucracy of the government, infiltration of the barbarians, racial degeneration, depopulation, moral decadence, and rise of Christianity. But no one explanation suffices; and many of the so-called causes were probably but symptoms. Why Roman civilization declined is a problem that still requires solution. We shall content ourselves here with describing some of the ways in which this decline manifested itself.

Constitutional Weakness of the Roman Empire. It has already been pointed out that the emperor exercised authority, not by hereditary descent nor by divine right, but by virtue of the fact that upon him had been conferred the imperium of the Roman people. At first the Senate bestowed the imperium; and had this been established as the regular practice, all might have been well. But the army also asserted its right to intervene, and as a consequence the emperor was the nominee, sometimes of the Senate, but quite as often of the army. For instance, Nerva was chosen by the Senate, but Tiberius was imposed upon the Senate by the political and military situation. Consequently, as Lot says:

It seemed that the power of the emperor had complete legality only when the *princeps* had received the sanction of both the army and the Senate. But to which of the two powers legally belonged the initiative? No one knew. Appointment by the Senate would

be more reassuring, but it was no more legitimate. In fact it was the army that designated the emperor, because it possessed the power.¹

This lack of a regular constitutional means for taking care of the imperial succession was the great political defect of the empire, as the third century was conclusively to demonstrate.

The evil consequences of this constitutional defect, however, if we except a brief crisis in the first century following the reign of Nero and another following the reign of Domitian, were slow in making themselves apparent. From the time of Nerva (96 A.D.) to the close of the rule of Marcus Aurelius (180 A.D.), which constituted one of the most brilliant periods of the empire, a series of rulers succeeded each other without conflict. The reason for this was twofold. First, there was the reform of the Senate under Vespasian. He instilled new life into it by introducing provincial nobility who were more economical, more serious, more active, and more devoted to the Roman tradition than the old Italian aristocracy. Consisting of such men as Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, Trajan, and Hadrian, this new aristocracy applied itself to the reconstruction of the empire, — a reconstruction based upon harmony between emperor, Senate, and army. Secondly, a system of succession was practiced that gave satisfaction to all. From the Senate, and with its sanction, the emperor selected the man whom he thought most competent to succeed him, adopted him, and shared his power with him.² Thus there was an honest attempt on the part of the emperors known as the Antonines to choose as their successors the most competent among the high aristocracy of the empire.

Destruction of the Authority of the Senate. Marcus Aurelius attempted to modify this system by introducing the dynastic principle and by associating with himself his son Commodus, who in 180 A.D., at the age of eighteen, succeeded to the purple. Commodus possessed none of the necessary quali-

fications for a ruler. Absorbed in debauchery, especially gratifying his passion for gladiatorial shows, he neglected administration and military affairs. After a palace plot had led to his assassination, the provincial armies took things into their own hands and elected Septimius Severus (193-211), who diminished the power of the nobility, weakened it by confiscation and execution, and disregarded "the traditions of the Augustan Age."³ He practically destroyed the power of the Senate, for a century the source of all legal authority, and rested his power solely upon the dynastic principle and the army. In fact, he was practically the first real absolute monarch "who dared officially to style himself *dominus*."⁴

Domination of the Army. A brief return to the policy of the Antonines was attempted during the reign of Alexander Severus (222-235), who rejected the title of *dominus* and restored the authority of the Senate. But his death, occasioned by a revolt of his own soldiers led by a Thracian named Maximin, brought the complete collapse of the imperial system. The army had deteriorated and got out of control. No longer were the legions composed of Italians who venerated the old Roman tradition. The urban population shirked military service. So difficult had the raising of recruits become that the emperors resorted to compulsion and conscripted peasants, who, representing the less civilized, even alien, elements in the population, were more interested in plunder than in the defense of the frontiers. "The empire," says Rostovtzeff, "became the chattel of the soldiers. The different armies, one after another, proclaimed their commanders as emperors, deposed them again on the most trifling complaint of their severity or weakness, and used their own strength to plunder without mercy the peaceful and prosperous provinces of the empire."⁵

There followed a period of anarchy and civil war, during which rival emperors, to maintain themselves, requisitioned the provinces for men, money, and provisions, and the

soldiers plundered without restraint. Between the years 235 and 285 there were twenty-six emperors, of whom only one died a natural death. Many of these were good men and capable soldiers who sought the welfare of the state, but their good intentions were nullified by a "mutinous rabble of an army."⁶

Barbarian Invasions. The anarchy created by civil war within was increased by invasions from without. The Alemanni and the Franks crossed the Rhine and plundered Gaul; the Goths occupied Dacia and trans-Danubian Moesia, and by their piratical expeditions ravaged the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece; the Persians penetrated into Syria and even seized the city of Antioch. At the same time particularist, if not nationalistic, tendencies appeared that threatened to break the empire up into its component parts.

Social and Economic Effects. The social and economic effects of these civil wars and invasions of the third century were profound: they wrought a destruction from which the empire never recovered. Inevitably the wealth of the empire, especially the wealth accumulated in the cities, suffered most. The unscrupulous elements in society as well as the soldiers naturally plundered where the booty was richest, — in the cities. In Africa the Emperor Maximin (235–238) employed terrorism to loot the bourgeois and aristocratic classes. The soldiers of Heliogabalus demanded permission to plunder Antioch. There were repeated clashes between the soldiers and the population of Rome; and Byzantium, in the reign of Gallienus (253–268), was looted by its own garrison. Two of the greatest cities of Gaul — Lyon and Autun — were destroyed by soldiers and peasants. Particularly tragic was the fate of Autun. Joined by gangs of robbers and peasants, the soldiers cut off the water supply and, after a siege of seven months, captured it and laid it in ruins from which it never arose.⁷

Equally disastrous were the contributions levied by the emperors to carry on wars against their rivals. Wealth which rich citizens formerly employed to embellish their cities now went to the state or to its financial agents. After the civil wars there were very few large donations to the cities, as the lack of inscriptions shows. Everywhere the rich sought to conceal their wealth and to appear as poor as possible. Extensive inroads were thus made in the accumulated capital of the empire. "By the time that exhaustion came," says Tenney Frank, "so that Diocletian was permitted to restore some semblance of order, the economic structures of the empire lay in fragments."⁸

The Reorganization of the Empire. The empire was saved from complete disintegration by the proclamation, in 284, of the Dalmatian general Diocletian as emperor. Although an able statesman, Diocletian was responsible for the completion of the edifice of imperial despotism, which, based upon Persian models, more than ever centralized power in the hands of the emperor. He deliberately deprived the Senate of the last vestiges of its power; and senators, shorn of their legislative prerogatives, became merely the highest class of nobility. He adopted the elaborate ceremonial of Oriental courts, and all who were admitted to his presence had to fall upon their faces and kiss the hem of the royal garments. No longer was Diocletian *princeps*, or first citizen, but *dominus et deus*, crowned with a diadem and represented with the nimbus. His palace, his presence, and his person were all sacred.

Aided by the universal weariness with civil war, Diocletian set himself completely to reorganize the empire. That it might be administered more thoroughly, it was divided into prefectures governed by prefects, the prefectures were divided into dioceses governed by vicars, and the dioceses into provinces. The powers of the provincial governor were greatly curtailed. Not only was his territory considerably reduced, but he was deprived of military command, the civil

and military functions being divided. While this lessened the danger of civil war and decreased the political power of militarism, it vastly increased the number of officials, and consequently the expense of administration.

At the same time an attempt was made to remedy the defect in the constitution of the early empire by introducing a new method of providing for the imperial succession. At the beginning of his rule Diocletian chose a soldier, Maximian, as his colleague, and the latter was likewise given the title of *Augustus*. In 293 he still further altered the imperial system by choosing as his assistant a young officer upon whom he conferred the title of *Caesar*. Maximian was permitted to take a similar step; and so, instead of one ruler, there were now four, — two *Augusti* and two *Caesars*. Diocletian chose Galerius as his *Caesar*; and Maximian, Constantius Chlorus. Then each *Augustus* adopted his *Caesar*, and a series of intermarriages was arranged so that the four rulers might be bound to each other by the closest relationships. Thus a dynasty was founded.

Diocletian himself ruled the East; Galerius, the Danubian provinces and Greece; Maximian, Italy, Spain, and North Africa; and Constantius Chlorus, Gaul and Britain. Diocletian resided at Nicomedia, in Asia Minor, where he erected a splendid palace; the other three, at strategic points on the frontiers that it was necessary to guard. Each had command over his troops and practically ruled his territory as an independent ruler. As each *Caesar* was subordinate to his *Augustus*, and Maximian to Diocletian, the unity of the empire was maintained.

The army as well as the administration was reorganized. Even before the accession of Diocletian the emperors had largely abandoned conscription and built up a mercenary army recruited partly from the "least civilized tribes of the empire," partly from the Germans and other alien peoples. Gradually service in the army became a hereditary profession, and sons of soldiers were bound to follow their fathers'



THE ROMAN EMPIRE
ABOUT 395 A.D.

Sahara Desert



calling. At the same time the senatorial class was excluded from the army, and officers were selected from the lower classes. More than ever the empire was a military monarchy.

Collapse of Diocletian's System. According to the new constitution, the two Augusti were to retire together and be succeeded by their Caesars, who would in turn choose two other Caesars. In 305 Diocletian abdicated in the East and compelled Maximian in the West to follow his example. Galerius and Constantius now became the two Augusti. In the appointment of the new Caesars, Maxentius, the son of Maximian, and Constantine, the son of Constantius, were both set aside, an arrangement that neither was disposed to endure. Maxentius raised the standard of revolt in the West and, with the support of the city of Rome, was proclaimed Caesar. Constantine fled to Britain, where, on the death of Constantius, he also was proclaimed Caesar (306). The purpose of Diocletian was defeated, for there followed a new series of civil wars that finally ended, in 324, by Constantine's becoming sole emperor and establishing his capital at Byzantium, on the Golden Horn, which he renamed after himself — Constantinople. But the empire remained what Diocletian had made it, — an Oriental despotism.

On the death of Constantine (337) his sons ruled jointly until 353, after which Constantius ruled alone. In 364 a valiant but cruel soldier, Valentinian, was proclaimed emperor. At the request of his soldiers he appointed as his colleague his brother Valens, who ruled the East, while he himself remained emperor of the West. After the death of Theodosius I (395), and until the downfall of the Western Empire in 476, the empire was permanently divided.

But long before 476 the evidences of decay in Roman civilization had become pronounced.

Disorganization of the Imperial Service. Of vital importance in the administration of the empire was the maintenance

of the lines of communication between the provinces. That the empire in the heyday of its power and efficiency was so well administered was due, in part at least, to its admirable system of roads and posting service. But by the close of the fourth century the roads seem to have been getting into bad shape. Repeated imperial edicts complain of their evil condition. In addition, the posting service had lost its former efficiency. The horses were ill-fed, the officials were dishonest, and the system was congested by the use made of it by private individuals. Travel was made still more unsafe by brigandage. Robbers were increasing in numbers, both on land and on sea. In Egypt special village officials were appointed to hunt robbers. In Italy, by the middle of the fourth century, many country districts were unsafe. Bandits who pillaged isolated farms and infested the highways, even those leading to Rome, had become common. In 391 civilians were given the right to bear arms, — a right hitherto denied them. About the same time Symmachus, writing to a friend, informed him that his usual migration to his countryseat had been prevented by brigandage in the neighborhood of Rome.⁹

In other departments of the civil service as well as on the highways the later empire was ill served. The official class, which more and more became, like the army, a caste, was indifferent to the public welfare and sought only its own interests. Its members became wealthy; but their wealth was not founded on commercial and industrial enterprise, as had been that of the early empire, but rather on "the skillful use of a privileged position in the state to cheat and exploit the state and the people alike. Public officials, both high and low, grew rich on bribery and corruption."¹⁰

Decline of Population. An important indication of the decline afflicting the Roman Empire was the decrease in population. By the third century depopulation, during the early empire confined chiefly to Greece and Italy, had become universal. To civil wars and barbarian invasions, with

the devastation they wrought, were added numerous plagues that decimated the population. These were probably due in part to the general disorganization of life, to poverty, to undernourishment, and to unsanitary conditions in the cities. Moreover, says Rostovtzeff, "we have every reason to believe that very few families either of the upper or of the lower classes cared to rear children."¹¹

Infiltration of Barbarians. This decline in population was partly compensated for by the settlement of barbarian peoples within the empire. The Germanic peoples of the north, attracted by the higher civilization and milder climate of the empire, obtained permission for numerous individuals and even whole groups to enter and settle. Moreover, it was the imperial policy to encourage the settlement of deserted lands by barbarian tribes. The indications are that these people proved good citizens, and some of them attained high office. At the close of the fourth century we find persons of German names occupying positions of trust in the state. The army also came to be largely recruited from barbarian tribes, and some of the greatest generals of the later empire were of Germanic origin. By the fifth century the barbarians were even setting the fashion in toilet and dress. Between 397 and 416 the Emperor Honorius issued three edicts forbidding "the wearing of trousers, long hair, and fur coats of the barbarian style within the precincts of the city."¹² In the fourth century, Germans were to be found in wealthy households serving as stewards, butlers, bakers, and personal attendants of every sort. As a consequence the population of the empire, by the fourth or fifth century, was gradually being barbarized, and the traditions and civilization of Greece and Rome were falling into the hands of a population that was becoming increasingly alien in origin.

Another feature of the later empire was the debasing of the currency, accompanied by a rise in prices and a very marked decline in commerce, industry, and agriculture.

Debasement of the Currency. As early as the second century there was a scarcity of coinage, brought about by export to the Far East, by hoarding, and by decline in the productivity of the mines. To compensate for this shortage, the government began to debase the currency. After the time of Alexander Severus the value of the *aureus* had become so unstable that payments in gold were accepted only by weight. Under the Emperor Claudius the Gothic *antoninianus* contained only 4 or 5 per cent of silver and could be distinguished from copper coins only by passing it through a bath of silver or tin. As a result, articles of prime necessity greatly increased in price. In the third century, for instance, the price of wheat in Egypt was two to three times higher than it had been in the first century. In spite of efforts at currency reform on the part of Diocletian and of Constantine, society reverted to a natural economy in place of a monetary one.¹³ Soldiers, physicians, teachers, and even tax-collectors more and more came to be paid in kind.

The increase in prices led Diocletian to attempt government regulation of them. Denouncing the "raging avarice" of those who enhanced prices, he fixed maximum prices and wages, and threatened with the death penalty all who violated his edict.¹⁴ But the attempt was a failure, and the edict was withdrawn.¹⁵ Economic law had defeated government control.

Decline of Commerce and Industry. The lack of a stable currency, as well as the prevalence of anarchic conditions, in the third century dealt a severe blow at commerce and industry. Indicative of the situation was the almost complete cessation of commercial relations with India and the Far East. The division of the empire broke the trade connections between the East and the West, while the foundation of the new capital at Constantinople seems seriously to have affected the old trade routes and the cities situated along them. Roman commerce at its height was, as we have seen,

largely interprovincial; and there is reason to believe that as early as the second century the markets had become saturated. The civil wars of the third century greatly diminished the purchasing power of the class from which the chief demand for industrial or imported wares came, the bourgeoisie. Archaeological excavation shows that the provinces gradually ceased to import commodities and became dependent upon local production. As a consequence industry became decentralized. The tendency, observable under the early empire, toward the development of large industrial centers was brought to an end, and industry took refuge on the great estates, which became increasingly self-sufficient. The government found it difficult to obtain equipment or clothing for the army: it was obliged to subject private industry to state control and even, in the fourth century, to concentrate the textile and metal industries in its own hands.

Growth of the Latifundia. The chief feature of economic life in the fourth and fifth centuries was the continued growth of great estates and the extinction of the small proprietors. The period of anarchy, with its forced contributions, its repeated devastations, its increase of taxation, bore with heavy hand upon the small proprietor, especially since it seems to have coincided with a decline in productivity. Conditions were no better with the reorganization of the empire under Diocletian and Constantine, for the enormous increase in the number of officials and the additional cost of administration led to a continuation of heavy taxes. The only salvation for the small landowner, therefore, was to sell out or to place himself under the patronage of a great proprietor, surrendering to him his estate, but retaining the right to cultivate it and transmit it to his heirs, provided he paid certain fees. He became a tenant, or *colonus*. This system was known as *precarium*.¹⁶

The absorption of the small proprietors tended to enhance the power of the great landed magnates, who fre-

quently exploited the persons that came under their control. These powerful magnates often seized large tracts of fertile land, whether it belonged to the fisc or to private individuals. They could defy the tax-collector, bribe him, or obtain the privilege of immunity, which meant that they defrauded the government of its just dues. "The majority of them," says Rostovtzeff, "built large and beautiful fortified villas in the country and dwelt there, surrounded by their family, their slaves, a real retinue of armed clients, and thousands of rural serfs and dependents."¹⁷ Their vast estates became small principalities, economically independent of the outside world.

Rise of the Colonus. Another characteristic of agricultural life was the decline in the productivity of the land. This was probably caused by lack of adequate methods of cultivation rather than by exhaustion of the soil, as has sometimes been asserted. With the cessation of the wars of conquest the slave population declined, and slaves became dearer; for the birth rate did not compensate for deaths and emancipation. As early as the second century A.D., therefore, a revolution was taking place in the method of exploiting the soil. Great landowners were giving up cultivation by slave labor, which had become too expensive, and were dividing their estates up into farms which they leased to freemen or emancipated slaves, called *coloni*. But with the political and social upheaval of the third century and with the decline in population, even the tenant system had become difficult. Because of oppressive economic conditions the tenants, or *coloni*, were deserting their fields. This the government, in its own interests, felt bound to prevent. If the *coloni* deserted the imperial estates, those estates would cease to yield a revenue; if they deserted private estates, the proprietor would be ruined and unable to pay his taxes. Since the economic basis of society had become even more completely agricultural, it was, in the last analysis, upon the *coloni* that the chief burden fell. The

state accordingly decreed that the *colonus* should be tied to the soil and thus prevented from deserting his post.

The first legislation dealing with the *colonus* dates from the reign of Constantine, in 332 A. D.

With whomsoever a *colonus* belonging to someone else . . . may be discovered, let the new patron not only restore the *colonus* to the place of his birth (*origini*), but let him also pay the tax for the time of his absence. As for the *coloni* themselves who contemplate flight, let them be put into fetters after the manner of slaves. . . .¹⁸

Not only was the *colonus* not free to leave the estate, but if the estate was sold he went with it. The owner did not have the right to sell the soil and retain the *coloni*, who had thus become just as much a fixture as the forests and buildings. Moreover, sons of *coloni* were compelled to follow in their fathers' footsteps. Consequently they were bound to the soil from generation to generation. There were certain advantages guaranteed them by the law: they could not be ejected, nor could their taxes be increased beyond the customary amount. But such advantages were more than offset by the loss of personal freedom. In the following centuries multitudes of freemen were reduced to a state of serfdom as *coloni*. The *colonus* was thus the ancestor of the medieval serf.

The Corporations. The caste system was applied not only to the *coloni* but to persons in numerous other occupations as well, especially where those occupations were vital to the maintenance of the administration. One of the most important of these services was the supplying of food to the capitals, Rome and Constantinople. In order to ensure sufficient civil servants for this purpose, the government encouraged the formation of guilds, such as those of sailors, bakers, mule-drivers, and grooms, membership in which became hereditary. That grain might be transported from Egypt and Africa, maritime commerce between those countries and

Rome, or its seaport (Ostia), was made a hereditary obligation. Miners, blacksmiths, armorers, weavers in the state workshops, employees on the public post, those who transported wood for the public baths or cared for the aqueducts or public buildings, all were bound to their occupations as the *coloni* to the soil. Members of a guild were obliged to marry within it, and their children to carry on their trade. If they deserted, they could be pursued and brought back, and sometimes they were branded on the arm for identification. Even gladiators, actors, circus drivers, and musicians were organized into similar hereditary corporations; for the idle proletariat of Rome, Constantinople, and the large provincial cities had to be amused as well as fed at government expense. "The salvation of Rome depends upon the corporations," declared Symmachus in the fourth century.

It was the principle of rural serfdom applied to social functions [says Sir Samuel Dill]. Every avenue of escape was closed. A man was bound to his calling not only by his father's but by his mother's condition. . . . If the daughter of one of the baker caste married a man not belonging to it, her husband was bound to her father's calling. Not even a dispensation obtained by some means from the imperial chancery, not even the power of the Church could avail to break the chain of servitude.¹⁹

The Decurions. Because of economic conditions in the fourth and fifth centuries the same caste system was applied to the decurions, or members of the municipal curia. As we have already observed, the decurions under the early empire possessed a good deal of power and prestige as well as many burdens. In spite of these burdens, the wealthy bourgeois in the cities were eager to become members of the curias. But from the third century the office of decurion became a less and less desirable one. The centralization of the government in the hands of the bureaucracy deprived the members of the curias of many of their powers, while their obligations — more especially with the decline of the empire

— became increasingly heavy. The decline in commerce, in industry, and in the productivity of the soil, and thus in wealth, coincided with a vast increase in the number of officials and in the cost of administration. The burden of taxation became greater just when the empire was least able to bear it. In order to ensure the regular collection of taxes under such circumstances, the government, from the time of Constantine, made the decurions responsible for collecting them and paying them into the imperial treasury. The decurions were obliged to make up any deficit from their personal fortunes.

The Flight of the Decurions. Under such conditions membership in the municipal curia lost its popularity. By the beginning of the fourth century, members of the curia were trying to escape their obligations by gaining entrance into the senatorial class. Under ordinary circumstances the promotion of decurions into the higher order would have been compensated for by the entrance into the curia of freedmen or freemen who had gained wealth in industry or commerce; but with the decline in the prosperity of the empire after the third century, recruits for the municipal curia fell off in numbers. Then it was that the government, perceiving the danger, made it difficult for a decurion to become a senator. Many of those who, by diploma or bribes, had gained entrance into the higher order were compelled to return to their native curias. There followed a veritable flight of the decurions. While a few of the more wealthy and fortunate may still have succeeded in escaping upward, others sought refuge in the army, in the ranks of the Christian clergy, or among the *coloni* on the great estates. Some hid themselves among smiths and charcoal-burners, while still others fled from society and became hermits. Increasingly severe legislation was enacted to stop this stampede. Constantine forbade the entrance of decurions into the clerical rank. Even Christian bishops who were escaped decurions were dragged

back unless they obtained the consent of the curia, renounced their property, and secured someone else to assume their burden. The decurion's liberty was restricted on every hand. He could not reside in the country, nor leave home, nor sell his property without the governor's permission. His sons inherited his obligations with his property. If he died without direct heirs, the curia received three fourths of his estate. The law refused him, as it did insolvent debtors and runaway slaves, the right of asylum in churches. On the other hand, the government compelled any who had gained wealth to become members of the curias. Even certain malefactors were condemned as a punishment to become decurions.²⁰

This decline of a once prosperous middle class was one of the most important signs of decadence in the empire; but it was merely one phase of the universal economic decline, of the development of bureaucracy, of the hardening of society into fixed classes from which there was no escape, and of the loss of personal freedom that characterized the later empire. It is not surprising, therefore, to find such symptoms accompanied by decline in intelligence, in art, and in literature, and by a development of pessimistic tendencies in philosophy and religion that laid emphasis upon salvation in a future world.

Decline of Rationalism. The cultural background of ancient civilization was essentially superstitious. Belief in astrology, in divination, in oracles, in magic, in the existence of demons, and in the reality of the miraculous was widespread. Nevertheless, under the inspiration of Greek science, man had gone far toward attaining a rational view of the universe. In Roman times this view found its reflection in Galen, in Pliny the Elder, and, above all, in Lucretius. Epicureans and Stoics had arrived at the idea that this universe was a vast mechanism guided by universal law. Skepticism had played havoc with the ancient beliefs, and many

prided themselves on their atheism. But during the empire, and especially the later empire, a reaction had set in. Skepticism was no longer popular, and later Stoicism taught that its doctrines were not inconsistent with a belief in the gods. Apuleius's *Golden Ass* reveals the prevalence of the belief in demons and in witchcraft; Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and Lucian's *Demonax* and *Alexander the Oracle-monger* show the common man's credulity and belief in the miraculous. The decline of the rational spirit was a characteristic of the later empire: the mentality of the masses was submerging that of the intellectuals.

Decline of Literature. From the second century A.D. a marked decline was apparent in literature, which ceased to be creative and became prolix and reminiscent. After the time of Tacitus, Pliny the Younger,²¹ and Juvenal (c. 60–140 A.D.) Latin literature has little to offer that may be called classical. The succeeding period produced such writers as Apuleius (b. 125 (?) A.D.), the author of the *Golden Ass*, which is more valuable as a historical document than as literature, and Aulus Gellius (c. 130–180 A.D.), whose *Attic Nights*, a collection of extracts from older writers, is the work of a pedant and reflects the tendency of the age to rely upon the learning of the past. In general the writers of the period imitated and relied upon the writers of the golden age, and cultivated a florid, verbose style. The last brilliant Greek writer was Lucian of Samosata (c. 120–180 A.D.), “the creator of the satirical dialogue,” who seems almost to belong to the modern world.²²

Decline of Art. A similar decline was making itself apparent in the realm of art. It is true that a great deal of building was undertaken as late as the fourth century; but by the time of Diocletian and Constantine the technique of builders had deteriorated. Many of the Christian basilicas erected by Constantine were so badly built that they soon fell to ruins. The transformation of the classical style is apparent in

Diocletian's palace of Spalato, details of which would have shocked a classical architect.²³

Even more pronounced was the decline of sculpture. A vivid illustration of this is the Arch of Constantine, where sculptures of the periods of Trajan and Constantine stand side by side. The art of depicting action in lifelike fashion seems to have been lost, and all the details, such as folds of garments, are rendered in a spiritless and formal style. Statues and busts of emperors and other great personages have become stereotyped and conventional.²⁴

This decadence of artistic taste, as well as the reversion to domestic production, led to a decline in the quality of industrial products. Manufactured objects show not only a deterioration in beauty but also a lack of the high technical skill found in the early empire.

Neoplatonism. Another symptom of the decay of the spirit of classical culture was the rise and spread of Neoplatonism, which derived its inspiration from the ascetic and renunciatory tendencies in Plato's philosophy and carried them to their logical conclusion. The man who gave form and content to this final philosophical effort of Greco-Roman paganism was Plotinus (204-270 A.D.), whose six *Enneads* constitute the "fundamental documents of Neoplatonism."²⁵ Plotinus, a native of Alexandria, lived during the period of anarchy in the third century, and his thought is indicative of the pessimism that political, economic, and social conditions were creating in men's minds. To Plotinus the sole reality in this universe is a spiritual one. Everything has emanated from one original Essence, or Being, whom to attempt to define is to limit, and in whom there is no limitation or determination. From this primordial and limitless Being there emanated Spirit, from which, in turn, there emanated the Universal Soul which created the sensible world. Inasmuch as the world is spiritual in origin, its material aspect is a mere abstraction. "Matter," says Dean

Inge, "is that intangible, impalpable all-but-nothing which remains when we subtract from an object of thought all that makes it a possible object of thought."²⁶ This insistence upon the unreality of the material world, or perhaps it would be better to say the ultimate spirituality of the physical world, led Plotinus to emphasize the cultivation of the soul. The soul in reality belongs to another sphere, and its chief object should be to return to the realm whence it came. "Our fatherland," he said, "is the region whence we descend here below. It is there that dwells our father."²⁷ Everything, therefore, that tends to make the soul feel at home in this world and to cause it to lose sight of its high destiny should be renounced. Hence Neoplatonism did not lay emphasis upon social, political, or economic reform, but upon preparing the soul for flight to its homeland. Because of this emphasis Harnack has said that Neoplatonism, idealistic though it was, led to barbarism "because it ended with renunciation of this world."²⁸

The Oriental Religions. But philosophy was chiefly the preoccupation of the literate upper and middle classes, and it is doubtful if Neoplatonic tenets greatly influenced the submerged multitudes. The masses were seeking their consolation in the Oriental religions, which were known as mystery religions because of the secrecy that shrouded many of their rites.

Society in the Roman Empire was afflicted by what Sir Gilbert Murray has well termed "failure of nerve," which he has described thus :

It is a rise of asceticism, of mysticism, in a sense, of pessimism ; a loss of self-confidence, of hope in this life and of faith in normal human effort ; a despair of patient inquiry, a cry for infallible revelation ; an indifference to the welfare of the state, a conversion of the soul to God. It is an atmosphere in which the aim of the good man is not so much to live justly, to help the society to which he belongs and enjoy the esteem of his fellow creatures ; but

rather, by means of a burning faith, by contempt for the world and its standards, by ecstasy, suffering, and martyrdom, to be granted pardon for his unspeakable unworthiness, his immeasurable sins.²⁹

The old Greek and Roman religions, with their cold formalism, their failure to bestow moral sanctions, and their lack of promises for the individual, had ceased to appeal. In their stead multitudes were turning to the Egyptian Isis and Osiris, to the Phrygian Cybele (*Magna Mater*), to the Greek Dionysus, or to the Persian Mithras, to mention those that had the greatest vogue. These religions were popular because of certain prospects that they all held out to the individual.

In the first place, they appealed to the senses and emotions. Their "languishing songs and intoxicating melodies," "the pomp of their festivities," "the magnificence of their processions," and the "seductiveness" of their mysterious rites attracted the crowd.³⁰ Secondly, they satisfied the intellect by their appeal to science, philosophy, and history. Their priests were scholars who taught final truth about the universe, the world, and man. Thus religion spoke with an absolute certainty. Thirdly, they promised purification from sin. The sense of the corruption of human nature and its consequent inability to cleanse itself without divine aid was a characteristic of society. The mystery religions, by their rites of purification, assured their devotees purity and renewal of life. One of the most famous of these rites was the *taurobolium*, or blood bath, a survival of primitive religious practice. By undergoing it the novice was reborn into eternity. These religions also promised purification of soul through self-denial, suffering, and penance. "Macerations, laborious pilgrimages, public confessions, sometimes flagellations and mutilations," says Cumont, "in fact all forms of penance and mortifications uplifted the fallen man and brought him nearer to the gods."³¹ Fourthly, they assured the believer a new moral strength. A feature of the age was

the feeling that without divine aid the individual was incapable of good. By their sacramental meals, which seem to have resembled the Christian Eucharist, the Oriental religions assured the devotee a renewal of strength through union with the deity. Fifthly, they promised salvation to the individual. Through belief in and worship of a savior god who had died and risen again, these religions brought the assurance of salvation and of a life of happiness in a future world.

The greatest of these Oriental religions was Christianity. Inasmuch as it was to become the dominant religion of Europe, we shall discuss its rise and development at some length.

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CHAPTER III

The Rise and Development of Christianity

CHRISTIANITY possessed a great advantage over its rivals in that it rested upon a definitely historical basis. Unlike the mythical Isis, Cybele, Dionysus, or Mithras, Jesus of Nazareth was a historic personage. Although his early career is wrapped in great obscurity, which pious imagination later sought to remove by embellishing it with legend, certain aspects of his life and teaching stand out as well-authenticated facts.

A native of the little Galilean town of Nazareth and a carpenter by trade, Jesus spent the first thirty years of his life in obscurity. He had neither traveled nor studied at any of the great schools of antiquity. He could read and presumably write, though he left no writings for posterity. While apparently reared in a pious Jewish home, he had shaken off much of the conventionality of contemporary Judaism. He had steeped himself in the literature of the Old Testament, and especially in that of the prophets, whose religious and social teachings had become part of his very being. Much that he taught can be paralleled in the Old Testament or contemporary Rabbinic literature; yet he had a novel and striking way of expressing his teaching, which was filled with homely metaphor or simile borrowed from nature.

On the imprisonment of John the Baptist, whose prophetic message had greatly stirred him, Jesus felt called upon to take up his work and began traveling through Galilee, calling upon people to repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand. With prophetic voice he proclaimed that the old order was drawing to a close and that God was about to usher in a new world, in which suffering, misery, oppression, injustice,

and even sickness would be done away. Just how or when God would establish this new order of things Jesus seems to have been by no means certain. Sometimes he spoke of its coming suddenly, "as a thief in the night," heralded by some great cataclysmic event, and at others he thought of it as being established gradually, but at any rate in the very near future. It was therefore urgent that people should be ready to receive it. Accordingly he believed that it was his mission to induce them to adopt a new attitude toward God and their fellow men.

Jesus was primarily a prophet, or religious teacher. The Hebraic God was to him a very real person, whose relation to man was so intimate that only the term "Father" could describe it. Men should, first of all, adopt a right relationship to God, which consisted in doing his will. To do the will of God, regardless of what the personal consequences might be, whether renunciation of wealth, family ties, personal ambition, — that was the highest aim in life. More explicitly, to do the will of God meant adopting a right attitude toward others, which he described by the term "love"; and he defined what it meant to love one's fellow men when he said, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." If Jesus denounced wealth, against which he uttered many hard sayings, it was simply because he saw that the love for and pursuit of gain made men cruel and oppressive toward their fellow men, rather than because he had any predilection for poverty as such. To be merciful, compassionate, kind-hearted, and forgiving constituted the essence of virtue. The most heinous sin was that which wronged another.

Like all other great teachers and reformers, Jesus was an idealist. The Kingdom of God was an ideal, which, like Plato's Republic, could not be attained in a world organized like the present one. It involved a new order of things, a new world. But Jesus was also an idealist in his conception of the individual. He did not believe that any man was

hopelessly corrupt or irredeemably bad. He knew nothing of the Oriental pessimism that was sweeping over the Greco-Roman world. The only persons for whom he seems to have given up hope were the self-righteous, — “hypocrites” he called them. God, he believed, had set before men an infinite ideal; but when a man thinks that he has attained that ideal, he is morally paralyzed, spiritually dead. Humility, therefore, is essential, — the realization that in spite of attainment the goal always lies ahead.

That Jesus, by reason of his teaching, his personality, and his enthusiasm, made a tremendous impression is evident from the fact that it was at once assumed by many zealous Jews, who were restive under Roman rule, that he was the long-expected Messiah who should prove to be their deliverer. It is apparent that he had great difficulty in dissociating himself from the ardent nationalists who sought to establish Jewish independence. Modern scholarship has warmly debated the question whether Jesus ever claimed to be the Messiah; but this much is certain: he definitely repudiated all claim to be a national and conquering hero in the political sense. “My kingdom is not of this world,” he declared. If he ever put forward the claim to be the Messiah, it was only after long hesitancy, with some perplexity, and then only in the spiritual sense of the term. At any rate, his immediate followers, the twelve disciples, thought of him as such, and the Roman authorities executed him as a disturber of the public peace. “This is Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews,” wrote Pilate in derision over the cross.

With the execution of Jesus, his followers dispersed; even his immediate disciples, disillusioned and sad, returned to their old occupations. Then suddenly they became convinced that Jesus had appeared to them and that he was alive. Our earliest account of these appearances is from Paul, who tells us that “he appeared to Cephas [Peter], then to the twelve. After that he appeared on one occasion to more than five hundred brethren of whom the majority are

still living, but some have died. Afterwards he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. Last of all, as to a child born untimely, he appeared also to me.”¹ The exact nature of these appearances that are referred to as the “Resurrection” we shall never know; but they were sufficiently real to revive the waning faith of the disciples, to whom they were a guaranty that Jesus was the Messiah. Accordingly the disciples went up to Jerusalem, where they practiced a sort of communism, lived a life of prayer and devotion, and daily expected that the Messiah would return to earth, overturn the existing order, and establish his kingdom.

After some months of this sort of life, perhaps even a year or more, during which they seem not to have attracted much attention or gained many adherents, a suspicion arose in orthodox Jewish circles that these followers of Jesus of Nazareth who posed as such pious Jews held tenets that were really subversive of Judaism. One of the leaders of the persecution that followed was a young Pharisee, Paul of Tarsus. After assisting in the dispersion of the Christians, Paul himself fell under the spell of their doctrines. Compelled to flee from Jerusalem, they began a vigorous propaganda based on the proclamation that Jesus was the Messiah and that he would shortly return to earth to establish his kingdom. One of the earliest cities into which the new movement spread was Antioch, on the Orontes, where — probably in contempt — the term “Christian” first arose.

The most momentous event in the history of early Christianity was the conversion of Paul of Tarsus, or Saint Paul. The age in which he lived was one of missionaries. Every creed had its missionaries, who were to be found in all the great cities of the Greco-Roman world, spreading their propaganda; and now Paul and his fellow Christians joined their number, claiming that they alone possessed knowledge of the truth and the way of eternal life. With the eye of a strategist Paul perceived that Christian communities should be planted in the great cities first and that from them it would

spread to the surrounding country and villages. Accordingly he began his propaganda, at first through the Jewish synagogues, in the great cities of Asia Minor and Greece. Some of his colleagues we know from the pages of the Acts, but many more have remained unknown. Every Christian, in his overwhelming enthusiasm, was an ardent missionary for his new faith, and hence we do not know who planted Christianity in many of the great cities of antiquity.

The significance of Paul lies not only in his missionary activity but also in the formative influence which he exercised on Christianity itself. So far-reaching was his influence that he has sometimes been called its second founder; and orthodox Christian thought is quite as much his work as that of Jesus, for it was Paul who emancipated the new creed from its Jewish connections and made it a world religion. The earliest Christians had been Jews who had no thought but that they should keep the whole Jewish law. Paul showed that Gentiles might become Christian without first becoming Jews, and hence he made Christianity something quite new — a universal religion.

Paul's Conception of Christianity. Paul's conception of Christianity arose out of his own religious experience. He had been a morally earnest Pharisee whose dominant aim was the attainment of personal righteousness. In this religious quest he had exhausted the spiritual possibilities of Judaism; but, although he had observed the Jewish law scrupulously, he still felt himself to be morally impotent. He realized that a man might perfectly conform to the law and yet remain a moral leper. He perceived that what God required of man was the complete purification of all thoughts and desires — the inner man. But Paul felt that he somehow lacked the moral power to attain such a higher righteousness. To him the flesh was warring against the spirit and hindering it from achieving perfection. "For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh,) dwelleth no good thing:

for to will is present with me ; but how to perform that which is good I find not.”²

This moral struggle which Paul felt going on within him led him to adopt a dualistic conception of human nature, — a dualism between the will on the one hand and the passions and desires on the other, between the spirit and the flesh. To him human flesh was inherently evil and corrupt, — evil and corrupt beyond the power of man to cleanse. “O wretched man that I am !” he exclaimed, “Who shall deliver me from the body of this death ?”³ He was a child of his age, with its “failure of nerve,” with its sense of moral impotence and need of supernatural aid. What he desired was some power that would deliver the spirit from its thralldom to the flesh. This deliverance he believed he had found in Christ ; for had not Christ risen triumphant over death, — risen not with a mortal, physical, but with a heavenly, spiritual body ? On the ground of such assurance Paul became a Christian : he who had faith in Christ should also rise with him.

As the result of this experience Paul was led to regard Jesus of Nazareth not merely as the Messiah of Jewish expectation but also as the pre-existent Son of God, the Lord from heaven, who had deprived himself of his heavenly position in order to become man and free men from bondage to the flesh. Christianity therefore became a religion of redemption, and Jesus became the savior, in much the same sense as Mithras, Isis, Cybele, and Dionysus were saviors, whose life and work freed men from sin, corruption, and death and gave them the assurance of a blessed immortality. Indeed, the very words and phrases that Paul used were those current in the mystery religions. For instance, he called Jesus “Lord” (*Kyrios*), a term that was applied to the mystery deities. All this was highly important, for it meant that Jesus of Nazareth was interpreted in terms that all could understand. Jesus the Messiah meant nothing to the average Greek or Roman, but Jesus the Savior, Redeemer, and Lord did.

The Rise of the Logos Christology. Paul's conception of Jesus as the pre-existent Son of God made possible a still further alliance between Christianity and contemporary thought. Greek philosophy possessed the idea of an intermediary whose role it was to bridge over the great gulf between the world of true being, the spiritual world, and the actual world of man's existence, between God and the physical universe. This intermediary was called the *Logos*, or "Word." Philo of Alexandria, a Hellenistic Jew, had borrowed this *Logos* doctrine to enable him to reconcile the Hebrew Old Testament with Greek thought, and as a result he read into the Old Testament the activity of this intermediary who became a sort of personal agent of God in the work of creation and in all his dealings with men. This conception the Christians, in turn, borrowed from Philo and applied to Jesus of Nazareth. In him the divine *Logos* had become incarnate in order to redeem mankind. It is this idea that finds expression in the Gospel of John, which begins thus: "The *Logos* existed in the very beginning, the *Logos* was with God, the *Logos* was divine . . . through him all existence came into being."⁴ Thus the Jesus of John's Gospel has become the divine *Logos*, the Son of God, who was present at the creation of the world, who knows all things (even the thoughts of men), who possesses great magical and miraculous powers, and who left the glory of the divine world to become man and to lay down his life for the redemption of humanity. "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

Once promulgated in the Gospel of John at the beginning of the second century, the *Logos* doctrine became the accepted conception of Christ. Sometimes he is spoken of as the Son of God, as God incarnate, or as the divine *Logos* whose advent was foretold in the Old Testament. Through the fall of Adam the human race had become totally corrupt and incapable of salvation. In order to rescue it from this state of perdition, this divine *Logos*, by being born of the

Virgin Mary, became incarnate in human nature, passing through the various stages of human life that he might free man from corruption and death and bestow upon him immortality. If Christ were not both human and divine, he could not effect our salvation. "On account of his great love," said Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon, in Gaul (c. 180 A.D.), he "became what we are [that is, human] in order that he might bring us to be what he is himself" (that is, divine).⁵ This *Logos* conception of Christ received the support of the two great Alexandrine fathers, Clement of Alexandria (died c. 213 A.D.) and his more brilliant pupil, Origen (died 251 or 254 A.D.), from whom it was taken over by the church at large and embodied in orthodox theology at the Council of Nicaea.

The Rise of Heresy. The *Logos* Christology, with its doctrine of Deity's actually becoming incarnate in human nature, was not the only conception of Christ brought forward during the second century. Another was that of the Gnostics, who before long came to be regarded as heretics. The Gnostics said that there were two gods: the Supreme Being and a lesser deity, the demiurge, an evil being who had created the world. They believed also in a sharp dualism between the world of good and the world of evil, between that of spirit and that of matter. This world, they asserted, was a mixture of the two: the demiurge had imprisoned some sparks of the spirit world in base matter and thus formed man. The chief end of human existence was therefore to emancipate the soul, or fragment of the spirit world, from its prison house in the flesh. Like the champions of the *Logos* doctrine, the Gnostics said that Christ was divine, that is, that he came from the good God; and by an elaborate myth, borrowed from Oriental mythology, they explained his relation to the Supreme Being. They too believed that Christ had become incarnate in human nature for the purpose of rescuing the imprisoned souls of men; but they denied

that he assumed a body of flesh. His human nature was only an appearance, and like a phantom he moved among men. Another of their doctrines was that this phantom Christ came to impart knowledge to men (hence the term "Gnostic," or "enlightened") so that they might escape the control of the demiurge. Because they regarded matter as inherently evil and incapable of salvation, the Gnostics denied the resurrection of the physical body. For these reasons — their belief in two gods, their denial of the reality of Christ's human nature, and their denial of the physical resurrection — the Gnostics, by the middle of the second century, had come to be regarded as dangerous heretics whose doctrines were subversive of Christianity. But they were strong. Almost every Christian community, especially in Asia Minor, had some members who were Gnostics. Becoming thoroughly alarmed, the orthodox — as we may now call those who championed the view that Christ was a real man as well as real Deity — sought to exclude the Gnostics from the church. This they did by establishing certain safeguards against heresy.

Establishment of Safeguards against Heresy. The first of these was the formulation of a creed, since known as the Apostles' Creed. It was a short statement, not of things which we should consider fundamental to Christianity, but of doctrines which the Gnostics rejected. For instance, the very first phrase, "I believe in God the Father Almighty," was intended to combat the Gnostic doctrine of two gods; and the second, that Jesus Christ was "born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried," to indicate the real humanity of Jesus. This creed, the orthodox affirmed, had been handed down from the very disciples of Christ and must therefore be accepted as apostolic truth. All who were baptized and became Christian were obliged to assert their belief in it and thus reject Gnostic doctrine.

The creed by itself was not sufficient to exclude the Gnostics; consequently their opponents took a further step and affirmed that they possessed a collection of writings all of which emanated from the Apostles themselves and thus contained truth as against Gnostic error. This collection we know as the New Testament. Those who compiled it gathered together all the writings in circulation among the Christian communities which seemed to have been written by Apostles, rejecting all writings that obviously did not so originate. Here, they said, is a group of writings that come from the very fountainhead, and they say nothing of Gnostic teachings. Thus the New Testament was compiled with the express intention of combating heresy. Not to be outdone by such tactics, the Gnostics declared that they also could find their teachings in these apostolic writings, which they did by means of allegory. Whereupon their opponents retaliated by informing them that they had no right to interpret the Scriptures: only the church could do that. But what was the *church*? This leads us to consider the church and the development of its organization, which was the third step to combat heresy.

Beginnings of Organization in the Church. Christianity was born into the world without any organization. The idea that Jesus founded the church, in the sense of a highly developed institution, was a later conception and rests on no historic foundation. The Greek word *ecclesia*, of which our English word "church" is a translation, seems to have been used by Jewish teachers to denote Israel in its ideal aspect as the children of God. The earliest Christians, assembled in Jerusalem in hourly expectation of the coming of the Messiah, seem to have applied it to themselves to indicate that they constituted the "true Israel," which should comprise the nucleus of the kingdom when it should be established. This primitive *church*, however, had no organization, no officials, and no clergy. Why should a group of people who expected

the imminent end of the world take the trouble to *organize* themselves? But with the delay of the Messiah's return, with the increase of numbers, and with the spread of the movement into cities other than Jerusalem, some organization naturally developed. The first appearance of anything like a ministry was the rise of apostles, prophets, and teachers whose vocation was based upon their inspiration by the Holy Spirit. They traveled from one place to another, and thus constituted an itinerant ministry. With the growth of these Christian communities in the great cities, however, there was very soon felt the need of local leaders, and each community did the natural thing when it elected its most important or influential members to such positions. Hence they were called elders or presbyters. Because it was their duty to superintend the affairs of the Christian community, they were also called *episcopoi*, that is, overseers, or bishops. Usually there seems to have been a group of presbyters or bishops over each Christian church, though sometimes there may have been only one, the development not being uniform everywhere.

By the beginning of the second century this local clergy was gradually supplanting the itinerant prophetic ministry, which had obtained a reputation for spreading heresy and so was falling into discredit. "Believe not every spirit," enjoins the author of the First Epistle of John, "but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world."⁶ Moreover, it was perceived that one official at the head of each community was more efficient, both in combating heresy and in conducting the church, than a group. This official was elected by the community; the term "bishop" was reserved for him, and the presbyters became his assistants. By the close of the second century almost every Christian community was presided over by a bishop. This development is called the rise of the monarchical episcopate.

The need for stemming the rising tide of heresy led to a

still further enhancing of the bishop's position through the promulgation of the idea of apostolic succession. Over against the contention of the Gnostics that they could interpret the Scriptures to suit themselves, the champions of orthodoxy maintained that, in the last analysis, only the bishop could interpret them, by reason of the fact that his office was apostolic. Certain churches, such as those at Rome, Corinth, and Ephesus, they said, had been founded by Apostles who had appointed bishops who, in turn, had transmitted their office to their successors; and so on in unbroken continuity. The heretics might reject the apostolic rule of faith, might carp at the apostolic canon of Scripture; but here were bishops who had received their instructions from their predecessors, who had received their own instructions direct from the Apostles themselves. The two most important men in achieving this development were Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon, and Tertullian of Carthage.

By this order and succession [said Irenaeus, referring to the bishops], that apostolic tradition and proclamation of the truth which is in the church came down to us. And this is the most ample demonstration that it is one and the same vivifying faith which has been preserved in the church from the Apostles until now and faithfully transmitted.⁷

Development of the Idea of the Church. Another consequence of the conflict with Gnosticism, besides the rise of the monarchical episcopate and the dogma of apostolic succession, was the development of the idea of the church. Instead of a community of believers expecting the imminent return of the Messiah, the church became an organized institution which alone possessed apostolic truth. The church alone could declare what truth is, and consequently no one outside the church could know the truth. Within the church it was the bishop who, by virtue of his apostolic succession, possessed the monopoly of declaring what was truth and what was not. Not only did the church have a monopoly of the

truth, but it also had a monopoly of salvation. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage in the middle of the third century, declared, "He can no longer have God for his father, who has not the church for his mother."⁸ And again: "Whoever he may be, and whatever he may be, he who is not in the church of Christ is not a Christian."⁹ Thus it was that a definite institution came to claim that it had a monopoly of the religion of Jesus; and it still asserts the claim.

Arianism and the Council of Nicaea. The Gnostics, as we have seen, while maintaining the deity of Christ, differed from the orthodox in rejecting his real humanity. Hardly had they been excluded from the church when another group arose who, while insisting on the humanity of Jesus, refused to recognize his complete deity. This new heresy had its origin in Syria, in the teaching of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch (260-270 A.D.), and of his pupil Lucian of Antioch (c. 240-c. 311). These men took the ground that Christ was a human being, and objected to the *Logos* teaching that he was of the same *substance* as God. Christ, they said, belonged to the realm of creation; but, because of his perfect obedience to the Father, he had been promoted to deity. To the orthodox this was equivalent to denying his deity, and Paul was deposed from the bishopric of Antioch as a heretic. Lucian, his pupil, perished in the persecution of 311; but his teaching was taken up by Arius, who, in 318, was a presbyter in the church of Alexandria. Arius was a sensational preacher who attracted great crowds. He soon began to attack from the pulpit the theology of his superior, Bishop Alexander, for which he was shortly afterwards deposed; but he succeeded in stirring up a very great controversy and in creating a heresy that lasted for centuries.

The great interest of Arius was in maintaining the unity of God, or strict monotheism. To him the Father alone was God: He alone was unbegotten, eternal, wise, good, and unchangeable. To say with the orthodox that Christ was Deity

was to endanger monotheism and was virtually equivalent to speaking of two gods. Accordingly Arius maintained that, instead of being eternal and of the same substance as God, Christ was created by God, and hence of an inferior substance. "There was a time when he was not" was a phrase by which Arius expressed his views. On the other hand, the orthodox said that Christ was of the same substance as God, that he was begotten, not created, and that "there was not a time when he was not." In other words, he was "very God of very God." The difference between the two parties was virtually that between modern Unitarians and Trinitarians.

The staunchest champion of the *Logos* doctrine was Athanasius (c. 296-373), who, at the time of the outbreak of the controversy, was a young deacon in the church at Alexandria, soon to become the implacable and lifelong foe of Arianism. His interest in the question was a practical one, that of human salvation. Man, according to Athanasius, was originally created sinless; but the Fall had brought corruption and death. He was totally depraved, and by his own effort unable to alter his corrupt and depraved nature. That man should totally perish was "unseemly and unworthy of God's goodness." Yet God could not forgive man, for that would be inconsistent with his decree that death was the penalty of sin. The solution of the difficulty was the salvation of man through the Incarnation of the *Logos*. The *Logos* could not permit man to perish, and therefore he assumed a body and became mortal. This mortal body he surrendered to death on behalf of all men; but death could not hold him, and so his body rose again. "The resurrection of the body and of the *Logos* guaranteed the general resurrection and incorruption."¹⁰

Athanasius believed that unless this *Logos* who became man was verily God, man's salvation could not be achieved. If the *Logos* were merely a creature, as Arius said, and not of the same substance as God, man was duped in the matter

of salvation. "The man partaking of a creature would not be deified, unless the Son was truly God; and the man would not be equal with the Father, unless he who assumed the body was by nature also the true *Logos* of the Father."¹¹ Arius's teaching, therefore, was so dangerous that it undermined the whole possibility of salvation. "*Athanasius' importance to posterity,*" said Harnack, "*consisted in this, that he defined Christian faith exclusively as faith in redemption through the God-man who was identical in nature with God.*"¹²

The Council of Nicaea. The Arian controversy had become so keen by 325, when Constantine became sole emperor, that he summoned a council to meet at Nicaea, across the straits from Constantinople. This was the first *ecumenical*, or universal, council of the whole of Christendom, and was attended by some three hundred bishops from every part of the empire except Britain. Arianism was voted down, and the council promulgated a creed which, embodying the doctrines of Athanasius, was affirmed to be the orthodox belief of the church. This creed was as follows:

We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible: — and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, Only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father; God from God, Light from Light, very God from very God, begotten, not made, One in substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and cometh to judge quick and dead.

And in the Holy Ghost. But those who say, "Once He was not," and "Before His generation He was not," and "He came to be from nothing," or those who pretend that the Son of God is "of other subsistence or substance," or "created," or "alterable," or "mutable," the Catholic Church anathematizes.¹³

This condemnation of Arianism, however, did not suppress the heresy; for it continued to grow, and frequently

the Arian party was in favor at court. Even Constantine was baptized by an Arian bishop. Moreover, many of the barbarians were converted to Arian Christianity. Not until the eighth century did it completely die out.

Christianity and the Roman Government. In order to understand the status of Christianity within the empire, it will now be necessary for us to turn back and consider its relations with the Roman government.

The Roman Empire tolerated all religions excepting those that menaced public morality, threatened the social order or political security, or forbade their devotees to participate in the state cults. Judaism, however, in spite of its intolerance, was protected and even favored because it was a national faith. Thus the empire freely permitted the worship of Isis, of Cybele, of Mithras, and of the Jewish Yahweh side by side with that of Jupiter and Augustus. Yet it persecuted Christianity. Why?

In the first place, not only had the founder of Christianity been executed for political reasons, but the Christians themselves were regarded as unpatriotic. They were disinclined to hold state office, because it entangled them with pagan worship; they refused to sacrifice to the emperor, because that was apostasy; and they shunned — at least many of them did — military service, because to shed blood was unchristian. Moreover, at a time when the state was subordinating religion to itself, Christians taught that their first allegiance was to God or to Christ rather than to the state. Their citizenship was in heaven rather than in the Roman world, they asserted, and they insisted on holding their meetings in spite of the fact that the government had pronounced them illegal. They looked for the imminent end of the world and the downfall of the empire.

In the second place, because of their refusal to participate in much of the social life of the day, they were regarded as dangerously antisocial and even nihilistic.

They despise the temples as dead-houses [complained one pagan], they reject the gods, they laugh at sacred things; wretched, they pity, if they are allowed, the priests; half naked themselves, they despise honours and purple robes.¹⁴

You do not visit exhibitions [he continued]; you have no concern in public displays; you reject the public banquets, and abhor the sacred contests. . . . You do not wreath your heads with flowers; you do not grace your bodies with [perfumes]; you reserve unguents for funeral rites; you even refuse garlands to your sepulchres — pallid, trembling beings, worthy of the pity even of our gods!¹⁵

Then Christianity interfered with the normal relationships of life. Wives, daughters, and sons on becoming Christian frequently refused any longer to associate with their pagan relatives. The daughter of pagan parents, on becoming Christian, often rejected the marriage her parents had arranged for her, and the son the profession his father had chosen for him. Because of this general attitude toward pagan society, the name "Christian" became a term of reproach.

"A good man," says one, "is Gaius Seius, only that he is a Christian." So another, "I am astonished that a wise man like Lucius should have suddenly become a Christian." . . . "What a woman she was! how wanton! how gay! What a youth he was! how profligate! how libidinous! — they have become Christians."¹⁶

For these reasons Christians were persecuted by the Roman government, which long regarded the very profession of Christianity as a crime worthy of death. The severity of these persecutions, however, has frequently been exaggerated; for the most part they were merely sporadic and local. But there were two serious attempts on the part of the authorities to stamp out Christianity: the one under the Emperor Decius, in the middle of the third century, and the other at the beginning of the fourth, under Diocletian and Galerius. The failure of both these persecutions showed that

Christianity had gained a firm hold of the empire. Accordingly, in 311 Galerius issued an edict of toleration, and in 313, by the Edict of Milan, Constantine placed Christianity on an equal footing with paganism.

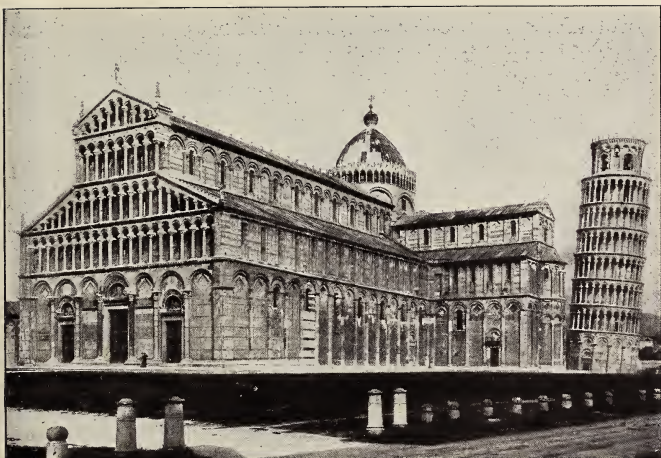
Not content with this, Constantine issued edict after edict conferring special privileges upon Christians. Their clergy were exempted from all political duties and taxes, and were given the right to manumit slaves. The church was empowered to receive bequests, and ecclesiastical courts were established, — two provisions that were of momentous significance for medieval Christianity. Sunday was made a legal holiday, and churches were built at government expense. Constantine professed Christianity himself and recommended his subjects to do likewise, although he himself was not baptized until on his deathbed. It seems probable that in embracing the new religion Constantine was actuated by political motives rather than by religious conviction. A statesman of a high order, he perceived that, since all attempts to stamp out Christianity had failed, it might be made a bulwark to the waning imperial power.

The Effect of the Triumph of Christianity. This success had an important effect. When Christianity entered the Roman world it did so with the claim that it alone possessed the truth and the way of salvation. Such a presumptuous assertion on the part of a religion that originated in an obscure part of the empire, among the despised Jews, and that drew its followers almost entirely from the lowest classes in society, seemed ridiculous. Yet persecution had failed to stamp out the new creed. Was this not a vindication of the truth of its claims? Because of the very nature of Christianity — its exclusiveness and its intolerance of pagan worship — the logical outcome of its victory was that it should become the sole religion of the empire and that all others should be repressed.

This was the policy pursued under the sons of Constan-

tine, who were pronouncedly hostile to paganism. They passed laws commanding that the temples be closed and pagan sacrifices discontinued. Some of the temples were bestowed upon the Christians. This repressive policy was interrupted by the pagan reaction under Julian, called the Apostate (361-363), and by the mild rule of Valentinian and Valens. But under Gratian and Theodosius at the close of the century, paganism was once more placed under the ban. Gratian, in 375, refused the title and robe of *pontifex maximus*, declaring them unfit for a Christian. The statue of Victory was removed from the Senate House, and apostasy from Christianity was made a legal offense. Then, in 391, two decrees were issued prohibiting sacrifices and the visiting of shrines, and declaring the temples closed. An edict of 407 decreed that churches of heretics were to be appropriated by the Catholics, that temples and temple revenues were to be given to the state, and that images and altars were to be torn down. These laws were apparently not well enforced, for pagan worship still continued; but by the middle of the fifth century, paganism was ruthlessly suppressed, and all persons were compelled to become members of the orthodox Catholic Church.

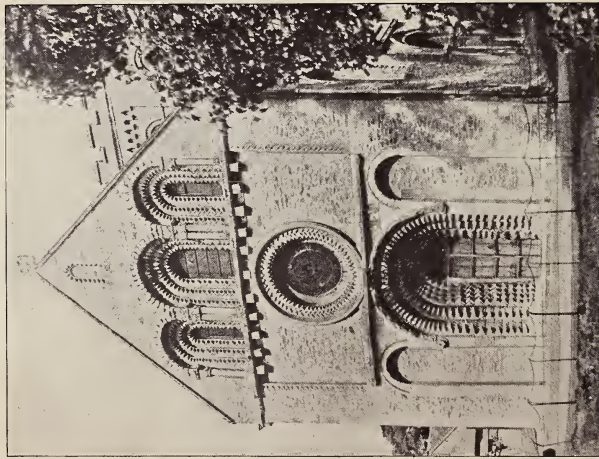
Development of the Organization of the Church. In the period preceding and following the establishment of Christianity as a legal religion the church was undergoing a further development of its organization. The bishop, as we have already seen, was originally the minister in the Christian community. As the membership of that community increased and outgrew the ministrations of one man, new congregations were formed. These new congregations, instead of being placed under bishops, were entrusted to presbyters or priests, under the supervision of the bishop of the mother church, who delegated to them certain functions, such as preaching and performing the sacraments. Rome, by the middle of the third century, had forty such congregations.



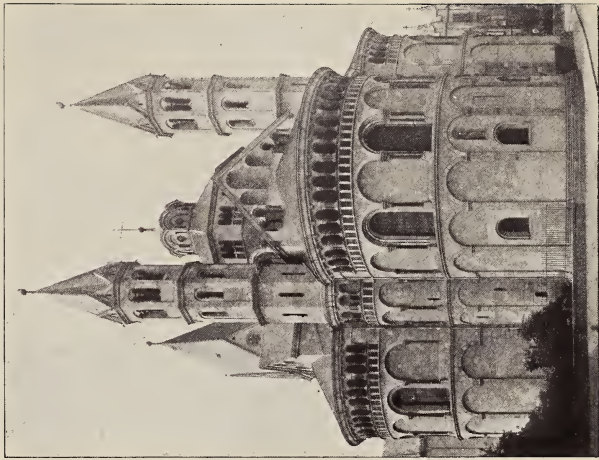
Cathedral of Pisa. Eleventh-Twelfth Century. (See page 557)



St. Mark's. Venice. Twelfth Century. (See page 403)



Parish Church, Iffley.
Norman Architecture



*Church of the Apostles, Cologne, Romanesque
Architecture. Thirteenth Century*

When Christianity spread from the city to the neighboring villages and countryside, the congregations there were likewise entrusted to priests under episcopal supervision. Thus the sphere of jurisdiction of the bishop came to include an entire district, to which was applied the term "diocese," borrowed from Roman administration. Then each congregation, with its members and priest, was called a parish.

Some of these bishops were situated in the capital cities of the Roman provinces, and, inasmuch as their position in the metropolitan city gave them great influence, they were eventually placed over all the bishops of the province and known as metropolitans or, by the sixth century, as archbishops. A still further tendency was to group the provinces together into patriarchates under the supervision of the metropolitan of the most important city, styled the patriarch; but the development of the patriarchate was never completed, the title being confined to the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Rome and Constantinople, by virtue of their positions as capital cities, took precedence over all others.

Another feature of the ecclesiastical organization was the synod, or council, a meeting of the clergy of a particular territory to discuss matters of discipline or doctrine. There were three types of councils: provincial, patriarchal, and ecumenical, or universal. These councils, especially the ecumenical, such as that of Nicaea, tended to give a feeling of unity to the entire Christian world.

This development was accompanied by an increase in the ranks of the clergy. Bishops, priests, and deacons who supervised the charity of the church constituted the major orders. Subdeacons, who were the assistants of the deacons; acolytes, who were the personal attendants of the bishops; exorcists, who were entrusted with the care of those possessed with an evil spirit, whom we should call mentally deranged; readers or lectors, who read the Scriptures at the services; and janitors or doorkeepers, who looked after the church

buildings — these constituted the minor orders. Inasmuch as married life was assumed to be inconsistent with a life of prayer and sacrifice at the altar, the idea of celibacy of the clergy gradually developed. Bishops, priests, and deacons were all forbidden (at least in the West) to marry.

In this highly developed organization we are to find one of the major reasons why the church survived the shock of the barbarian invasions and the breakup of the Western Empire.

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CHAPTER IV

The Germanic Invasions

IN SPITE of the symptoms of decline apparent in Roman civilization during the third and fourth centuries, there seems to have been no good reason why the Roman Empire might not have continued to drag on a precarious existence had it not been still further disorganized by the Germanic invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries. Throughout its history the empire had been repeatedly in conflict with the alien hordes outside its frontiers, especially with those beyond the Rhine and Danube rivers. As long as the economic and military strength of Rome was sufficient to maintain those lines intact, all was well; but when, through internal weakness, the empire could no longer repel the invaders, collapse was bound to occur. This happened in the latter part of the fourth century.

The Goths. Long before the dawn of the Christian Era the territory east of the Rhine and north of the Danube was subject to successive waves of migration by Germanic peoples whose original homeland seems to have been the Scandinavian peninsula and the shores of the Baltic Sea. These people had overrun Gaul and subdued the Celtic population there before the Roman conquest, and late in the second century B.C., under the name of Cimbri, had menaced Italy with invasion. To prevent such invasions the Roman Empire had settled down to the defense of the Rhine-Danube frontier. Out of this great welter of tribes that appear and frequently disappear, we can single out certain movements that are important in later history.

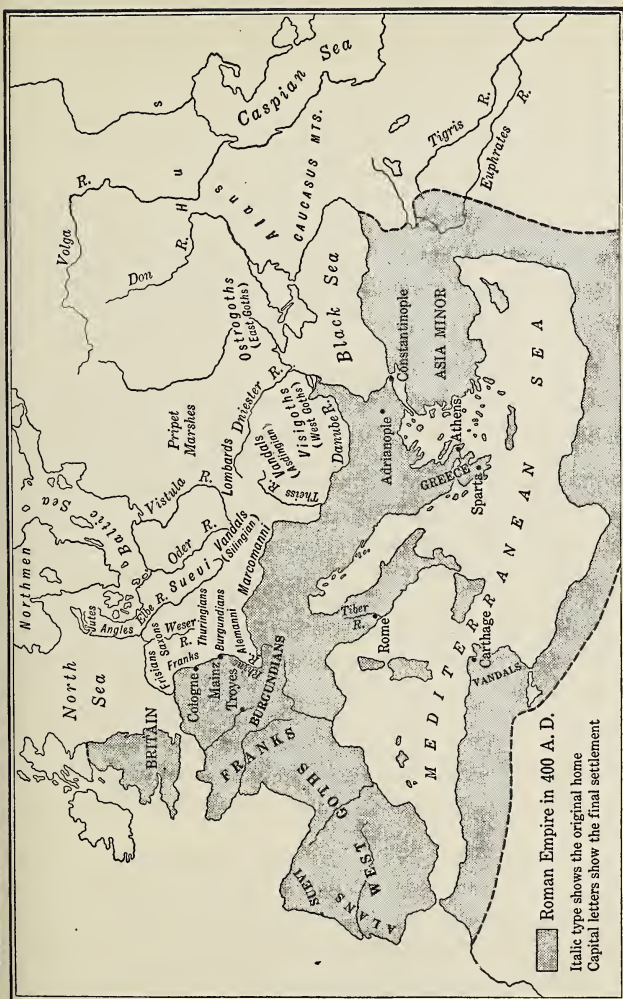
By the close of the second century A.D. and the early part of the third, several groups of these peoples, known as Goths, were migrating from the neighborhood of the Vistula River, where they seem to have settled about 150 A.D., and were occupying the steppes of the Ukraine north of the Black Sea. It was these people who were ravaging the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece during the period of anarchy in the third century. Shortly after their settlement here they divided into two groups, those in the west being known as *Tervingi*, "the inhabitants of the forest regions," later the Visigoths (or West Goths), and those in the east as the *Greutungi*, "inhabitants of the steppes," or Ostrogoths (East Goths). The Visigoths and the Ostrogoths were separated from each other by the Dniester River. The former occupied the province of Dacia, which Hadrian had incorporated into the empire in 107 A.D. Thus was formed a vast Gothic empire extending from the Theiss, a tributary of the Danube, on the west to the Don on the east, and from the Black Sea to the marshes of the Pripet.

Conversion of the Visigoths. The Visigoths, by virtue of their contact with the Eastern Roman Empire, in the fourth century were converted to Christianity through the activity of Arian missionaries, the leader of whom was Ulfilas, the "Apostle of the Goths," who was himself of Gothic or part-Gothic extraction. About 341 A.D. he was consecrated bishop by Eusebius of Nicomedia, the famous Arian leader who was then patriarch of Constantinople. In order to further his work he undertook the translation of the Bible into Gothic, for which he had to create an alphabet, as the art of writing was unknown amongst the Goths. Ulfilas, however, omitted the books of Kings from his translation, as he considered his people were already warlike enough. Hence it was that when the Visigoths entered the empire they were Christian, though of the Arian persuasion. They thus gave new life to Arianism within the Roman provinces of the West.

The Vandals, Suevi, and Lombards. Another group of Teutons that were working their way southward were the Vandals, a vast agglomeration of tribes who, following the river Oder, had, by the second century A.D., reached Silesia and Moravia. By the third century one group of them, the Asdingian Vandals, had occupied the upper Danube near the river Theiss, while the other, the Silingian Vandals, had pushed through the Bohemian Forest into Franconia and Bavaria. Along the upper Danube, opposite the Roman provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, were the Marcomanni, later known as Bavarians. They were notorious for their terrible pillaging. North of the Marcomanni, in turn, and between the Weser and the Elbe, were the Thuringians; and, east of the Elbe, the Suevi. South of the Suevi and occupying the upper course of the Oder were the Lombards, who were to be the last of the invaders of Italy.

The Germans along the Rhine. The Rhine frontier as well as the Danube had, by the third century A.D., been lined with definite Germanic groups. The most important of these were the Franks (the name probably means either "vagabond" or "brave"), a federation of related tribes who, early in the third century, had occupied the right bank from the North Sea to Mainz. Soon two groups of these people began to be distinguished: those opposite Cologne, Bonn, and Neuss, known as the *Ripuarrians*, or "riverains"; and those at the mouth of the river, known as the *Salians*, or "maritimers." Early in the fourth century the Salians had occupied the islands of Zeeland and the adjoining mainland, whence the Emperor Julian had vainly striven to expel them. They were known for their perfidy, their bravery, and their refusal to accept defeat.

South of the Franks and occupying the territory between the river Main and the Danube were the Alemanni, who in the course of the first and second centuries had slowly been advancing from Brandenburg to the Elbe and then from the



THE BARBARIAN WORLD

Elbe to the Rhine. By 275 A.D. they had compelled the Romans to abandon the so-called *agri decumates*, the triangular territory between the Rhine and the Danube, whence they made repeated incursions into the empire. They were one of the groups that, by the middle of the fourth century, caused most alarm in Gaul.

Between the Franks and the Alemanni were the Burgundians, who had followed the latter from beyond the Oder, where Pliny the Elder tells us they were living in his day. By the close of the fourth century they had established themselves in the valley of the lower Main and along the Rhine just above Mainz, where they formed one of the most numerous of the barbarian groups.

In the rear of these peoples who had settled along the frontier of the empire were other pagan tribes who later were also to play an important role in European history. North of the Rhine and south of the Ems, in what is now Holland, were the Frisians, who, however, scarcely played any part in the invasions of the fourth century. East of the Frisians, occupying the valley of the Weser, were the Saxons, whom the Emperor Julian regarded as the most warlike of the Germans. We shall meet them later in the time of Charlemagne. The Danish peninsula was occupied by the Angles and Jutes, and was just being invaded by the Danes, who were also settling in the adjoining islands and in the southern part of Scandinavia. Farther north in Scandinavia there vegetated the Northmen, who were to invade Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. Beyond the Elbe and along the Baltic were vast hordes of Slavic peoples.

These various groups of Germanic peoples doubtless differed from one another in many respects; yet they had enough in common to permit us to apply to them the one general description. Our sources of information concerning them are very meager, consisting of such works as the *Germania* of Tacitus, the *Getica* of Jordanes, the findings of archaeology, and notices in various chroniclers.

Characteristics of the Germans. The outstanding features of these Germanic peoples were their large stature, their muscular frames, their long heads, their yellow or reddish hair, and their stern blue eyes. Tacitus tells us that they were easily overcome by thirst and heat, but inured by their environment to endure cold and hunger. Their dress frequently consisted of the skins of animals, but woolen and linen garments were also used, especially the cloak or coat and long trousers, the wearing of which became fashionable in later Roman society. Their dwellings, especially in winter, were often nothing more than caves or burrows in the earth, covered with turf roofs. In summer flimsy shelters were constructed of wattled work consisting of twigs or flexible branches woven together. Naturally they had not developed towns or cities, but villages were common. Warfare was their chief occupation, care of the flocks and labor in the fields being left to slaves and women. When not engaged in strife, the warriors passed their time loitering by the fire, engaging in the chase, eating and drinking, or gambling with dice, in which they staked not only their possessions but sometimes also their liberty. Their fare was of the simplest kind, consisting of pork, horseflesh, or the products of the chase, — probably frequently salted, — cheese, and some form of wheaten or rye cakes, which they washed down with potations of liquor made from barley or wheat. When they dwelt by the sea, as did the Frisians, Saxons, and Scandinavians, fish was a staple article of food. Neither fruits nor vegetables were extensively known or cultivated.

Social Organization. Crude and primitive though their civilization may have been, the Germans were far from being savages, as their social organization shows. Monogamy was the general rule, though polygamy seems to have been occasionally practiced. The marriage tie was highly respected, and adultery severely punished. In the family the husband and father was absolute: he possessed the right to punish

his wife (whom he had obtained by purchase) for her misdemeanors, and to expose his children, to sell them into slavery, or even to punish them with death if they did wrong. A larger social unit than the family was the *sib*, composed of all the relatives who were bound to wreak vengeance upon anyone who had injured one of its members.

✓ *Classes in German Society.* Distinction between the classes existed among the Germans as well as among the Romans. At the bottom of the scale were the slaves, who, Tacitus tells us, differed from the slaves in the Roman Empire in that each, instead of being a chattel, had his own dwelling and his own land to till, for which he paid his master in kind. Thus he resembled the medieval serf rather than his Roman counterpart; but his master held the right to fetter him, to sell him, to chastise or kill him, although such harsh treatment, Tacitus says, was less frequent than in Roman society. Captives in war or debtors were made slaves, and it was possible to gamble away freedom or to lose it by marrying into the servile class. Slaves were known by their close-cropped hair or by mutilations of the face, such as the slit nose. Emancipation from slavery was possible, but the lot of the freedman was scarcely better than that of the slave.

Above the slaves and freedman were the freemen, who were born of free parents, but among whom there were inequalities, such as those created by wealth or birth. The man who possessed many acres, a multitude of slaves, or large flocks and herds was more highly regarded in Germanic society than his poorer neighbor. Higher still in the social scale was the noble, whose birth gave him a position of pre-eminence above his fellows. Among the Frisians the murder of a noble called for the payment of double the *werigild* ¹ of a plain freeman. The nobility doubtless consisted of the oldest families, and it was from them that many of the leaders were chosen. Nevertheless, freemen were frequently elected leaders as well as nobles, and indeed the latter, because of

wars and internal dissensions, tended to disappear. When the Germans entered the empire, the nobles seem to have been few in numbers.

Commerce and Industry. Commerce was not unknown among the Germans. The evidence shows that a series of important towns — such as Augsburg and Regensburg, along the frontier — flourished by reason of their trade with the barbarians. The Roman authorities permitted the establishment of markets on the frontier at stated intervals and places. Here hides, furs, cattle, slaves, smoked meat, and amber from the shores of the Baltic were exchanged for Roman commodities, especially wine. Industry was not highly developed; yet salt pits and iron mines were worked in a rude sort of way. The grinding of grain in hand mills and the weaving of wool and flax were done in the household by women or slaves. Frisian cloth and the linens of Thuringia seem to have been manufactured in sufficient quantities for export. Coarse pottery was made, and some artistic work in bronze and gold was attempted; but the manufacture of metal articles had developed so slightly that the use of stone tools and weapons was not unknown.² Indeed, the Iron Age in northern Europe did not begin until 500 B. C.

Agriculture. Stock-raising and farming were the basic industries. Tacitus tells us that wealth consisted chiefly in flocks and herds, and the indications are that by his time the Germans had just completed the transition from the pastoral to the agricultural stage.³ Drove of horses, herds of horned cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats were pastured on the meadows and on the outskirts of the forests. The method of cultivating the soil remained very primitive. When the Germans first formed regular agricultural settlements, they kept one set of fields for grazing and another for field crops; but they soon discovered that such a system led to exhaustion of the soil, and they developed the practice of allowing

half the arable land to lie fallow each year, and alternating field and fallows.⁴ At best they obtained very slight yields of wheat, rye, oats, barley, beans, lentils, and flax, tilling their fields with wooden plows and hoes, without the use of manure. The arable land was divided into strips, and each holding consisted of a number of such strips situated in different places. Inasmuch as the greater part of central and northern Europe still consisted of huge forests and swamps that comprised four fifths of the soil, agriculture was incapable of sustaining a large population. Consequently famines frequently decimated the population and drove them to the warpath.

The Village. For the most part the Germans lived in villages, which seem to have dated from primitive times, although the isolated homestead was not unknown. From each village radiated roads which led to the outlying fields where lay the strips of land that the peasant cultivated. Villages were mostly communities of unfree persons, and it has been estimated that each village had holdings for from ten to forty families. Originally the village may have been nothing more than a free family surrounded by its numerous slaves and ruled over by the head of the family.

✓ *Political Organization.* The villages were grouped together into larger units, — cantons or *pagi*, — which are probably to be identified with the “hundreds,” so called because each one was capable of arming a hundred warriors. Each Germanic state (*civitas*, as Tacitus calls it), tribe, or group accordingly consisted of a number of these cantons. Each tribe was led by a chief or king. Sometimes a number of tribes allied themselves for a specific purpose, usually of a warlike nature, under a chosen leader or king. That purpose achieved, the alliance might be dissolved, though it often became permanent. Both chiefs and kings were elected; but the kingship tended to be monopolized by one family, which

was gradually regarded as a sacred race. Authority, however, resided in the assembly rather than in the king, who might be deposed or even slain if he acted contrary to the will of the people or if, under his rule, some great disaster occurred. Each state or tribe also had its assembly, which each freeman was privileged to attend. Meetings were held at either the new or the full moon and in the open, near some sacred tree or stream.⁵ The freemen attended fully armed, for it was only thus that Germans transacted either public or private business, and signified their assent by brandishing their javelins. No law could be passed and no war undertaken without the consent of this assembly, which acted also in a judicial capacity. Accusations were made before it and sentences were pronounced against the offender, penalties being proportioned to the nature of the crime.

For treason and desertion [says Tacitus], the sentence is to be hanged on a tree; the coward, and such as are guilty of unnatural practices, are plunged under a hurdle into bogs and fens. . . . He who is convicted of transgressions of an inferior nature pays a mulct of horses, or of cattle.⁶

The most important aspect of this assembly, however, was its elective function; for it had the privilege of electing the king, the chiefs, and the judges of the cantons and villages. These ideas of an elective kingship and of an assembly of freemen were to find their perpetuation in later national institutions, such as those of England.

One peculiarity of German political ideas was their criminal procedure. To prove that he was innocent of a crime of which he was accused, a man might get a certain number of his neighbors (frequently twelve) to swear that they believed he was telling the truth when he protested his innocence. These men were called *compurgators*, and the custom *compurgation*.

Another method of proving innocence or guilt was the *ordeal*, which was used when trial by compurgation was un-

satisfactory. The accused was required to carry a hot iron or plunge his hand into boiling water. If uninjured, his innocence was established, the theory being that divine intervention would protect truth and innocence. A variation of the ordeal was to throw the accused, bound hand and foot, into a stream. If he floated, he was guilty, for the water would not receive him; if innocent, he would drown. In practice this ordeal did not go to such extremes. Trial by battle was also employed to determine innocence or guilt, for the Germans believed that the gods would give victory to the innocent.

Still another peculiarity of Germanic law was its recognition of each individual's right to deal with those who had done him wrong. Primitive society employed the *lex talionis*: if a man put out another's eye or cut off his hand, he also was to lose his eye or hand. A more advanced stage of society, such as that of the Germans, permitted the payment of a compensation, or *wergild*, for such injury; and a regular tariff was drawn up for various injuries. Of course, the wergild of a freeman or noble was greater than that of a slave. It was the duty of the wronged man or his family to seek vengeance; part of the wergild went to the injured or to his family and part to the king or state. This practice led naturally to the rise of feuds between families and to private warfare that was to be one of the characteristics of feudalism.

Such, in brief, were the people who lay outside the Rhine and Danube frontiers of the Roman Empire and who, between the fourth and sixth centuries, because of its internal weakness, succeeded in invading the empire in large numbers. It will be worth our while to pause for a moment to consider the nature of these invasions.

Nature of the Germanic Invasions. The Germans, as a rule, were not actuated by any hatred of Rome, of Roman institutions, or of the people within the empire. The evidence shows that they were great admirers of Roman civilization.

Jordanes, in his *Gothic History*, tells us that in 380 Theodosius invited Athanaric, king of the Visigoths, to visit him in Constantinople.

Athanaric very gladly consented and as he entered the royal city exclaimed in wonder, "Lo, now I see what I have often heard of with unbelieving ears," meaning the great and famous city. Turning his eyes hither and thither, he marveled as he beheld the situation of the city, the coming and going of the ships, the splendid walls, and the people of divers nations gathered like a flood of waters streaming from different regions into one basin. So, too, when he saw the army in array, he said, "Truly the emperor is a god on earth, and whoso raises a hand against him is guilty of his own blood."⁷

Far from being hostile to Rome, many of the barbarian chiefs were anxious to serve under Roman standards and were proud of the official positions in the army or state that were given them. Moreover, as we have already observed, the emperors were more and more relying upon barbarian soldiers to man the army. Marcus Aurelius employed them by thousands, with the result that many Romans refused to serve in the "barbarian legions." Probus, in the third century, enrolled some sixteen thousand, scattering them in the different provinces and mingling them with other soldiers; for, he said, it is not necessary that the debt of Rome to the barbarians should be apparent. It was by barbarian legions that, in 360, Julian the Apostate was proclaimed emperor, the soldiers raising him on their shields in the Germanic fashion. German officers also held high command in the Roman army, some of them, such as Stilicho, the general of Theodosius, attaining great distinction. Indeed, by the close of the fourth century the army was largely composed of barbarians.

German Settlers: the Foederati. Besides the Germans who served in the Roman army, multitudes had been for a long time infiltrating into the empire as settlers. Even as early as

the first century the emperors had been accustomed to grant groups of Germans the right to settle within the empire. With the decline in population they were welcomed as *coloni* to till the fields or as settlers to occupy abandoned areas of the provinces. Probus settled one hundred thousand in Thrace. Contemporary writers praise this policy of thus repopulating the empire.

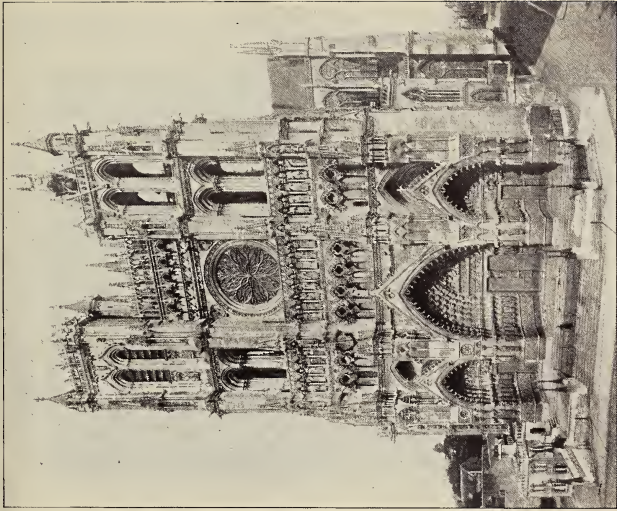
Thanks to you, Maximian Augustus [wrote a panegyrist], the Frank, subject to our laws, cultivates the fields abandoned by the Nervians and the Trevirians; today, thanks to you, Constantius Caesar, all the territory around Amiens, Beauvais, Troyes, and Langres that has remained untilled now blossoms under the care of a barbarian cultivator.⁸

Indeed, by the fourth century whole tribes were settled in the border provinces as *foederati*, to whom were assigned lands on condition that in the event of war they would submit to military service.

Summary of the Causes of the Invasions. In one sense, therefore, the invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries were simply a more wholesale continuation of a movement that had been going on for centuries. Impelled by famine which their rudimentary methods of agriculture frequently caused, the Germanic tribes had been almost constantly seeking refuge within the empire. Some were attracted by the high civilization of the imperial provinces to the south, while others were actuated merely by the love of plunder and the prospect of booty that the wealthy cities of the empire offered. The great invasions of the fifth century, however, seem to have had their immediate cause in a new restlessness on the part of the Germanic tribes which was created primarily by the westward movement of an Asiatic people, the Huns. The pressure which these newcomers exerted on the tribes along the Danube was responsible for their renewed attacks on the frontiers, the defenses of which now collapsed from one end to the other. The provinces were invaded by



Chartres Cathedral. Twelfth Century. (See page 560)



Amiens Cathedral. Thirteenth Century. (See page 560)



Bronze Statuette of Charlemagne. Ninth-Tenth Century. Now in Carnavalet Museum



Methuseiah. Twelfth-Century Window. Canterbury Cathedral

whole tribes, which the empire was no longer in a position to repel as it had succeeded in doing in the crisis of the third century.

The Huns. In the middle of the fourth century central Asia was experiencing a series of tribal movements similar to those in progress in Europe. As a result one group of these Asiatic hordes was obliged to move westward, seeking escape from their pursuers, the Jouan-Jouan. These were the Hiung-Nu of Chinese annals, or Huns, a Ural-Altaic race, akin to the Mongols and Turks, and quite different in appearance and characteristics from the Germans. Our earliest description of them comes from the Roman chronicler Amianus Marcellinus. They were a short, thick-set, swarthy race, with strong limbs and thick necks, who clad themselves in garments made of linen or rat skin, which they never changed until compelled by filth and decay. Their appearance was made the more terrible by the practice of scarring the cheeks of boys so that they should grow up beardless. Their habits were as savage as their appearance. Inured to spending their lives on horseback, they fed on the uncooked flesh of beasts of prey or on roots and herbs that they chanced to find. Not only were they without settled habitation, but they disliked houses, frequently sleeping on horseback, and were trained from infancy to endure extremes of cold as well as hunger and thirst.⁹ So fearful was the appearance of the Huns to Romans and Germans alike that they could account for their origin only on the assumption that they sprang, as Jordanes tells us, from demons.

The Visigoths within the Empire. The first to feel the shock of the Hunnish invaders as they pressed westward around the north of the Caspian Sea were the Alans, an Iranian nomadic people who dwelt north of the Caucasus Mountains. They were defeated, and incorporated into the army of the Asiatic hordes. The Ostrogoths, whom we have

seen settled north of the Black Sea, were the next people who lay in the path of the advancing Huns. In spite of the stout resistance which they offered, they were unable to halt the invaders. Terrified by the fate of the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths along the Danube, knowing that their turn would be next, sent an embassy to the Emperor Valens imploring him to save them from starvation and Hunnish oppression by permitting them to cross the Danube and settle in Moesia as *foederati*. To this request Valens, who, like the Visigoths, was an Arian, acceded provided they lay down their arms. Accordingly, in the spring of 376, the first group of Visigoths, consisting of some thirty-five or forty thousand people, crossed the Danube into what is now the eastern part of Bulgaria. They were immediately followed by thousands of others whom the Roman authorities seemed powerless to exclude.

Scarcely had the Goths crossed the Danube when they broke into revolt. The Roman authorities had made no provision for feeding the immigrants, who seem to have been exploited by rapacious officials. In the year 377 they wandered through Moesia and Macedonia, plundering as they went. Attempting to oppose them the Emperor Valens was defeated and killed at the battle of Adrianople, August 9, 378. The following year, however, the Visigoths were checked by the young Emperor Theodosius, who permitted them to remain in Moesia as *foederati*. But after the death of Theodosius (395), whose policy toward them had been conciliatory and friendly, they again took up their wandering and marauding, under the leadership of a newly elected king, Alaric, who was perhaps disappointed at not receiving some imperial appointment. Failing to take the strongly fortified city of Constantinople, they passed through Macedonia and Thessaly into the southern part of the peninsula and captured Athens, Corinth, and Sparta, seizing much booty and taking many prisoners, whom they sold into slavery. Not until 397 were their plunderings brought to an end by the

bestowal upon them of Dalmatia, on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. This gave Alaric a favorable position from which to menace Italy.

The Sack of Rome (410). After repeatedly devastating the northern part of the peninsula and twice exacting a heavy ransom from the Romans, he finally captured Rome, in 410, and subjected it to the horrors of a sack. The pagans, in dismay, attributed this disaster to the forsaking of the old gods and the adoption of Christianity; but Augustine of Hippo came to the rescue with his *City of God*, in which he sought to show that equally great calamities had befallen the Roman people under the rule of paganism. This theme was developed at Augustine's suggestion by his Spanish disciple Orosius (fl. 415), in the latter's *History against the Pagans*, which became for the Middle Ages the standard history of antiquity.

This sack of Rome did Alaric little good. He had gained no new territories, and his followers soon began to feel the pinch of famine. The question of food supply was made the more serious by the devastation which his troops had wrought in northern Italy, and Alaric now made the heroic resolve to cross over and seize North Africa, with its abundant supplies of wheat. But the ships which he had assembled at Rhegium, entrusted to inexperienced hands, were destroyed by a storm, and Alaric was obliged to retrace his steps. Soon afterwards he died of a fever at Cosenza, in Calabria, and his followers buried him in the bed of the river Busento, its waters having been temporarily diverted for the purpose. Under the leadership of Alaric's brother-in-law, Ataulf, who was now elected king, the Goths crossed the Alps (412) and settled in Gaul as *foederati*.

Invasion of the Rhine Frontier. In the meantime the defenses of the Rhine frontier, weakened by the withdrawal of troops to protect Italy against the Visigoths, collapsed, and

Gaul was overrun by barbarian groups. The first of these were the Vandals and the Suevi, who were accompanied by the Alans. In 406 they crossed the Rhine near its junction with the Main. Their first exploit was the plundering of Mainz and the massacre of many of its inhabitants, who had taken refuge in a church. From the Rhine they began a destructive march to the northwest, sacking and burning Treves and plundering Amiens, Reims, Arras, and Tournai. Before reaching Boulogne they turned southward, crossed the Seine and the Loire, and carried devastation to the Pyrenees. Toulouse was one of the few towns that could withstand their onslaughts. After three years of such depredations in Gaul, being hard pressed by the usurper Constantine, they crossed the Pyrenees and subjected the Iberian Peninsula to similar treatment. At length, feeling the pressing need of new supplies, they began negotiations with the Roman authorities. In a treaty of 411 they were recognized as *foederati* and given lands and wheat. They then settled down, apparently with the intention of establishing themselves permanently in the various provinces of Spain, the Asdingian Vandals and the Suevi in Galicia (northwest), the Silingian Vandals in the south, and the Alans in the west.

From Spain, however, the Vandals were dislodged by the Visigoths, who, after establishing themselves in southern Gaul, spread into Spain. Under the leadership of Geiseric, or Genseric, king of the Asdingians, the Vandals seized Roman ships and in 429 crossed the strait later known as Gibraltar. The governor of the province of Africa, Count Boniface, was unable to stop them, and by 435 they had conquered Numidia. A few years later they also captured the province of Africa and its capital, Carthage. This was a serious blow to Rome, for it was dependent upon African wheat. Thus was established the Vandal kingdom of Africa, which lasted until overthrown by Justinian in the sixth century.

The Vandals and Suevi were followed across the Rhine

by the Burgundians, who in 413 established themselves on the left bank. In the middle of the century (443) the Roman general Aëtius allowed them to settle as *foederati* in Savoy and the valley of the Rhône.

Early in the fifth century the Franks, from their settlements in Zeeland and the adjoining territory, crossed the Scheldt and occupied the territory later known as Flanders. All attempts to drive them back were futile, and the Roman authorities were obliged to recognize them as *foederati*. By c. 430 their dominion extended to the Somme.

The Huns in Europe. After their defeat of the Ostrogoths and other Germanic tribes in eastern Europe, the Huns continued their westward march and established themselves in the valley of the Danube. At the opening of the fifth century their empire covered Europe from the Caucasus to the Elbe and from the Danube to the Baltic. "War and pillage," says Halphen, constituted "the great national industry" of the Huns.¹⁰ From their headquarters in the valley of the Danube the Huns under Attila (c. 445-453), known because of his savage cruelty as the "Scourge of God," menaced not only the Eastern Empire but Italy and the West. Pushing westward with a huge army Attila crossed the Rhine in 451 and carried his depredations into Gaul. With the aid of the Visigoths, Aëtius inflicted a crushing defeat upon them near Troyes, and Attila hastily recrossed the Rhine in retreat toward Hungary. A few months later he invaded Italy and destroyed the city of Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic. Intending to march on Rome, he was turned aside from his purpose by a deputation of Romans headed by Pope Leo I, who doubtless made territorial concessions to him.¹¹ The following year (453) Attila died, and his empire, for lack of a capable leader, fell to pieces.

The Western Empire, unable to survive the social and political upheaval caused by the barbarian invasions, collapsed, and on its soil arose a series of barbarian kingdoms.

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CHAPTER V

Aspects of Medievalism

THE fourth and fifth centuries witnessed the rise of certain institutions, ideas, and practices that were to become so influential during the following centuries that they may be called aspects of medievalism. These were monasticism, Augustinianism, the papacy, and the veneration of the saints.

I. THE RISE OF MONASTICISM

Monasticism was the logical outcome of early Christian asceticism under the influence of its environment. Jesus himself inculcated renunciation in such sayings as these: "He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it."¹ Paul extolled celibacy as a higher form of life than the married state. The early Christian church possessed a strong puritanical tendency, regarding its members as "saints" and ejecting all those who sinned after baptism. But by the third century the high disciplinary standards of the church had been largely relaxed. The church claimed that, instead of excluding sinners, it had the right to forgive them if they manifested proper penitence. Then, when Christianity became the state religion, the puritans regarded with horror the entrance into the church of pagans in wholesale numbers. They felt that the church had become too worldly and that there was nothing left for them to do but to retire to the wilderness. Monasticism was a puritanical and lay protest against the worldliness of the church.

Although monasticism was primarily the development of ascetic tendencies latent within Christianity itself, it was doubtless greatly influenced by external forces. A life of renunciation was not peculiar to Christianity. The Oriental religions had long inculcated self-denial and asceticism. In Egypt, where Christian monasticism arose, there were monks of Serapis whose mode of life was not greatly different from that of the later Christian monks. The Jews had their ascetics in the Essenes. Even the philosophy of the third century, as we have already seen, had become ascetic. Neoplatonism was proclaiming the unreality of the visible world and the sole reality of the spirit. A pessimistic conception of human nature that regarded the flesh as inherently evil and at enmity with the spirit was widespread. In addition, the economic oppression and the civil wars of the third century had fostered a feeling of despair.

The Early Hermits. The earliest Christian renunciants were hermits, or anchorites, and first appeared, about the middle of the third century, in Egypt, where the life of the solitary was easily sustained. Saint Anthony, whose life was written by Athanasius, was the earliest hermit of whom we have any clear knowledge. Renouncing his wealth he retired to the wilderness, and there his half-starved body made him a fit subject for hallucination. The struggles with the devil which his biographer records were very real to him, but are readily explainable by modern physiology and psychology. During the latter part of the third and early part of the fourth century the number of anchorites became increasingly large, and the means which they took to mortify the flesh exceedingly strange. "Hideous maceration of the body" was considered "the highest proof of excellence." Bodily cleanliness, perhaps in reaction against the promiscuity of the public baths in the great cities, was regarded as catering to sinful flesh, and filth as a sign of holiness. One saint for fifty years refused to wash his face, and of him his biographer

somewhat strangely remarks, "In his face was reflected the purity of his soul." We are told that one anchorite lived for thirty years on nothing but a small portion of barley bread and muddy water each day, and that another lived in a hole and never ate more than five figs for his daily repast. Saint Macarius of Alexandria, it is said, slept for six months in a swamp, exposing his naked body to the stings of venomous insects. Most eccentric of all, however, were the pillar saints. Of these the most famous was Saint Simeon Stylites, who is said to have spent thirty years on top of a pillar, sixty feet high, where the standing and sitting postures alone were possible.²

Coenobitism. While the life of the hermit was assuming such fantastic forms, a new departure in the history of Christian renunciation was taken in the foundation of the *coenobitic*, or communal, life. Pachomius (c. 292-346), a discharged soldier who had taken up the hermit life in the ruins of a temple of Serapis at Tabennîsî, on the Nile, discovered that the life of the hermit was not conducive to holiness, and that "to save souls you must bring them together."³ Accordingly he organized the first monastery, in which monks lived together under a rule which he prepared. The monks were grouped in cells, with three in each cell; they wore a uniform dress; they were forbidden to recline, and obliged to sleep in a sitting posture; each was to labor according to his strength and to engage in devotions a certain number of times each day.

Monasticism was originally a lay movement, and the church at first seems to have regarded it with a good deal of suspicion. That it was accepted by the church, instead of being denounced as heresy, was due largely to the activity of Basil, bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia (329-379), who had himself been a monk. It was Basil who first introduced the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience and drew up a rule which long directed the movement in the

East. By the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, monasticism was brought into subjection to the church, each monastery being placed under the rule of the bishop in whose diocese it lay.

Transplanting of Monasticism into the West. Originating in the East, monasticism was transplanted into the West in the middle of the fourth century, possibly by Athanasius, who visited Rome during one of his numerous periods of exile from Alexandria. He acquainted wealthy Romans with the lives of Saint Anthony and Pachomius, and his life of the former long set the monastic ideals for the West. The movement became popular among the Roman aristocracy and especially among wealthy matrons, some of whom turned their palaces or country villas into monasteries. Jerome, in his letters, tells us of some of these high-born ladies who were seized with a passion for the life of renunciation. One of them, Melania, he says, rejoiced when her husband and two sons died and she was free to live a cloistered life.

Not a tear fell; she stood immovable, and falling at Christ's feet, as if she were laying hold of him herself, she smiled: "More easily can I serve thee, O Lord, in that thou hast relieved me of so great a burden."⁴

Fostered by the great church fathers Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose of Milan, the movement grew in the early part of the fifth century, and monasteries became numerous in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and North Africa.

Organization of Western Monasticism. The first person to introduce a thoroughgoing system for the regulation of monastic life in the West was John Cassian (c. 360–c. 435), who, after traveling widely in the East and visiting many monastic communities in Egypt, settled at Marseille early in the fifth century. There he founded the two monasteries of St. Victor and St. Mary, which soon housed, it is said, five

thousand monks and nuns. For their instruction and guidance Cassian prepared two works, his *Institutes* and his *Conferences*, or *Collations*, describing in minute detail the monastic life, its ideals, and the dangers to be avoided. "Fastings, vigils, meditation on the Scriptures, self-denial, and the abnegation of all possessions are not perfection, but aids to perfection," he declared.⁵ These works became favorite monastic reading throughout the Middle Ages.

Benedict of Nursia. The great organizer and legislator of monasticism in the West, however, was not Cassian but Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 543). A scion of an old patrician family,

from his very childhood [says his biographer, Gregory the Great] he carried the heart of an old man. His demeanor surpassed his years. He yielded himself to no pleasures, but, living here upon earth, he despised the world and its glory at the very time when he might most freely have enjoyed it.⁶

Sent to Rome to receive an education, he was horrified at the pleasures of society and fled to the country, where he lived the life of a hermit. There he passed through the usual temptations, performed the customary miracles, and became renowned, by reason of his austerities, as a great saint. Multitudes flocked to his retreat to learn from him the proper mode of renunciation. Later he migrated to the south of Rome, and at Monte Cassino, on the site of a shrine of Apollo which he destroyed, he erected a monastery for whose government he prepared his famous Rule, which became the basis of monasticism in the West during the Middle Ages.

The Benedictine Rule. Based upon his own experience as a director of monks, as well as upon his knowledge of monastic history, Benedict's Rule was clear-cut, sane, and temperate in its asceticism, and afforded definite and explicit regulations for the guidance of the monk each hour of the day. Realizing that not all were fitted for the monastic vocation, Benedict

required a period of probation, or novitiate, of a year, that no one might adopt the life of a monk with any illusions. At the end of that time the novice was free to depart if he found the life distasteful. Since extreme abstinence injured the health, regular meals and nourishing food were to be pro-



A MEDIEVAL SCRIBE

Redrawn from a manuscript in the British Museum. (Fourteenth century)

vided, with delicacies for the sick and a more liberal allowance for those who engaged in manual labor. Seven times during the day and night must the monk go to the chapel and there pay his devotions by prayer and the singing of psalms. Perceiving that "idleness is the enemy of the soul," Benedict enjoined that monks should be constantly occupied, either in performing duties around the monastery or in some other useful occupation. By his vow of obedience the monk renounced his own will and promised to obey his superior unquestioningly; by

his vow of poverty he renounced all property, so that he did not even own the clothes that he wore or the utensils with which he worked; by his vow of chastity he severed himself from all family connections.

Cassiodorus (c. 490–c. 585). The contribution of Benedict to Western monasticism was supplemented by Cassiodorus, a wealthy nobleman who spent the greater part of his life as minister of the Ostrogothic ruler Theodoric. In his old age he retired to his native place, Squillace, in Calabria, and there founded a monastery as a refuge of learning in an age that was becoming increasingly barbarous. Here he collected

what must have been for the time an exceedingly large library, consisting of works rescued from the ruins of the libraries of Italy. The most important part of Cassiodorus's monastery was the *scriptorium*, the center of literary activity. The devil, he maintained, should be fought by pen and ink, "for Satan receives as many wounds as the scribe copies words of the Lord."⁷ "Of all the works that can be accomplished by manual labor," he declared, "none pleases me so much as the work of the copyists if only they will copy correctly."

The Contribution of the Monks. For several centuries the monks were the greatest scholars. They possessed the largest libraries and by their copying preserved much of the literature and learning of ancient Rome for posterity. It was a monk, Jerome (c. 340-420), a native of Dalmatia, who became the foremost scholar of the age. After studying at Rome and traveling widely, he settled at Bethlehem, where, in a cave or grotto, he spent the last thirty-four years of his life. Here, surrounded by his books and assisted by scribes, he produced polemical treatises and commentaries, and completed his Latin translation of the Bible. Not only was Jerome a lover of the classics, but he was also a learned Greek and Hebrew scholar. In an age when a knowledge of Greek was declining in the West, he made the Bible available in a Latin translation which all through the Middle Ages remained — and still remains for the Catholic Church — the standard version, the Vulgate. "As a translator he had no peers."⁸ It was his merit to have based his translation of the Old Testament on the Hebrew text, rather than on the Greek translation, the Septuagint, and his version of the New Testament on ancient Greek manuscripts, some of which have since been lost. Although no great thinker, Jerome is rightly considered, along with Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, as one of the four great doctors of the western Catholic Church.

The monks also became great missionaries, and it was through their efforts that the pagans of central and northern Europe were converted to Christianity. Moreover, the monks did much to spread the power of that other great medieval institution, the papacy.

II. AUGUSTINIANISM

The Middle Ages were dominated by Roman Catholicism, and Roman Catholicism was greatly influenced by Augustine (354–430), the greatest of the Latin fathers of the West. A native of North Africa and born almost exactly in the middle of the fourth century, of a devout Christian mother and a pagan father, the youthful Augustine was a very human boy, as we learn from his *Confessions*. He liked to neglect his lessons for play and to steal food from the house or fruit from the neighbor's garden. Although he would not undergo the drudgery necessary to master Greek, he manifested an aptitude for learning and was destined for the profession of rhetorician, as that was one of the surest roads to social distinction and a respectable income. At Carthage, whither he was sent to complete his education, he threw himself into the pleasures of a great city and did many things of which he afterwards repented. After teaching rhetoric at Carthage for a time, he went to Rome and from there to Milan, where he was public professor of rhetoric in the pay of the city. It was here that, largely under the influence of Ambrose, the celebrated bishop of Milan, he became converted to Christianity, which had hitherto made little appeal to him.

On his conversion to Christianity, Augustine left Milan and returned to North Africa, where he became first priest and then bishop of the little seacoast city of Hippo. The see of Hippo was a small and unimportant one, but its bishop now became the great leader of Western Christendom. Not only did he have a commanding influence in his day, but his

thought has been very influential in Christianity ever since. Both Catholics and Protestants are the heirs of Augustine. Not only medieval thinkers but Luther and Calvin as well were largely indebted to him.

Influenced by Neoplatonism as well as by the traditional Christian conceptions, Augustine thought of God in a two-fold sense as absolute Being, apart from whom there can be nothing good, and also as the absolute Will. God created the first man, Adam, a sinless being and endowed him with free will; but Adam had abused this free will and lost it by sinning. As a consequence of the sin, or "fall," of Adam, man became a sinful, mortal being, incapable of anything but evil, and the human race a "mass of perdition." Had God acted strictly in accordance with justice, he would have damned all men to eternal punishment. But because he was gracious as well as just, he had chosen some for eternal salvation; others he had reprobated to eternal damnation. This election of some and reprobation of others was quite arbitrary and independent of any merit on the part of the elect or demerit on the part of the reprobate. Augustine was thus the author of the doctrine of unconditional predestination. Furthermore, Augustine said that upon those predestined to salvation God had bestowed divine grace; that this divine grace was irresistible; and that without it no man could do good. He therefore really made God the author of all the good deeds of the Christian. The reprobate, on the other hand, could do no good; and Augustine went so far as to say that the virtues of the pagans were nothing but "splendid vices."

Augustine's Conception of the Church. But how does man receive this divine grace? Augustine replies, "Through the church." It is therefore only through the church and its sacraments, which are means of grace, that man can be saved or, indeed, be a Christian. In this respect Augustine did but complete the doctrine of the church put forward by Cyprian.

This great institution, outside of which no one can receive grace or salvation, is characterized by four things: unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity. These are the four marks of the true church. No one can be saved who is not within the church, but there may be some within the church who are not elect; and thus Augustine drew a distinction between the "elect," or the "invisible" church, and the visible church which includes all, tares as well as wheat.

Not only does the church possess a monopoly of salvation, but it is the supreme authority also in the intellectual, moral, and political realm. The Christian must accept a thing as true because the church says so. "There is nothing more wholesome in the Catholic Church," says Augustine, "than using authority before argument."⁹ Likewise the Christian must accept as good what the church approves and condemn as bad what it condemns. The church is thus infallible. Unfortunately, Augustine did not say where infallibility resides within the church, and consequently he left the way open for a struggle within the church such as that between the Popes and the councils in the later Middle Ages.

Augustine went still further and identified the church with the kingdom of God. In his great work, *The City of God*, he set the kingdom of God over against the kingdom of this world, the church against the Roman Empire. The latter was created because of man's sin, to keep him in subjection, and is doomed to destruction; the former, for man's salvation, and is eternal. "Citizens are begotten to the earthly city by nature vitiated by sin, but to the heavenly city by grace freeing nature from sin."¹⁰ It was undoubtedly the *City of God* that provided the theory of the temporal power of the papacy with its claim to world dominion.

But Augustine's doctrine of predestination did not go unchallenged. A British or Irish monk, Pelagius (c. 360–c. 420), attacked his ideas of human depravity and of predestination and emphasized man's free will and ability to do good. This freedom is the glory of our rational nature, he declared, and

without it there can be no such thing as virtue. Good deeds are virtuous only if done freely and not under compulsion. Thus he rejected Augustine's doctrine that "the good merits of man themselves are gifts of God," and he made man responsible for his good as well as for his evil deeds.

Augustine's great influence in the church led to the condemnation of Pelagius's views; but the issue was raised again after Augustine's death, with the result that a modified view of Augustine's doctrine of grace, known as Semi-Augustinianism, was adopted as the orthodox view of the church. Accordingly the church accepted Augustine's doctrines of total depravity and the necessity of divine grace bestowed by the church, but rejected his doctrines of predestination and irresistible grace. Divine grace, or *prevenient* grace, as it came to be called, bestowed in baptism, sufficiently restored man's free will and ability to enable him to do good of his own accord. By his good deeds the baptized person could achieve his own salvation; by his evil deeds, damnation. Thus the basis was laid for the medieval doctrine of merit and good works.

III. RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPACY

We have already observed the development of a regular hierarchy in the church, consisting of priest, bishop, archbishop, and patriarch. In the early Middle Ages one of the patriarchs, that of Rome, became exalted over the church in the West and was called Pope. It is to this transformation that we now turn.

Reasons for the Pre-eminence of the Bishop of Rome. A number of circumstances explain why the see of Rome rather than some other assumed the leadership of the church in the West. (1) Rome was the capital and largest city of the empire. Since the organization of the church quite closely followed the political divisions of the empire, it was only natural

that the church of the capital should play an important role. (2) Not only was the church in Rome one of the oldest, but it soon became one of the largest and wealthiest. By the middle of the third century Rome had one hundred and fifty-five clerics and probably thirty thousand members. Early in the fourth century there were forty churches in the city which dispensed a total of between twenty-five and fifty thousand dollars a year in charity. The bishop of Rome himself ransomed Christian prisoners from the mines of Sardinia and freed Christian slaves. (3) There was no rival to the see of Rome in the West to dispute its power as the sees of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria disputed the power of Constantinople in the East. (4) Rome was comparatively free from the strife, controversy, and heresy that rent the churches in the East, and for this reason was often called upon to mediate between the contending parties. The bishop took advantage of such appeals to enhance the prestige of his position. (5) Most important of all, Rome was the one church that, by reason of the tradition that Peter had founded it and that Peter and Paul had suffered martyrdom there, possessed apostolic authority. As Peter had been the leader among the Apostles, so should Peter's successor be the first among the bishops. The bishop of Rome occupied the "Throne of Peter," and most of the fathers were willing to recognize the prestige that it gave him. "The case has been ended," said Augustine after Rome had given her decision against Pelagius.^{11*}

In addition to the prestige that came to the see of Rome by reason of its location, wealth, and apostolic authority, its importance was enhanced by the action of many of its bishops. As early as 95 A.D., Clement, who is probably to be identified with an early bishop, wrote a letter to the church at Corinth rebuking the Corinthians for the disputes that

* This is the basis of the famous apocryphal phrase attributed to Augustine: "Rome has given her verdict; the case is at an end."

had broken out among them and urging them to give heed to their presbyters. A century later Bishop Victor sought to compel the churches of Asia Minor to follow the Roman practice in the observance of Easter; and when they refused he excommunicated them. Bishop Stephen, in the middle of the third century, condemned the churches in Galatia (Asia Minor) because they had adopted the practice of rebaptizing heretics. The authority that the high-handed action of these men gave the Roman see was increased by the action of the Council of Sardica (343 or 344), which made the bishop of Rome a sort of judge of appeal for any bishop that had been condemned by a local synod. As this decree became confused with a decree of the more famous Council of Nicaea, the importance of Rome was still further enhanced. When, in accordance with this decision, appeals were sent to him, Bishop Siricius (384-399) adopted the practice of giving his decision in the form of a decree which should have equal authority with the canons of councils. Siricius is thus the author of the first "decretal." By the close of the fourth century, therefore, the see of Rome possessed an authority greater than that of any other bishopric.

Innocent I (402-417). This claim to supremacy on the part of the bishop of Rome was put forward with marked success by Innocent I, the first really commanding figure to occupy the see. He encouraged the sending of appeals on thorny questions from all parts of Christendom to Rome for settlement or solution, and in his replies took occasion to assert his authority, which he based on the decree of the Council of Sardica. Disputes which could not be settled by the bishop of a province were to be referred to him. Innocent was ruling during the invasion of Italy by Alaric, and he sought, though in vain, to induce the Gothic leader to withdraw. He was Rome's foremost citizen, and his strength stood out in sharp contrast with the weakness of the Emperor Honorius, who, on the approach of the invader, had shut

himself up within the walls of Ravenna. Innocent's immediate successor, Zosimus, was the first to style himself "Supreme Pontiff."

Leo I (440-461). The first true *Pope* and the real founder of the primacy of Rome was Leo the Great, a statesman, ecclesiastic, theologian, and one of the greatest Christian preachers of his century. Leo was conscious of the prerogatives that accrued to him as the successor of Saint Peter, and made the most of them. He heightened the theoretical basis of his primacy by basing his claims on Christ's words to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."¹² The claims of Leo received imperial support through the decree of Valentinian III, in 445, which gave the Pope universal rule over the churches. The Pope should have jurisdiction over all bishops, he decreed. If a bishop refused to appear before the Pope, the governor should compel him to do so. "Peace will be secured among the churches," he declared, "if everyone recognizes his rule." The political circumstances of the time likewise fostered the claims of Leo; for he led the mission that induced Attila, the Hun, to abandon his project of marching on Rome, and during the sack of the city by the Vandals, in 455, he was able to some extent to mitigate its horrors. The Pope thus stood out as the one strong man in Italy.

The successors of Leo down to the time of Gregory the Great, at the close of the sixth century, did little more than reassert the claims of Leo and his predecessors. Frequently they were dominated by the political rulers, whether of the Goths or of Constantinople. Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, threw one Pope into prison, where he died, and Belisarius, the general of Justinian, drove another into exile.

Gregory I (590-604). The greatest of all the Popes of the first six centuries was unquestionably Gregory I. The son

of an illustrious Roman house of senatorial rank that had been famous in the church as well as in the state, Gregory, through his ability and personality, rose to be prefect of the city. But on inheriting his ancestral property he renounced his political career for the life of the monastery, and employed his wealth to found several monasteries, which he organized according to the Benedictine Rule. In one of these, St. Andrew's, at Rome, he himself became a monk. Later he was sent as papal representative to the imperial court at Constantinople. Shortly after his return to Rome he was elected Pope (590). The contribution of Gregory may be summed up under the following heads: (1) Gregory and the temporal power; (2) Gregory, spiritual ruler of the West; (3) Gregory and monasticism; (4) Gregory's theology.

Gregory and the Temporal Power. Gregory was the founder of the temporal power of the Popes. By his time the bishop of Rome had become the possessor, largely through bequests of the pious, of vast estates in Sicily and Italy which have been estimated to comprise eighteen hundred square miles of territory and to have yielded an annual income of two million dollars. Gregory proved an admirable administrator of these estates, correcting abuses, restoring order, and righting the wrongs of the peasantry or serfs. This wealth he employed to relieve poverty in the city of Rome and to feed, as the emperors had formerly done, the proletarian population which had been greatly increased by the flocking to Rome of multitudes in the face of the Lombard invasions. Grain, wine, cheese, vegetables, meat, fish, and oil were distributed by the Pope out of the revenues of the bishopric. Owing to the inability of the emperor to give aid, Gregory assumed the defense of the city as well as of its government and even negotiated a treaty with the Lombards. The Pope thus became the virtual ruler of Rome and its environs, though he still recognized the authority of the emperor of the East, who was represented in Italy by an exarch residing at Ravenna.

Gregory, the Spiritual Ruler of the West. The invasion of Europe by the Goths, the Franks, the Vandals, and the Lombards threatened to break the unity of Christendom as it had disrupted the empire. In Gaul and in Spain the tendency was toward national churches having little connection with Rome. In Italy the churches threatened to break away from the papacy. Gregory stayed both these dangerous currents. Bishops and archbishops he compelled to do his will. Both Gaul and Spain were made to regard him as their patriarch and to look upon his court as the supreme court of appeal in morals and discipline. By sending missionaries to convert the Anglo-Saxons, Gregory prepared the way for bringing England under papal rule. Hence he laid the foundation for the domination of the Pope over western Europe and for its unification under one religious system, which was to endure throughout the Middle Ages.

Gregory and Monasticism. Gregory was the first monk to occupy the papal see, — a fact that is of great significance both for the history of monasticism and for the history of the papacy. He sought to reform monasticism on the basis of the discipline of Benedict, and it was largely through his instrumentality that the Benedictine Rule was universally adopted. On the other hand, Gregory made use of the monastic movement to spread the power of the church and of the papacy. That monks became the chief agents for the conversion of Europe was due, in no little degree, to the use that Gregory made of them.

Gregory's Theology. Besides being a monk and practical man of affairs, Gregory was also a theologian and ranks as one of the great Latin fathers of the West. A disciple of Saint Augustine, he was, however, less learned, more superstitious, and more medieval. Many popular notions were taken over by him and thus found entrance into the theology of the church. He developed the doctrines of purgatory, of which

he is sometimes called the founder, and of penance. Every sin must be atoned for by a penitential good work; and the Christian must always be in a state of fear lest his evil deeds outweigh the good. The righteous whose penance has been insufficient at death go to purgatory, where by suffering they are purged of their unatoned sins. The fires of purgatory are conceived by Gregory in a very real and material sense. But the soul in purgatory may be assisted by the prayers of the faithful upon earth and particularly by the Mass. When atonement is complete the soul passes into heaven. For the unrighteous there can be no salvation. They go immediately to a hell of everlasting torment, the fires of which are inextinguishable; as this fire does not consume its victims, it tortures them eternally.

IV. VENERATION OF THE SAINTS

By the fourth and fifth centuries the veneration of the saints, which was to dominate the religious life of medieval Europe, had become a common practice. The early respect paid to those who, during the centuries of persecution, had suffered martyrdom for their faith was transformed into a cult. The idea arose that these saints received the highest rewards paradise could afford; that on the Day of Judgment they would sit at Christ's right hand, participating in the judgment of the world; and that, because of their nearness to the judge of all the earth, they possessed the power of intercession. Hence began the practice of invoking their aid.

I acknowledge also [says a letter attributed to Basil of Caesarea] the holy apostles, prophets, and martyrs; and I invoke them to supplication to God, that through them, that is, through their mediation, the merciful God may be propitious to me. . . . Wherefore also I honour and kiss the features of their images, inasmuch as they have been handed down from the holy apostles, and are not forbidden, but are in all our churches.¹³

Every saint soon became efficacious for a particular thing and had his own "holy day." Organizations such as the medieval guilds put themselves under the protection of particular saints. Indeed, the saints played much the same role in the Middle Ages that the pagan deities did in antiquity.

Not only was veneration paid to the tombs of saints, which were lavishly adorned and enriched by costly gifts, but their relics, such as bones and bits of clothing, were popularly believed to be endowed with miraculous power over disease. Saint Ambrose affirmed that many were healed of their ailments by merely touching the robes of the saints; and Augustine, in all seriousness, tells in his *City of God* the following story:

At Hippo a Syrian called Bassus was praying at the relics of the . . . martyr [Stephen] for his daughter, who was dangerously ill. He . . . had brought her dress with him to the shrine. But as he prayed, behold, his servants ran from the house to tell him she was dead. . . . And when he had returned to his house, which was already ringing with the lamentations of his family, and had thrown on his daughter's body the dress he was carrying, she was restored to life.¹⁴

As a consequence of such beliefs, pilgrimages to the tombs of saints became common and were regarded as meritorious works. The traffic in relics also became widespread. Obscure graves were exploited for the relics they might afford, and Augustine tells us that wandering monks imposed upon the credulity of the masses by peddling sham relics. No church or monastery was regarded as properly consecrated unless it was sanctified by the presence of relics. Relics were placed under altars, to give the Mass greater sanctity; oaths were taken over them and documents placed over them to make them more binding. Europe in the Middle Ages was filled with relics, the greater part of which were doubtless false.

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CHAPTER VI

The Germanic Kingdoms

I. THE VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM OF GAUL AND SPAIN

WE HAVE seen the Visigoths settled in southwestern Gaul as *foederati* of the empire. Although they were not very satisfactory allies, now and again breaking their agreement and seeking to extend their territory at the expense of the imperial dominions, nevertheless it was with their assistance that the Vandals were driven out of Spain and Roman authority restored there. It was with their aid, also, that the Hunnish invasion of Gaul was stopped with the defeat of Attila at the battle of Mauriac, near Troyes. But with the accession of Euric, the greatest of the Visigothic kings, in 466, a change of policy ensued. Until his time the Visigoths, except during their periods of rebellion, had accepted the fiction that they were *foederati* in the service of Rome. "Euric," says Jordanes, "saw the frequent change of Roman emperors and the tottering state of the empire; so he determined to be independent and subdue Gaul."¹ The Narbonnensis, including Narbonne, had been added to the Visigothic dominions a few years before. Euric now gained Arles, Marseille, and Provence. Thus the entire Mediterranean coast as far as the Alps was brought under Visigothic rule. At the same time Euric extended his territory toward the north. Here he met with the greatest resistance in Auvergne, where the Roman magnates, one of the leaders of whom was the bishop and poet Apollinaris Sidonius, struggled fiercely to maintain their independence. With their defeat the dominions of the Visigoths extended north to the Loire.

The ambition of Euric looked to the south as well as to the north and east. The Visigoths had frequently campaigned in

Spain, and with their assistance the Vandals had been expelled from the peninsula and the Romans defended against the aggression of the Suevi. By 478 all the Iberian Peninsula, save a remnant of the kingdom of the Suevi in the northwest corner, had been brought under Visigothic rule. The Visigothic kingdom, with its capital at Toulouse, was the most powerful of the barbarian kingdoms that arose on the soil of the Western Empire, of which it comprised about a third, stretching from the Loire to the Strait of Gibraltar. The destinies of Europe seemed to be in the hands of the Visigoths.

Relations between Gallo-Romans and Visigoths. The Visigoths, though the ruling race, were vastly outnumbered by the old Gallo-Roman population. Latin remained the language of society and soon caused Gothic to disappear, only a few words surviving. On their coming the Visigoths appropriated part of the land, possibly as much as two thirds of the cultivated land and one half of the woodland. Otherwise the Gallo-Roman landowner was left undisturbed. Usually the part of his estates that remained was sufficient to enable him to live in comfort, and he could view the change of allegiance without despair. The Visigoths kept order with a strong hand; and, barring the diminution of his acres, the lot of the landowner may well have been no worse and possibly somewhat better than under the later Roman Empire, with its maladministration. The picture that we get from the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris shows us a society "just as Roman" as in the days of Trajan and Hadrian and "almost as secure."

The noble has his town house and his country villa, the latter with its large establishment of slaves, its elaborate baths, and all the amenities of country existence as understood by Roman civilization. In his well-stocked library he reads his favorite authors, writes . . . in verse and prose, or maintains a continual correspondence with friends of equal wealth and leisure. For diversion, he hunts and fishes, or rides abroad to visit his neighbors;

if interested in the development of his land, he goes round the estate, watches the work in progress, and is present at the harvest or the vintage. It is the life of the cultivated landed proprietor in a country at profound peace, where soldiers seem to be neither seen nor thought of, and the only sense of insecurity arises from the presence of robbers on the lonelier roads.²

For a long time the two races remained distinct. The Gallo-Roman regarded his Gothic neighbor, who lacked the refinements of culture, with ill-disguised disdain. Sidonius complained that the Burgundians "greased their hair with rancid butter, had enormous appetites, and spoke in stentorian tones." How could he write "verses in six feet, with seven-foot giants all about him," he asked.³ Religion also kept the Gallo-Romans and the Goths apart. The former were Catholic, while the latter adhered to their Arian heresy. For the most part the Arian rulers left their Catholic subjects unmolested in the practice of their creed; but Euric was inclined to be intolerant. "The mere mention of the name of Catholic," reports Sidonius, "so embitters his countenance and heart that one might take him for the chief priest of his Arian sect rather than for the monarch of his nation."⁴ We can readily understand, therefore, that ultimately the Catholic clergy welcomed the overthrow of the Goths in Gaul by the orthodox Franks. Likewise in legal matters the two races were distinct, the Gallo-Roman living under Roman law, the Goth under Germanic law. Nevertheless, the latter tended to be influenced by the former, and the first redaction of Visigothic laws not only was written in Latin but also reveals many borrowings from the Theodosian Code. There was no attempt to treat the Romans as a conquered race, and apparently the Roman municipal administration was allowed to remain intact. Roman as well as Gothic nobles were to be found in the king's entourage at the court at Toulouse. The Visigoth doubtless took on much of the culture of his Gallo-Roman environment.

After the Frankish conquest of Gaul the Visigothic kingdom, with the exception of a temporary and partial restoration of Roman rule under Justinian, continued to endure in Spain until overwhelmed by the Mohammedan invasion of the early eighth century. The Goths in Spain long remained pious and fanatical Arians; they persecuted the Catholics and kept their bishoprics vacant. But in 589 King Recared embraced Catholicism and repressed Arianism. From this time we get the fusion of the Goths and the Hispano-Romans. The prohibition of marriage between the two races was removed, and by the seventh century the Hispano-Roman aristocracy were proud of their Gothic descent. Byzantine manners, fashions, and ceremonial were adopted at court, and Latin became the official language. But intellectually Visigothic Spain had become decadent. The greatest literary figure that it produced was Isidore of Seville (d. 636), who was, however, a mere compiler. His most important work was his *Etymologies*, in which he epitomized the results of his wide reading in classical and Christian writers. It is, in reality, an encyclopedia of all the sciences and was one of the chief textbooks used in the Middle Ages.

Politically also, Visigothic Spain had suffered a fatal decadence, and was unable to offer any effective resistance to the Mohammedan invasion.

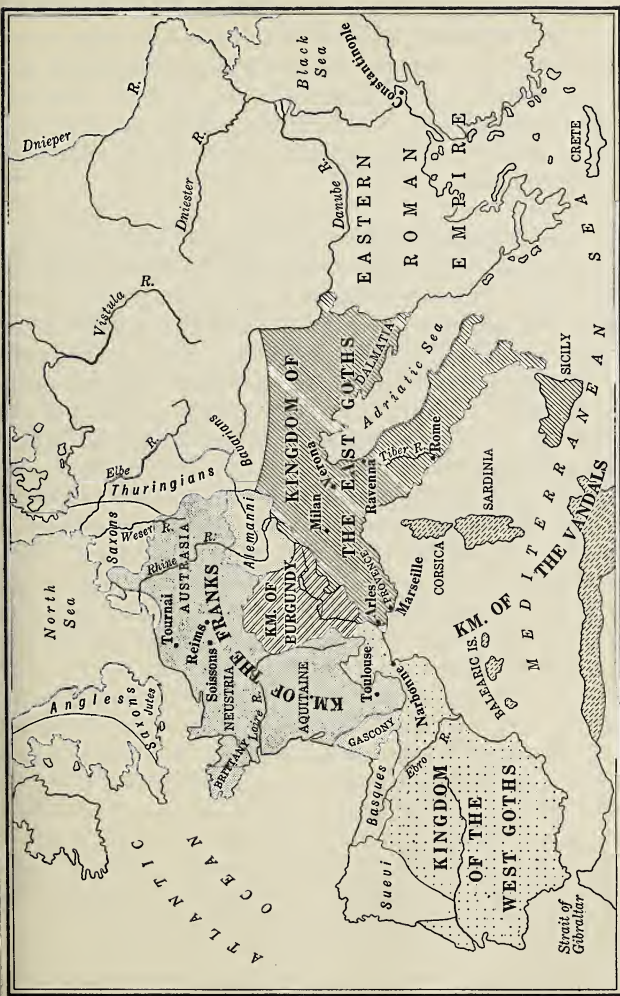
II. THE OSTROGOTHIC KINGDOM OF ITALY

Throughout the greater part of the fifth century, and long after the provinces of the West had come under the rule of this or that group of barbarians, there continued to be an emperor of the West, living at Ravenna or Rome; but for the most part he was a mere puppet in the hands of some general whose army was composed of barbarian soldiers and who was himself usually a barbarian. Finally this anomalous situation was brought to an end in 476, when the soldiers elected as their general Odoacer, a former officer in the army,

who belonged to the Scirians, one of the petty tribes that had been under the rule of Attila. Odoacer immediately went to Ravenna, deposed the boy emperor, Romulus Augustulus, and sent the imperial insignia to Zeno, the emperor of the East, with the request that he recognize him as his representative in Italy. This Zeno was glad to do, conferring upon him the title of "patrician" and making him a sort of military protector of Italy under the suzerainty of Constantinople.

But in reality Odoacer ruled as an independent sovereign, even assuming the title of "king." He immediately proceeded to satisfy his soldiers by decreeing that they should have one third of the soil of Italy, although this measure seems not to have been universally carried out. The old Roman administration was continued throughout the country, as well as the Roman method of collecting taxes. Probably the new regime made little change in the lot of the majority; but the population was declining, and Ennodius, a contemporary writer, tells us that the greater part of the land was uncultivated and that the fields had grown up with briars and brambles.⁵ Ambitious to extend his power, Odoacer made an expedition into Dalmatia, which he annexed to Italy, and brought down upon himself the displeasure of the emperor at Constantinople.

Rise of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. In the meantime the Emperor Zeno was disturbed by the presence of the Ostrogoths in the Balkan Peninsula. After the collapse of the Hunnish power, these people, who had been settled in Pannonia, where apparently they had been unable to maintain themselves, were permitted to move southward and occupy lower Moesia (modern Bulgaria) as *foederati*. Like their predecessors, the Visigoths, they soon began to ravage the peninsula, and in 487 menaced the capital itself. They were then ruled over by Theodoric, a young prince who had received some education at Constantinople, where as a boy he had been a hostage.



THE GERMANIC KINGDOMS

In order to rid himself of such troublesome allies, the Emperor Zeno commissioned Theodoric to invade Italy, overthrow the rule of Odoacer, with whom he was displeased, and rule the country as his (Zeno's) representative. The authorities disagree as to whether this mission was first suggested by Zeno or by Theodoric, but at any rate it suited the purposes of both.

Ostrogothic Invasion of Italy. Such an offer was too attractive for Theodoric to decline, and in the autumn of 488 he set out for Italy. This new invasion of the Italian peninsula was no mere military expedition but a wholesale migration, the Gothic leader taking with him old men, women, and children, with all their possessions carried in wagons. Having made their way over the Julian Alps and around the head of the Adriatic, the Ostrogoths, some two hundred thousand strong, in the following summer descended into Italy. There now began a struggle for the possession of the peninsula. Odoacer met them on the banks of the Isonzo, where he suffered a severe defeat, and was obliged to retreat to Verona. Here he was again defeated by the Ostrogoths and took refuge behind the walls of Ravenna. Unable to capture this city, which the later emperors had strongly fortified, Theodoric was obliged to starve it into submission. Only after a siege of two and a half years did Odoacer capitulate, and then on condition that his life be spared, — a promise, however, which the Ostrogothic leader did not keep. Inviting him to a banquet in the palace, Theodoric treacherously slew him with his own hand, remarking with a cynical smile, as he perceived the ease with which his sword pierced his enemy's body, "One would think that he had no bones." "On the same day," declared one chronicler, "all Odoacer's soldiers were slain, wherever they could be found, and all his kin."⁶

The Government of Theodoric. The Ostrogothic leader who now became king of Italy was no mere barbarian chieftain,

barbarous though his treatment of Odoacer may have been, but a wise ruler, whose reign of thirty-six years constitutes one of the most prosperous periods of the age. Though an Arian in faith, he was tolerant of the Catholics, at least during the early part of his rule. Cassiodorus reports him as saying to the Jews of Genoa, who had asked permission to repair their synagogue, "We cannot prescribe religion, for no one can be forced to believe against his will."⁷ But the severe laws that were enacted against pagans, as well as his later treatment of Boethius, make one wonder if he was, in this respect, as much in advance of his age as has sometimes been asserted. "If anyone," he decreed, "be detected in offering sacrifice according to the pagan rite, . . . he shall suffer capital punishment."⁸ In spite of his residence in Constantinople, he never learned to write; but his appreciation of learning is shown by his patronage of the foremost scholars of his day. Unlike the other barbarian rulers of his time, he sought to rule as a Roman and to restore the ancient splendor of Italy. Accordingly his ministers were chosen from the Roman aristocracy, such as Cassiodorus and Boethius. Around him was a whole hierarchy of officials, — pretorian prefects, quaestors, etc., — which shows that he sought to retain the old Roman administrative system intact. On the other hand, the army was made up largely of Goths. As Theodoric expressed it, "To the Romans the works of peace; to the Goths the duty of protecting them by arms."⁹

The attempt of Theodoric to rule as a Roman rather than as a Goth is shown by the replacing of barbarian customs by Roman law. It has been well said that the Ostrogothic kingdom was the only one of the Germanic states where the king systematically neglected barbarian legislation for that of Rome.¹⁰ "We do not permit," he declared, "Goths and Romans to live under two different laws, since we unite them in one and the same affection."¹¹ In the event of a dispute between Goths and Romans, both Gothic and Roman judges were to participate in giving judgment.

As an invader with a multitude of followers to appease, Theodoric was obliged to give them satisfaction by assigning them land on which to settle, — the chroniclers say a third of the soil; but inasmuch as there is no record of the dispossession of landowners, it is probable that it was either unoccupied or state lands that were so distributed. Indeed, Theodoric was too anxious to conciliate the native Italian aristocracy to think of disturbing their possession of the land. The great landowners were therefore left unmolested. The financial system of the empire was retained, and Roman weights and measures continued to be used. Taxation was probably not quite so heavy in Italy under the Goths as it had been under the later empire. The peace which Theodoric assured led to a revival of agriculture and consequently of prosperity. Although the cost of foodstuffs fell (a contemporary said as much as one third), there were still, as under the empire, many poor who had to be fed by the government.¹²

Theodoric and Roman Civilization. The great design of Theodoric was to save Roman civilization from destruction. He made a prodigious effort to preserve intact the artistic patrimony of Italy or, if it had been injured, to restore it. Solicitous for the repair of aqueducts, baths, and sewers, as well as of the palaces and statues of Rome, Theodoric appointed an "Architect of Public Monuments" to supervise building and repairs. The brickyards along the Tiber were reopened, to provide material for the restoration of the Colosseum, of the Theater of Pompey, and of the city walls. Not content with restoration of ancient edifices alone, Theodoric erected palaces, baths, and amphitheaters at Pavia, at Verona, at Spoleto, and at Terracina. That his capital, Ravenna, might rival Constantinople, he adorned it with a palace, partly copied from that of Constantine; with a mausoleum; and with numerous churches, such as Santo Spirito, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, and, finest of all, Sant'

Apollinare Nuovo.¹³ While all these reveal the influence of Byzantine models, they show that neither the artistic spirit nor the art of building was extinct.

The reign of Theodoric witnessed a veritable renaissance of learning as well as of art. At Ravenna, Rome, Milan, and, indeed, in all the principal cities of Italy, rhetoricians, poets, and scholars vied with each other for the favor of the public or of the sovereign, who frequently bestowed honors upon them.¹⁴ The most distinguished literary figures were Cassiodorus and Boethius. Cassiodorus, already mentioned for his contribution to monasticism, was the author of twelve *Books of Varieties*, which give us a good deal of information concerning his times. His work on the Goths has not come down to us, but Jordanes has apparently given us the substance of it in his history of the Goths.

Boethius (c. 480-524). The greatest literary figure of the period, "the last of the Romans," he has been called, was Boethius. Of noble lineage, belonging to the famous Anician house, Boethius was a veritable genius. Theodoric soon came to rely upon his advice on the most varied subjects, such as the construction of a water clock for Theodoric's brother-in-law, the king of the Burgundians, and the selection of a harpist for the king of the Franks, as well as on matters of statecraft.¹⁵ He seems also to have been a financial expert and at the close of his career held the post of *magister officiorum*, an office that involved close attendance upon the king. Suddenly he was arrested on a charge of treason, imprisoned, and executed. The cause of his tragic fate is very obscure. The ostensible charge against him was treasonable correspondence with the Eastern Empire; but it seems more probable, according to recent scholarship, that his real offense was the support of orthodox Catholicism against the Arianism of Theodoric.¹⁶

During his imprisonment Boethius consoled himself by writing the *Consolation of Philosophy*, one of the best-loved

books in the Middle Ages, "a golden volume," declared Gibbon, "not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully."¹⁷ It is the message of philosophy to one condemned to death. Inasmuch as it neither mentions the name of Christ nor cites the Bible, it has frequently been concluded that Boethius was one of the last of the pagans. This conclusion was partly based on the assumption that the treatises *On the Trinity* and *Concerning the Catholic Faith* were falsely attributed to him. It has now been shown that they are authentic works of Boethius, who was consequently a champion of Catholicism instead of a pagan.¹⁸

Boethius is significant for another reason also. He conceived the design of translating the works of Plato and Aristotle into Latin for the benefit of the philosophical students of an age in which those who knew Greek were becoming fewer and fewer. Naturally such a prodigious task was never accomplished. But he did translate Aristotle's *Logic*, the only one of the works of the Stagirite that the early Middle Ages possessed, and Porphyry's *Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle*, a work that provided the basis for the medieval discussion of *universals*. Works followed on arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, and music. It is noteworthy that his *De Musica* remained a textbook in Oxford until the eighteenth century.¹⁹

III. THE KINGDOMS OF THE FRANKS

With the collapse of the Roman defenses of the frontier the Franks, as we have already seen, early in the fifth century crossed the Rhine and occupied what is now Belgium. By the middle of the century they had pushed southward and eastward as far as the Somme and the Moselle. Unlike the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, they were not united under any one leader. Besides the two main divisions into Salians and Ripuarians, the Salians, the most warlike, were themselves divided into several groups under petty kings. A highly

significant event in the development of Frankish power was the accession, in 481, of Clovis as king of the little Salian kingdom of Tournai. Ambitious, astute, audacious, and unscrupulous, the new monarch, although only fifteen years of age, undertook to extend the Frankish dominion over all Gaul and at the same time to subject all the Franks to his rule.

Clovis (481-511). Summoning the other Salian kings to his aid, Clovis in 486 took up arms against the kingdom lying between the Somme and the Loire, in which a Roman general, Syagrius, sought to preserve the last vestiges of Roman rule. Syagrius was defeated at Soissons and afterwards put to death by Clovis. Little by little this territory was subjected and brought under Frankish rule, and the dominions of Clovis were extended as far south as the Loire. The fame of this new Frankish ruler soon spread, and Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who had almost completed the subjection of Italy, asked the hand of his sister in marriage.

The expansion of the Frankish power brought the Franks into contact with the Alemanni, who were in possession of Alsace and endeavoring to extend their dominions westward. After a struggle of ten years Clovis defeated them decisively near Tolbiac (or Zülpich) and thus became master of all the left bank of the Rhine. Gregory of Tours, the historian of the Franks, tells us that it was this victory that led Clovis to adopt Christianity;²⁰ but recent historians are inclined to question this.²¹ Clovis had married a Burgundian princess, Clotilda, an orthodox Christian, who sought to convert her husband. Moreover, he was not slow to perceive the advantages that he would gain by embracing Christianity. "The bishops," he must have argued, "who exercised a very powerful influence, would everywhere declare for him, and would support him in his struggles with the heathen tribes, and even against the barbarians who adhered to the Arian heresy."²² It was thus doubtless political motives rather than

any profound conviction that led the Frankish leader to become Christian. The baptismal ceremony was performed at Reims, by Bishop Remigius, and three thousand of his warriors received baptism with him on Christmas Day, 496.

The conversion of Clovis, although it did not alter his character or make him less a barbarian, was of great significance. He was the only monarch in the West at the close of the fifth century who was a Catholic, and the clergy readily perceived the political significance of this. The bishop of Vienne, a subject of the Burgundian king, wrote to him, "Your ancestors have opened the way for you to a great destiny; your decision will open the way to a yet greater for your descendants."²³ If the clergy of the Burgundian and Visigothic kingdoms did not actually invite him to overthrow the Arian rule in those states, it was evident that they would place no obstacles in the way if he sought to take such a step. Through their influence he would be sure of the submission of the Gallo-Roman element in the population.

War against the Burgundians and Visigoths. The first aggression of Clovis was against the king of Burgundy, whom he defeated; but unable, in spite of clerical support, to subdue him, he made peace on the promise of tribute. He was to find the king of Burgundy a useful ally in the struggle in which he now engaged with the Visigoths. Urged on by the Byzantine emperor, who desired the weakening of the Gothic states in Italy and Gaul, by the Catholic clergy, who were anxious to replace Arian by orthodox Frankish rule, and by his own restless ambition, Clovis determined to destroy the Visigothic kingdom, or at least that part of it north of the Pyrenees. Theodoric, the champion of the Goths, sought to prevent the struggle, but in vain. "It irketh me sore that these Arians hold a part of Gaul," Clovis declared. "Let us go forth, then, and with God's aid bring the land under our own sway."²⁴ At a battle near Poitiers (507) the Visigoths were defeated, and the rule of Clovis was speedily extended

to the Pyrenees. The intervention of Theodoric, however, prevented him from seizing Provence (which Theodoric occupied) and led to the recapture of Septimania, which continued to be ruled by the Visigoths of Spain.

Having extended Frankish rule over virtually all Gaul, Clovis finally sought to unify the Franks. By a series of assassinations he got rid of the surviving Salian kings, with all their relatives. Then he undermined the authority of the king of the Ripuarian Franks and had himself elected in his stead. Thus did he "wade through slaughter to a throne." If we cannot see in this barbarian assassin "the Lord's anointed," as did Gregory of Tours, we can nevertheless give him the credit of welding together the Frankish people and creating the most permanent of all the barbarian kingdoms. A rude, uncouth figure, little softened by the influence of Christianity, his career was one of the creative forces of the age. Before his death in 511 he had also codified the customary law of the Salian Franks.

The Successors of Clovis. The expansion of Frankish territory was continued by the sons of Clovis, who divided their father's dominions among them. After several campaigns the kingdom of the Burgundians, in the valley of the Rhône, was finally (534) destroyed and absorbed into the Frankish state. The death of Theodoric the Ostrogoth enabled the Merovingian kings, as they may now be called, to seize Provence; but an attempt to wrest Septimania from the Visigoths met with failure. Not content with Gaul, the sons of Clovis pushed their conquests beyond the Rhine, against the pagan tribes there. Clovis himself had subjected the Alemanni. His successors now made war on the Thuringians and deprived them of their independence. Even the Saxons in the north were defeated and forced to pay tribute, although no attempt was made to bring Saxon territory under Frankish rule. In the south the Bavarians were subjected, but allowed to retain their own dukes, laws, and institutions. Thus the Frankish

state extended as far east as the Lech and the Saale, including all of present-day France and Belgium, and western and much of central Germany.

Decline of the Merovingians. This great Frankish state created by Clovis and his sons was dismembered by his grandsons and the civil wars that attended their accession to power. By the close of the sixth century four separate kingdoms appeared, — Neustria, Austrasia, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, — the boundaries of which were constantly shifting in the strife that their rulers waged with one another. Of these Aquitaine, more Gallo-Roman and less Frankish in its population, soon broke away from Merovingian rule under its local lords. Once again under Dagobert (629–639), the last of the Merovingian monarchs to play an important role in Frankish affairs, these four kingdoms were reunited. But after his time his race suffered a lamentable degeneration. They were all weaklings, both physically and intellectually, known as *rois fainéants* (sluggard kings) and kept on the throne only by the Frankish superstition that their kings must belong to the race of Meroveus. The real rulers were the mayors of the palace, officials who had at first been overseers of the royal estates and supervisors of the palace, but who, in the seventh and eighth centuries, governed in the king's name.

Civilization of the Merovingian Age. The Merovingian age was characterized by its violence, its brutal murders, its bloodthirsty feuds, its dark plots, and its devastating civil wars. Homicide was a favorite means whereby king and noble alike rid themselves of rivals or relatives who blocked their road to power. Mutilations and tortures, such as stretching the victim on the rack or breaking him on the wheel, were common. Robbery was endemic, and he who ventured upon the highways was frequently a prey to the bandits who infested the woods. The only refuge against the

violence of an enemy or the vengeance of the wronged was the churches, whose right of asylum was protected by the superstition of the age.

Yet many remnants of Roman civilization persisted in Merovingian Gaul. Towns and cities, though no longer the flourishing centers they had been in Roman times, survived. Their population had been diminished, many of their fine buildings and public monuments had been destroyed by invasions and civil wars or allowed to fall into ruin. For protection, towns had been walled. Dijon, for instance, had been fortified with walls fifteen feet thick and thirty feet high, pierced, like old Roman camps, by four gates. New buildings, and more especially churches, continued to be erected, sometimes of brick or stone, but often of wood. Some industry, by no means destroyed by the invasions, still persisted in early Merovingian times. The largest towns, such as Paris, had their squares lined with shops and booths in which native craftsmen displayed their wares or merchants offered for sale Oriental commodities. A few urban workshops producing linens survived at Metz, Treves, and Reims. Goldsmiths and silversmiths retained a surprising skill in the exercise of their crafts, as the finely enameled and carved jewels, shields, and arms from the Merovingian epoch attest. The carving in stone, however, had become very primitive. In the main, industry was taking refuge on the great domains of noble, bishop, or monk.

The Germanic invasions, though they led to still further decline, did not destroy the commerce of Europe. The Mediterranean remained the great highway of commerce, and commercial relations were maintained between Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt and the western Mediterranean. Marseille, Arles, and Narbonne were the leading ports through which this trade passed into the Frankish dominions. Syrian, Greek, and Jewish merchants were frequently to be met with, for neither the Franks nor the Gallo-Romans seem to have been much interested in trade. Wine, oil, grain,

dates, spices, drugs, silk, and papyrus were among the leading articles imported from Italy and the East.

Decadence of Learning. More profound was the decadence of learning. The schools which we still find in Visigothic Gaul in the time of Sidonius seem to have disappeared. Now and again an ecclesiastic gathered around him a group of boys whom he sought to instruct in the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic;²⁵ but the number of learned clergy was declining, and even the monasteries were not the centers of learning they had been in the fifth and early sixth centuries. This decline was furthered by the hostile attitude that the church took toward pagan literature, which it regarded with suspicion. Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, was sternly rebuked by Pope Gregory the Great for his fondness for classical writers, and this may have been the reason that he was deposed from his see in 603. The most important writer of the time was Gregory, bishop of Tours (538-594), who laments the decline of learning.

In these times [he declared] when the practice of letters declines, nay, rather perishes in the cities of Gaul, there has been found no scholar trained in the art of ordered composition to present in prose or verse a picture of the things that have befallen. . . . Wherefore the voice of lament was oftentimes raised, and men said: "Alas! for these our days! The study of letters is perished from us, nor is any found among our peoples able to set forth in a book the events of this present time."²⁶

Gregory is a good example of the ignorance as well as of the learning of the time. He was ignorant of Greek and had a limited knowledge of the Latin classics, Vergil, Sallust, Pliny, and Aulus Gellius being the chief ones that he had read.²⁷ He seems to have had a very scant acquaintance with the church fathers, and his theological ignorance was profound. His style, spelling, grammar, and syntax already show the barbarism that was to become more pronounced in the seventh

century. Gregory's great work was his *History of the Franks*, which is comparable to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. He gives us a vivid description of the persons, many of whom he knew, who pass across the stage of sixth-century Gaul, and without his book our knowledge of his times would be infinitely poorer.

Irish Missionaries on the Continent. The Frankish kingdoms of Gaul were the field of activity of many Irish monks who founded monasteries, converted the pagans, and sought to improve the moral tone of the church. The most noteworthy of these was Saint Columban, a monk of the monastery of Bangor, Ireland. Seized with the wanderlust, he went to France about 585 or 590 and there founded the three monasteries of Anegray, Luxeuil, and Fontenay, in the Vosges. These houses were known for their severe discipline based upon the penitential system of Columban, who prepared "penitentials," or tariffs of punishments to be imposed for sins. These later became the basis of the penitential system of the church at large. Columban was severe in his denunciation not only of the lives of the clergy but also of the morals of the Merovingian court, and it seems to have been the unpopularity so incurred that led to his banishment in 610. Accompanied by another Irish monk, Saint Gall, he migrated to the vicinity of the Lake of Zurich, where he sought to convert the pagan Alemanni and Suevi. Obligated to flee from the wrath of the pagans whose temples and deities he had destroyed, he moved to the Lake of Constance. From there he crossed the Alps and founded the monastery of Bobbio; but his companion remained and founded the monastery of St. Gall. Although these monasteries later came under the Benedictine Rule and were famous for their learning, at this time they were important chiefly as centers for the conversion of the pagans and as schools of discipline for future bishops. Neither Saint Columban nor Saint Gall seems to have stressed instruction in the liberal arts.

IV. THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS

One of the last countries to be brought under Roman rule, Britain was also one of the first from which the legions were withdrawn. Early in the fifth century Stilicho, the general of Honorius, was obliged to recall the troops from Britain to assist in repelling the invasions of Gaul and Italy. Almost immediately the province split up into local kingdoms or states that soon fell a prey to the incursions of Picts and Scots from the north and to invasions of Teutons from across the North Sea. Such invasions were not new, for they had repeatedly occurred during the fourth century. This whole period is one of great obscurity; but it seems probable that the British rulers adopted the expedient of calling in Teutonic mercenaries to aid in repelling the Picts and Scots and that these mercenaries then remained to conquer and settle. At any rate, by the close of the fifth century all the eastern and southern part of Britain had been overrun by Teutonic tribes and the centers of Romano-British civilization destroyed.

Jutes, Angles, and Saxons. These invaders were divided into three main groups, — Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, — who had originally inhabited Denmark and northern Germany. The Angles had apparently migrated *en masse*; for no trace of them remained on the Continent. The Saxons belonged to the great Saxon group that dwelt between the Elbe and the Weser. The Jutes constituted the smallest group, settling on the Isle of Wight and the adjoining mainland and in Kent. The Saxons occupied the entire south (except for the settlements of the Jutes); the Angles, the center and eastern coast. The British population was either driven out, or annihilated, or subjected to serfdom. Many of the Britons, no doubt, took refuge in the mountains of Wales, or in the southwest, while others crossed the Channel and settled in Armorica (Brittany). Unlike the invaders on the Continent, such as the Goths and the Franks, who were in the minority and

consequently renounced their own language for Latin, the Anglo-Saxons retained their Teutonic tongue. Indeed, so completely did they predominate that all traces of the Britons disappeared wherever the invaders settled.

The invaders of Britain formed, not one powerful kingdom, like the Germanic kingdoms on the Continent, but many small states. This can be readily explained. The invaders did not constitute a homogeneous group, but belonged to at least three separate races. Moreover, the racial groups were not units under the leadership of kings, such as Alaric or Theodoric, but groups of war bands under many different leaders. By the middle of the sixth century these numerous Anglo-Saxon states had been reduced to seven, the so-called Heptarchy, each one ruled over by a king who traced his descent from some famed chieftain. These states were Northumbria in the north, Mercia in the center, East Anglia in the east, Essex north of the Thames, Kent in the extreme southeast, and Sussex and Wessex in the south. By the early part of the seventh century several of these kingdoms were grouped under the overlordship of one ruler and constituted the imperium. Ethelbert of Kent was the first monarch who possessed this supremacy, which was recognized by all the southern kings.

The Augustinian Mission. Christianity had been introduced into Britain at a very early period and had become well established, at least in the cities; but the Anglo-Saxon conquest dealt a death blow to it, as it did to other phases of Roman civilization, so that by the close of the sixth century the various kingdoms of the Heptarchy were thoroughly pagan. The first attempt to convert them to Christianity was made under the direction of Pope Gregory the Great, whose attention, Bede tells us, was first called to the Angles by seeing some fair-haired slave boys being put up for auction in the slave market at Rome. Unable to undertake a mission to the Anglo-Saxons himself, when he became Pope

he dispatched a Benedictine monk, Augustine, with forty companions, to convert them. In 597 these missionaries landed in Kent, where they were well received by King Ethelbert, whose marriage with a Frankish princess had already made him well-disposed toward the new religion. Augustine was invited to Canterbury, lodged near the royal dwelling, permitted to preach freely, and given the use of an old British church that must have been in ruins. After three months the king professed conversion and was baptized, his example being followed by large numbers of his subjects. Augustine then repaired to Gaul to receive consecration as bishop. Pope Gregory commissioned him to assume the title of "archbishop," to found dioceses, and to consecrate bishops to fill them.

From Kent, Christianity spread into the adjoining kingdoms of Essex and East Anglia, in each instance the example being set by the baptism of the monarch, although the king of East Anglia soon apostatized. Somewhat later Bishop Paulinus accompanied the daughter of Ethelbert to Northumbria on the occasion of her marriage to King Edwin, whom he succeeded in converting. When Edwin submitted the question to his nobles, they declared for Christianity.²⁸

But the initial success of the Roman mission was soon followed, both in Kent and in Essex, by a pagan reaction, which largely undid the work of Augustine and his followers, some of whom took refuge in Gaul. Then Edwin of Northumbria was defeated and slain in the battle of Heathfield by Penda, king of Mercia, a stout champion of paganism; and a pagan reaction followed there, even Bishop Paulinus fleeing to Kent. The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons was thus not achieved by the Roman mission. They had merely begun a work that was now to be completed by Christians from another quarter, the Scottish or Irish monks of Iona.

Christianity in Ireland and Scotland. Christianity had probably penetrated Ireland (which, however, had never

been part of the Roman Empire) as well as Britain by the fourth century. But the great apostle of Ireland was Saint Patrick (c. 389–461), who completed the conversion of Ireland and organized Christianity there. A native of Wales or of northern Britain, Saint Patrick, about 405, was seized by the Irish in a raid and carried off to Ireland, where he spent some years as a slave. At length escaping in a trading vessel, he landed in Gaul and made his way to the monastery of Lérins, in southern France, where he became a monk. Later he returned to Ireland, which he converted, organizing monasteries as centers of Christianity.

From Ireland, Christianity spread to Scotland, carried thither by Saint Columba, who, in 563, landed at Iona, on the west coast, and founded a monastery which became the center for the conversion of the Picts and Scots. From this monastery, also, monks went forth to complete the conversion of England.

After the death of Edwin at Heathfield the throne of Northumbria was occupied by Oswald, the heir of a rival house. On becoming king, Oswald asked the monks of Iona, with whom he had taken refuge during his exile, for a missionary; and they sent him Aidan, a monk of singularly beautiful character. Aidan selected the island of Lindisfarne, on the coast of Northumbria, as the seat of his monastery and bishopric, from which Northumbria was reconverted.

He was wont [says Bede] to traverse both town and country on foot, never on horseback, unless compelled by some urgent necessity; and wherever in his way he saw any, either rich or poor, he invited them, if infidels, to embrace the mystery of the faith; or if they were believers, to strengthen them in the faith, and to stir them up by words and actions to alms and good works.²⁹

Churches were erected in all parts of the kingdom, and the stone minster of York was completed. Aidan was interested in education also, and chose twelve youths whom he trained as missionaries and dispatched to other parts of England.

From Northumbria, Christianity thus spread south, reclaiming those districts and kingdoms in which the result of the Augustinian mission had been ephemeral. After the death of Penda even Mercia was converted. By 670 A.D. the whole of England had practically become Christian once more.

Synod of Whitby (664 A.D.). But in the meantime a dispute had arisen in England between the champions of the practices of the Roman church and those of the Irish and Scottish, — a dispute which centered in particular around the date of the celebration of Easter and the shape of the monastic tonsure. One of the monks or missionaries who had been educated at Lindisfarne was Wilfrid, the son of a Northumbrian noble. Journeying to Rome on a pilgrimage, he became impressed with the grandeur of the Roman customs and in Gaul received the Roman tonsure. On his return to Northumbria he sought to induce the Scottish missionaries to adopt the Roman practices. In order to settle the dispute that consequently arose, the king, Oswy, summoned the Synod of Whitby. Learning that Saint Peter (and hence Rome) possessed the keys of the kingdom of heaven, Oswy decided in favor of Rome and against the Scottish practices.

“And I also say unto you,” [Oswy declared] “that he [Peter] is the door-keeper, whom I will not contradict, but will, as far as I know and am able, in all things obey his decrees, lest, when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys.”³⁰

The decision of the Synod of Whitby had far-reaching consequences. A few years later the Pope sent Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek, to England, who, as archbishop of Canterbury, organized dioceses and in general brought the church in England into conformity with Roman practice. The unity that was thus given the church afforded the state an example which was to bear fruit in the political unifica-

tion of England. Moreover, the bringing of the English church into conformity with Rome kept England in close contact with Continental civilization, from which her insular position more or less isolated her. Schools sprang up at episcopal centers such as Canterbury and York or at monasteries such as Lindisfarne, Wearmouth, Jarrow, and Malmesbury, which became renowned for their classical learning. Here beautiful illuminated manuscripts were produced that later became famous on the Continent. Here scholars were trained not only in theology but also in grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, and music. Wooden churches were replaced by more durable stone structures, built in the Roman style and ornamented with sculpture, paintings, and mosaics such as the Anglo-Saxon clergy had seen in their travels in Italy.³¹ The renaissance of art and learning that now took place had its reflex influence on the Continent. English and Irish monks traveled to France and Germany, where they founded monasteries as centers of learning. And, as we shall see later, an Anglo-Saxon scholar, Alcuin, trained in the school of York, inspired the Carolingian renaissance of learning.

Bede (673-735). The greatest scholar which this Anglo-Saxon renaissance of the eighth century produced was Bede. Educated at the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, within which he also passed his life, he certainly knew Greek, the study of which Theodore of Tarsus had encouraged in England, and had some knowledge of Hebrew. He had read Vergil, Ovid, Lucretius, Lucan, and Terence, as well as many lesser poets. Bede was, of course, familiar with the writings of the church fathers. It is for his writings, however, and especially for his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* that he is famous. He was a great storyteller, and his history is a very readable book. Moreover, Bede possessed that breadth of view, critical faculty, and ability to arrange his sources that made him a real historian. His history constitutes our chief source for a knowledge of the conversion of

England in the seventh century. Not content with merely chronicling events, he describes his characters with such a vivid touch that they stand out as living persons. Besides his history and theological works, Bede wrote also textbooks, the most important of which was on natural science, *De Natura Rerum*, a work which became a standard in monastic schools. It is a brief discussion of astronomy and meteorology, based in part upon Pliny. Bede, of course, was a child of his time and believed that comets were signs of war and political change, of tempest or pestilence.³² He believed also that the air is inhabited by evil spirits who await the torments of the Day of Judgment. Through Alcuin the learning of Bede became the basis of the Carolingian renaissance.)

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CHAPTER VII

*Justinian and the Imperial Restoration*¹

THE deposition of Romulus Augustulus in 476 A.D. by no means brought the Roman Empire to an end. For Constantinople had successfully resisted all invasions, and the sovereigns who continued to rule on the Golden Horn, though deprived of Italy, Gaul, and the western Mediterranean, still possessed the East, — Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, — and continued to think of themselves as the heirs of the Caesars and the guardians of the Roman tradition. During the sixth century this Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire, as it came to be called, underwent a remarkable revival, and under Justinian once more extended its sway over the western Mediterranean.

At Constantinople, as at Rome, the road to the imperial throne lay in the army. Even an illiterate peasant of the most obscure birth, if he distinguished himself in military affairs, might one day wear the imperial purple. Such a one was Justin, a Macedonian peasant, who, at the close of the fifth century, had migrated to Constantinople and enlisted in the imperial guard. By his courage, ability, and loyalty he had risen to be an officer, general, commander of the guard, and senator; and on the death of the Emperor Anastasius, in 518, an obscure intrigue placed him upon the throne. Having no heir himself, he adopted his nephew (who had been born in Macedonia, near the present Skoplje, in Yugoslavia), gave him the best education that Constantinople could offer, and conferred titles and honors upon him. In 527, just before his death, he associated his nephew with himself in the rule of the empire. This was Justinian, who, during his reign of thirty-eight years (527-565), restored much of the greatness and splendor of the empire.

Character of Justinian. The Byzantine historian Procopius tells us that Justinian was medium in height, fleshy though not corpulent, with a full face and ruddy complexion. His portrait in San Vitale at Ravenna depicts him as energetic and thoughtful. In a court where etiquette dominated, Justinian prided himself on simplicity of life and manners. Access to his presence was easy, and he gave audience even to the most obscure persons, often conversing with them freely and at length. His bearing was dignified, and he always maintained the same calm demeanor under the most trying circumstances. He was abstemious, almost ascetic, in his tastes: he abstained from wine and partook of food sparingly, regarding as low and mean the satisfaction of material appetite. Frequently he fasted for two days at a time, especially when religion commanded. His great passion was for work, and he possessed the same love of petty detail that characterized Philip II of Spain, insisting that nothing should be done without his consent. He even regulated the details of campaigns for his generals and drew up plans for fortifications.

But there was an unfavorable side to Justinian's character. He was always ready, one chronicler tells us, to lend an ear to calumny, so that his most faithful servants, his most loyal generals, and his most intimate friends never knew when they might fall from imperial favor. He had an extremely suspicious and jealous disposition, a failing which he manifested in particular toward his great general Belisarius. "The emperor was jealous of his military glory, jealous of his riches, jealous of his popularity; against him he was ready to receive any denunciation, to encourage any intrigue."² With a vanity that was frequently puerile he welcomed the most fulsome flattery. Under an exterior of absolutism he concealed a character fundamentally weak and vacillating. This manifested itself especially in old age, when he hesitated to make a firm resolution and changed his mind in a capricious fashion. He was easily influenced by favorites, as is shown

by the career of John of Cappadocia, a clever financier but corrupt and unscrupulous politician. So commanding was the ascendancy the empress exercised over him that the gossip of the capital could account for it only on the ground of magical practice.

Theodora. A scarcely less important figure in imperial politics was the Empress Theodora, the daughter of the keeper of bears at the Hippodrome in Constantinople. So entrancingly beautiful, said the panegyrists, that neither word nor art of man could adequately portray her, Theodora — if we can believe the calumnies of the *Secret History* of Procopius — obtained an undesirable notoriety as an actress in the capital and throughout the East. On her return to Constantinople, the scene of her first triumphs, Justinian conceived so violent a passion for her that he determined to marry her and induced his uncle to bestow upon her honors and wealth. The Empress Euphemia, it is said, opposed the match; but on her death Justinian married Theodora, and in 527 she was crowned with him. Until her death in 548 she exercised a preponderating influence in the politics of the empire.

Whatever may be the truth in Procopius's account of her early career, Theodora quickly adapted herself to the life of an empress. She was as great a lover of luxury and ease as Justinian was of simplicity and toil. In order to preserve her youth and beauty she slept until noon and took frequent baths followed by long hours of repose; and her table was spread with every available delicacy. Unlike Justinian, she loved all the formalities of court etiquette and procedure. The highest dignitaries of the realm were often kept waiting several days for an audience, and on being admitted had to bow the forehead to the floor and kiss her feet with their lips. Her character was as firm and resolute as Justinian's was weak and vacillating. During the insurrection at the capital in 532 it was her firmness that saved the throne.

When Justinian was loading the imperial treasure upon ships and preparing to save himself by flight, Theodora rose in the council and recalled Justinian and his ministers to their duty.

When safety only remains in flight, still I will not flee [she declared]. Those who have worn the crown should not survive its fall. I will never live to see the day when I shall no longer be saluted as Empress. Flee if you wish, Caesar; you have money, the ships await you, the sea is unguarded. As for me, I remain. I hold with the old proverb which says that the purple is a good winding-sheet.³

Her courage instilled new energy into Justinian and his ministers; the revolt was quelled and the throne saved. Throughout her life she was the equal of Justinian in rule, and her commands were received with deference throughout the empire. Officials knew that her favor was the road to high office and a guarantee against disgrace. "The emperor never decides anything without consulting me," she declared.⁴ She was a past master in the art of intrigue, and accomplished her designs by guile and wit as well as by diplomacy. Violent both in love and in hate, she advanced her favorites without scruple and pursued her enemies with ruthless vengeance. Her influence on Justinian was thus not always a happy one. A more favorable aspect of her influence may be found in her effort to raise fallen women, in her construction of hospitals and orphanages, and in the favor which she extended to the Monophysite* heretics.

* The Council of Nicaea (see page 66) had established as the orthodox faith of the church the perfect deity and the perfect humanity of Christ. Later there arose the question, How are the divine and the human combined in the one person? After much bitter controversy the Council of Chalcedon (451) proclaimed, as the orthodox faith of the church, the union in one person of the two natures, without confusion or change, without division or separation, so that the divine will always remain divine and the human always remain human.

But not everyone accepted this formula of two distinct natures in one person. A minority insisted that the divine and human in Christ were not distinct, but were completely amalgamated into "one theanthropic nature," hence "monophysite" (single nature). Cf. McGiffert, *History of Christian Thought*, Vol. I, ch. xv.

Such were the personalities that dominated the Byzantine Empire in the fifth century. It is necessary now to turn to their policies.

The Restoration of the West. From the outset of his reign Justinian dreamed of reconstructing the universal rule of the Roman Empire and reuniting with the empire those provinces which had come under barbarian rule. "To reconquer Africa from the Vandals, Italy from the Ostrogoths, Spain from the Visigoths, Gaul from the Franks" was his grand design.⁵ Indeed, the emperors at Constantinople had never recognized the separation of these provinces from the empire. They claimed that the barbarian rulers were but their delegates, and this the barbarians themselves had frequently admitted. For instance, the Emperor Anastasius had conferred the rank of patrician upon Clovis, and this meant, from the Byzantine point of view, that the Frankish sovereign was a sort of viceroy of the emperor. Moreover, as the champion of orthodoxy, Justinian felt that he was divinely appointed to relieve the Catholic populace oppressed by Arian rule; exiled clergy flocked to Constantinople and by their passionate entreaties confirmed him in this view.

Destruction of the Vandal Kingdom. An opportunity to interfere in the Vandal kingdom of Africa was not slow in presenting itself. After the death of Genseric, the founder of the kingdom, in 477, North Africa was a prey to anarchy. In 530 King Hilderic, a partisan of the Byzantine alliance, was dethroned by his cousin Gelimer and thrown into prison, whence he appealed to Justinian for aid. The emperor, determined to seize this occasion to intervene, overcame the doubts of his ministers over the advisability of the expedition and dispatched Belisarius, the best general of the empire, to Africa with fifteen or sixteen thousand troops in five hundred transports (533 A.D.). Within a few months the Vandal kingdom fell before the forces of the Byzantine general, and

Gelimer was carried to Constantinople to grace the triumph of the victor. This speedy conquest, however, was more apparent than real; for almost immediately the Berbers rose in a revolt that was not suppressed until 539. Indeed, imperial authority was not definitely established until 546-548, and even then Mauretania, the western part of Africa, did not acknowledge the rule of Byzantium. Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands, which had been under Vandal rule, were also subjected to Constantinople.

Conquest of Italy. The conquest of Africa afforded Justinian an admirable base for operations against Italy, and the rapid collapse of the Vandal kingdom encouraged him to attack that of the Ostrogoths. In Italy, as in Africa, circumstances furnished him an excellent excuse for interference.

On the death of Theodoric, in 526, two parties divided Italy: a Germanic one which stood for barbarian customs and traditions, and a Roman one which desired a complete return to the state of affairs that existed before the conquest. The champion of this latter party was Amalasuntha, the daughter of Theodoric, who acted as regent for her young son Athalaric. Fearing the vengeance of the relatives of some Gothic nobles whom she had put to death, she sought safety in an alliance with Justinian. On the death of the sickly Athalaric, Amalasuntha, knowing that the Goths would not tolerate the rule of a woman, associated with herself her cousin Theodahad, the last male scion of the royal race. After some months of joint rule, Theodahad imprisoned her on an island in the Lake of Bolsena, whence she appealed to Justinian for aid. The emperor immediately summoned Theodahad to release his cousin, and, when he received no response save the assassination of Amalasuntha, opened hostilities. In 535 Belisarius, in order to cut off supplies from Italy, landed with seventy-five hundred troops in Sicily, the granary of the Ostrogothic kingdom, and within a few weeks reduced it to submission. Crossing the Strait of Messina and

posing as the liberator of the Italian people, he speedily conquered southern Italy, captured Naples, the first city to offer serious resistance, and by December, 536, occupied Rome unopposed. At the same time another imperial army, having taken possession of Dalmatia, was marching on Ravenna.

In the face of invasion, Theodahad proved no more capable than the Vandal Gelimer. Cowardly at heart and unable to act resolutely, he preferred negotiation, in which he could exercise his arts of deception, to the strife of battle. At the moment when Belisarius seemed on the point of wresting all Italy from such a weak adversary, the Gothic army deposed Theodahad and elected one of their generals, Witigis, a brave soldier of obscure family, who sought to legitimize his usurpation by marrying a princess of the race of Theodoric. Witigis immediately laid siege to Rome and for more than a year sought to recapture the city; but neither the destruction of the aqueducts, which cut off the water supply of the city, nor the furious assaults of the Gothic army, said to have numbered one hundred and fifty thousand men, availed to break down the defenses of Belisarius. Accordingly the Gothic general beat a retreat into the north of Italy, where, after a series of reverses, he shut himself up in the fortress of Ravenna and sought to induce Chosroes, the Persian ruler, to create a diversion in his favor by attacking the empire in the East. Confronted with the alternative of surrender or starvation, the Goths proposed to Belisarius that he should reconstitute the Empire of the West under his own rule, and Witigis signified his own willingness to lay down his crown in order to facilitate such action. When Belisarius pretended to accede, and promised to respect the property rights of the inhabitants as well as to forgo sacking the city, the gates of Ravenna were thrown open (540). But immediately Belisarius threw off the mask, and Witigis, like Gelimer, was carried a prisoner to Constantinople, along with the flower of the Gothic aristocracy. Italy was reorganized as a Roman

province, and the emperor was able once more to speak of "his city of Rome" and "his city of Ravenna."

But Byzantine rule, with its oppressive financial policy, soon bred disaffection in a country devastated by war and among a people afflicted by famine. Profiting by this situation, the Goths proclaimed as their leader Totila, a capable general and a humane man "who made war without ravaging the country" and who has been described as "the most glorious of the Ostrogothic kings after the great Theodoric."⁶ His march through Italy was a veritable triumphal progress. One city after another speedily fell into his possession, — among them Rome, which Totila made his capital. Belisarius was sent to Italy once more; but, lacking adequate reinforcements and supplies from Constantinople, he accomplished little against the energetic Totila. In the palace intrigue that followed the death of Theodora, in 548, Belisarius was recalled in disgrace, and the eunuch Narses was dispatched to reduce Italy to subjection. But not until 555 was Gothic resistance broken, and in the north some garrisons held out until 563.

As a result of this protracted struggle, Italy was a devastated land, more destruction having been wrought by the soldiers of Justinian than by all the previous invasions. Not only had the fields of Italy repeatedly been laid waste, but the great cities had suffered cruelly from the rapacity of the Byzantine tax-gatherer as well as from frequent pillage. "Thus," as Procopius said, "all this vast land was almost empty of inhabitants, some having been destroyed by war, others by the plague and maladies which war brings in its train."⁷

Expedition to Spain. The dream of Justinian of reconstructing the Roman Empire was still further realized by the subjection of parts of the Iberian Peninsula. Visigothic Spain, like the barbarian kingdoms of Africa and Italy, in the sixth century was torn by dissension. King Agila, a bigoted

Arian, through his persecution of his Catholic subjects, had caused the election of a rival monarch, Athanagild, as the champion of orthodoxy, and Athanagild appealed to Constantinople for aid. A Byzantine general, Liberius, was dispatched to Spain, and he succeeded in capturing several fortified cities in the southeast of the peninsula, among them Carthagenæ. But in the face of invasion the Visigothic factions rallied to the national cause, and Liberius was unable to make further advances. Justinian was able, however, to hold the fortresses that had already been captured.

Less successful than in the West was Justinian's policy in the East, where he was obliged constantly to be on the defensive against the Persians, the Slavs, and the Huns.

The Wars with Persia. For many centuries the Persian monarchy had been the great foe of the Romans, who had had difficulty in guarding their eastern frontier against Persian aggression. The latter part of the fifth century had been a time of peace between the two empires, but hostilities broke out again in the sixth century. The attempt of the Byzantine emperor to Christianize and bring under his influence various tribes along the border, as well as the attack which the imperial troops made on the Persian frontier fortress of Nisibis, led to the beginning of war in 527. Although each side won a decisive victory, neither was interested in pushing its advantage, and with the accession of Chosroes I to the throne of Persia, in 531, peace negotiations were opened. Justinian, eager to have his hands free to begin his aggression in the West, was only too happy to make concessions, and the following year an "everlasting" peace was signed. Justinian agreed to pay one hundred and ten thousand pounds of gold annually, to maintain the fortresses of the Caucasus against the northern barbarians. But Chosroes, young, active, and ambitious for conquests, soon regarded with concern the advance that Byzantine power was making in the West, and, fearing lest Justinian's imperialism might

likewise menace Persian interests, he reconstructed his army and seized the occasion of the appeal of Witigis in 540 to begin war. For five years he pitilessly ravaged the Asiatic provinces of the empire. He even advanced as far west as Antioch (in Syria), which, after a short siege, he ruthlessly plundered, despoiling the churches, burning the city, and carrying off its population into slavery. In 545, when Totila had reconquered Italy, Justinian was glad to purchase a five years' truce. Not until 561, however, was a definitive peace established.

Invasion of Slavs, Bulgars, and Huns. While the Asiatic provinces were suffering from the Persian wars, the European provinces were being ravaged by new hordes of barbarians. Since the time of the Gothic invasions the northern shores of the Danube had been lined with new barbarian groups, — Slavs, Bulgars, and Huns, — who by the end of the fifth century had formed the habit of periodically crossing the river to plunder the towns and devastate the countryside. Throughout the reign of Justinian such incursions continued in spite of the emperor's efforts to prevent them. In 558 a band of Huns even reached the walls of Constantinople, whence they were repelled only by the courage of the aged Belisarius. As a rule these barbarian invasions did not lead to permanent settlements, for the imperial generals were always successful in driving the invading hordes back across the Danube. But the provinces of the Balkan Peninsula suffered cruelly from such depredations, and Procopius estimates that some two hundred thousand persons were either slain or taken captive during their course.

Defense of the Frontiers. For the defense of the empire against these foes, as well as for the maintenance of the reconquered provinces of the West, Justinian devised an elaborate system of fortifications, based largely upon that of the earlier empire. The provinces were divided into military

commands, over each of which was placed a *magister militum*. In addition, for the immediate protection of the frontier, there were created military districts under the command of dukes and defended by special troops called "soldiers of the frontier" (*limitanei*). Besides their pay these troops were given lands on the frontier, free from taxation; they were allowed to marry and to keep their wives and families with them in the fortified towns or castles which they occupied. In return they were under obligation to arm themselves and rush to the defense of the frontier at the first threat of invasion. Justinian also employed *foederati*, granting them land on which to settle or bestowing upon their chiefs an annual subsidy. Slavs and Huns along the Danube, Asiatic tribes in Mesopotamia, Arabs in Syria, and Berbers in North Africa were so utilized.

Frontier Fortresses. The frontiers were protected also by a continuous line of fortresses, erected in incredible numbers and at great cost. "If we should place a list of the fortresses constructed by Justinian," says Procopius, "before the eyes of a foreigner who was unable himself to observe the truth of our assertions, assuredly the multitude of these works would make our account appear fabulous and incredible."⁸ The ancient system of the Romans was adopted and extended, the old *castella* being repaired and new ones erected. Along every frontier was a series of fortified cities linked together at close intervals by a succession of citadels, strongly built and provided with water and provisions, although occupied by small garrisons. At a considerable distance in the rear of the frontier was a second series of fortified cities or citadels, placed at greater intervals and occupied by larger garrisons. Not only did these constitute another barrier against invasion, but they also served as places of refuge in which the neighboring inhabitants might take shelter. The walls of these fortresses were about four feet thick and varied from twenty-five to sixty feet in height. In

the Danubian provinces alone more than eighty such castles or citadels were either built or repaired, and in Africa, says Evagrius, in addition to the new ones that were erected, a hundred and fifty were rebuilt.

Even these defensive measures proved inadequate to secure freedom from invasion for the provinces. In many places the garrisons were too small to be effective, and the invaders plundered up to the very walls of the citadels. Moreover, in his old age, and especially after the death of Theodora, Justinian lacked his pristine energy. The frontier troops were allowed to go unpaid, and many of the fortresses were left without garrisons.

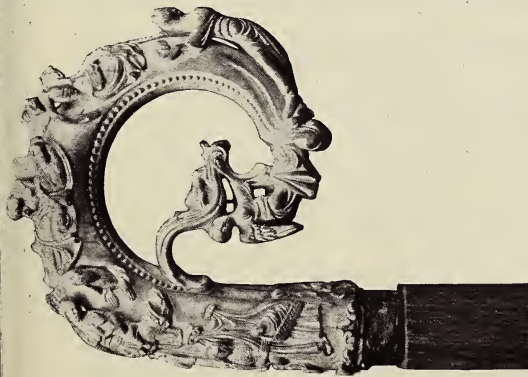
Reform of the Administration. When Justinian ascended the throne, he found the administration of the empire in a deplorable condition. Officials unblushingly purchased their posts and then reimbursed themselves by shamelessly exploiting their positions. The governors employed their office to plunder the provinces and to enrich themselves. As a consequence the people were impoverished, the treasury was empty, sedition and revolt were frequent. Justice was often denied, and Constantinople was filled with litigants who, unable to obtain satisfaction in the provinces, had appealed to the emperor. Even soldiers and police plundered at will, claiming that "the law was not made for them." The great landed proprietors lived as feudal tyrants: they maintained their armies, robbed the countryside, usurped land, and spared neither the property of the churches nor of the emperor. As a consequence the provinces were becoming depopulated, unproductive, and impoverished. All this Justinian, a lover of order and good administration, set himself to remedy. Moreover, for the success of his grand designs a well-filled treasury, which widespread peculation prevented, was essential.

Accordingly, in 535 Justinian issued two great ordinances which stated in precise terms the new duties that he placed

upon all officials and especially upon the governors. He called upon them "to regard the population paternally, to protect them against all injustice, to take no bribes, to show themselves equitable in their judgments and administrative acts, to prosecute crimes, to punish criminals according to the law — in short, to treat their subjects as a father would his children."⁹ Governors were obliged to supervise the conduct of all tax-collectors and were made responsible for the complete payment of all sums collected in the territory under their jurisdiction. All new officials, on taking office, were required to swear on the Holy Gospels that they would govern justly and honestly. Bishops were urged to watch over the conduct of governors and to insist on the strict enforcement of the laws. The fraudulent were threatened with the severest penalties, and promises of advancement were held out to those who were loyal and faithful. Anyone who wished to make complaints was invited to come to Constantinople and lay them before the sovereign; but Justinian sought to have justice done in the provinces and to make such appeals unnecessary.

In the interest of better administration Justinian broke with the policy of Diocletian and his successors to increase the number of provinces and officials. Several provinces were grouped together under one governor; thus the number of officials was reduced and those remaining were better paid. The former policy of separating the civil and military powers was also abandoned in parts of the empire, and governors were given both civil and military authority. These administrative reforms, however, seem to have been confined to the East and not introduced into the newly conquered West.

Many public works were undertaken throughout the empire during the reign of Justinian. Governors and officials were recommended to maintain the roads, bridges, aqueducts, and walls of cities, and funds were furnished them for that purpose. The emperor was particularly careful that



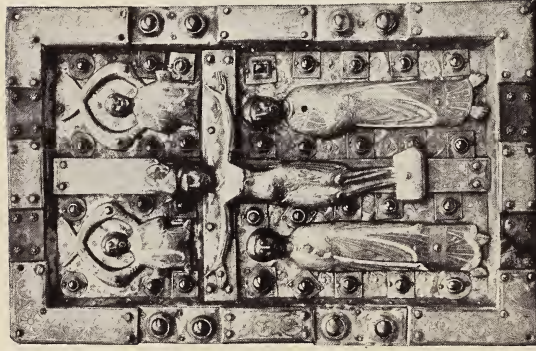
Crown © reserved. Victoria and Albert Museum
Ivory Head of a Pastoral Staff. English
 Workmanship. Eleventh-Twelfth Century



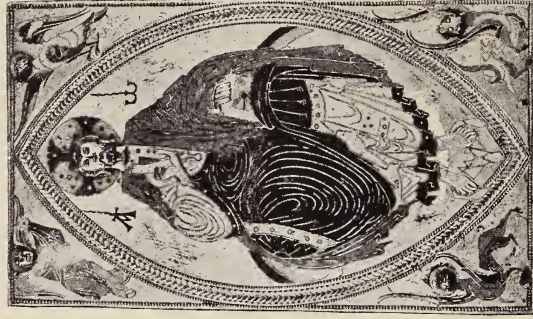
Reliquary of Saint Thomas à Becket.
 Enamel Workmanship



Pierced Brass Cover of Gospels
Cluny Museum



Enamelled Cover of Gospels
Cluny Museum



Cluny Museum

Enamelled Plaque

These are three excellent examples of Limoges workmanship of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

cities should be supplied with baths and a plentiful water supply. To this end the age of Justinian witnessed as great a construction of aqueducts, cisterns, and reservoirs as the early empire. Cities that had been destroyed by earthquake or by the ravages of war were rebuilt on a grander scale than before, as the example of Antioch attests. After the disasters of 540 the city was restored "with unheard-of luxury" and "plentifully supplied" with aqueducts, sewers, baths, public squares, and theaters.¹⁰

Justinian [says Evagrius] raised up in Africa a hundred and fifty cities: some he rebuilt completely; others, which were largely in ruins, he restored with greater magnificence. On each he lavished all kinds of adornment, public and private works, encircling them with walls and adorning them with superb buildings which please God as well as make the cities splendid.¹¹

Legal Reform. The most permanent and influential of Justinian's reforms was that of Roman law. It was under his direction that the mass of judicial decisions and opinions, known as the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, were revised, sifted, and published in four parts, — the *Code*, the *Digest*, the *Institutes*, and the *Novels*, — and thus given the form in which Roman law was known in the Middle Ages.

The Code. By the time of Justinian not only had many of the old Roman laws become obsolete, but their bulk was so great and they were so filled with contradictions and obscurities that judges frequently based their decisions upon their own pleasure or caprice rather than upon actual precedent or law. In the interests of good administration, therefore, it was essential to make the "laws certain and indisputable," and to reduce them to a system easy to consult. Accordingly, in 528 Justinian appointed a commission of ten members, "all men of learning, of experience and with an indefatigable and praiseworthy zeal for the public weal," under the presidency of Tribonian, a learned lawyer and statesman.¹² They

immediately set themselves to sift and classify all the laws and edicts from the time of Hadrian. The work was conducted with great dispatch, being completed within a year, and the result was published as the *Codex Justinianus*, or Justinian's Code. In imitation of the Twelve Tables, it was divided into twelve books, which superseded all other collections throughout the empire.

The Digest, or Pandects. But an equally important basis of judicial decision had been the pronouncements of celebrated jurists such as Pomponius, Ulpian, Papinian, Paul, and Scaevola. Like the laws, many of these pronouncements had become antiquated; and even those that were still valid were buried in some two thousand volumes (about three million lines), many of which were very rare, so that it was difficult for lawyers and judges to make use of them. To summarize them, declared Justinian, was a most difficult, even impossible, task. "But having raised our hands to heaven and invoked the aid of God, we have undertaken this task, confident in the Eternal who, by his omnipotence, is able to relieve the most desperate situations."¹³ In 530 a commission of sixteen members was appointed, again under the presidency of Tribonian. Within three years this stupendous task was completed and put forward as the *Digest*, or *Pandects* ("that which contains all"). It was divided into fifty sections and summarized in one hundred and fifty thousand lines the quintessence of Roman legal opinion. The work, however, bore marks of haste. It was free neither from contradictions nor from repetitions, as Justinian boasted that it was, and the selection of material made by his jurists has been open to criticism. But, all in all, it was a great improvement on the existing state of Roman law.

The Institutes. Important as they were, the *Code* and the *Digest* did not suffice. In order to facilitate the study of law a third work was prepared, the *Institutes*, a textbook to initiate

students into the mysteries of law. It was prepared in 533 by Tribonian, with the assistance of two professors. Along with the preparation of the *Institutes* went the reform of legal studies. Of the five existing law schools, at Constantinople, Rome, Beirut, Caesarea, and Alexandria, only the first three were retained, and instruction was made to conform to the new legal works. A new program of studies was prepared, and the term was extended from four to five years.

The Novels. While codifying the legislation of the past, Justinian, by his imperial prerogative, reserved to himself the right to publish decrees on points that needed revision or that the law did not touch. Between 534 and 565 he issued one hundred and fifty-four ordinances, which on some important matters, such as the inheritance of intestate property, modified the law of *Digest* and *Code*. These laws were called *Novellae* (Novels). They were formed into a collection for the first time in 555, by a lawyer of Constantinople, Julian, and were published in Greek.

Commerce. The sixth century was characterized by an extensive commerce which Justinian carefully fostered in the interests of the economic development of the empire. Much of it was a trade in articles of luxury from the Far East.

The emperors [says Heyd] in their stately ceremonies delighted to surround themselves with a multitude of courtiers clad in silk and purple. At the official banquets the guests sat down to a repast served in a room filled with the perfume of aloes wood and received gorgeous presents of silken garments.¹⁴

From China came silk, aloes, cloves, and sandalwood; from India, spices, pepper, musk, aromatics, ivory, precious stones, and pearls. Silk was perhaps the most important commodity imported from the Orient; for it was worn by grandees at court and by the clergy, and was used for altar

cloths, to wrap relics, to adorn the churches, and to add to the splendor of their services.

The trade routes by which these commodities were imported long remained the connecting links between the Far East and the West. The oldest led overland from China to Samarkand and Bokhara and thence through Persia. The journey from China to Persia required one hundred and fifty days, and that from Persia to Nisibis, on the Byzantine frontier, eighty days. A second route made use of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates, whence merchandise was carried by caravans in all directions. Both these routes were dominated by Persia, whose merchants had virtually a monopoly of the silk trade between the East and the Byzantine Empire. The frequent wars with Persia often interrupted this trade, and even in time of peace the court at Constantinople resented its commercial dependence upon its enemies. Accordingly Justinian, during the first Persian war, attempted to open up a trade route, via the Red Sea and Egyptian and Ethiopian ports, which would permit the importation of Oriental commodities — especially silk — independently of Persian channels. But the Syrian, Egyptian, and Ethiopian merchants found that Persia's domination of Indian markets was too complete to be broken, and after the peace of 532 they were obliged to yield to the Persian monopoly.

During the sixth century Byzantine merchants had opened up commercial relations with Goths, Huns, Avars, and other barbarian peoples through ports on the Black Sea. There spices and other Oriental commodities, and products of Byzantine workmanship such as jewelry and rich stuffs, of which the barbarians were very fond, were exchanged for furs, skins, fish, wax, salt, honey, amber, and slaves. More important still was the trade of Egypt and Syria with Arabia. Grain was shipped from Alexandria not only to Constantinople but also to Arabia, in return for which aloes, myrrh, and other Arabian perfumes were imported. The manu-

factured articles of Syria, consisting of glassware, fine cloths, embroidery, and jewels, were exported as far east as China. With the conquest of the western Mediterranean, Syrian and Egyptian merchants became active in the West. They carried Oriental wares, manufactured articles from Syria, and papyrus from Egypt to Marseille, Bordeaux, Narbonne, Tours, and Paris.

Industry. During the reign of Justinian, as under the early empire, the workshops of Syria continued to be famous for their fine jewelry, glassware, embroidery, and cloth, especially silk. Silk was imported in a raw state and manufactured at Beirut and Tyre; but this industry frequently suffered from the wars with Persia, which cut off or reduced its supplies of raw material. The purchase of raw silk from Persian merchants was entrusted to fiscal agents, called *comites commerciorum* or *commercarii*, whose duty it was to furnish supplies to the manufacturers after the duty had been paid. One object of this system was to prevent the manufacturer from greatly raising prices. But when, during the war with Persia in 540, the private manufacturers did raise their price, Justinian retaliated by establishing state factories, the *gynaecia*. In them slaves wove the silk, and made it up into the articles in demand at court. These state factories had a virtual monopoly of the production of certain fine stuffs. When Justinian attempted to regulate the price paid to Persian merchants, they preferred to hold their silk, and as a consequence private industry was virtually destroyed.¹⁵

The way was prepared during the reign of Justinian, however, for relief from Persian monopoly by the introduction of the silk culture into the empire. Between 552 and 554 two monks who had lived long in central Asia offered to introduce the silkworm. This they succeeded in doing, in spite of the rigid inspection, by smuggling the eggs concealed in bamboo sticks. Syria, it is said, was soon covered with mulberry plantations, and the silk culture speedily flourished;

but it was long before enough raw silk was thus produced to supply the demand.

Justinian and the Church. Throughout his reign Justinian, as the *Code* and more especially the *Novels* bear witness, was greatly concerned with the affairs of the church. As an absolute ruler he believed that the church should be completely under the control of the state; even minute details of ecclesiastical life should be regulated by that same imperial meticulousness that extended to all secular affairs. The law determined the manner in which the clergy should be appointed, the qualifications that each should possess, — whether bishop, abbot, monk, or priest, — and the moral standards according to which each should live. An equal care was exercised over church property. The law was altered to make bequests to the church more easy, the clergy were forbidden to alienate church property, and rules were established for its administration. The power of the ecclesiastical courts was extended; the lower clergy were made subject only to episcopal control; and bishops were recognized as the protectors of the poor, prisoners, and slaves, and the natural redressers of all wrongs and injustices. Moreover, Justinian, who prided himself on his theological knowledge and had a passionate love for subtle theological debate, convoked councils, sanctioned or revoked their decrees, drew up confessions of faith, and hurled anathemas.

Considering unity of faith in a well-organized state as essential as political unity, Justinian became the champion of orthodoxy and ruthlessly proscribed both paganism and heresy. In spite of severe laws promulgated against it in the fourth and fifth centuries, paganism had lingered in various parts of the empire, and in obscure corners temples were still open and temple worship maintained. Even at Constantinople many of the courtiers, notably Tribonian, were said to be pagan sympathizers. Against all such Justinian issued laws that were made more and more severe. Devotees of

pagan deities were deprived of all civil rights; thus they could not hold public office, bequeath their property, or give evidence in a court of law. The death penalty was decreed against those who secretly practiced a pagan cult or, once converted, returned to their old faith. Children of pagan parents were to be taken from them, baptized, and instructed in the Christian religion. All the remaining temples were either converted into Christian churches or destroyed. As a final blow against paganism, the Academy at Athens, the last refuge of pagan philosophy, was closed, its professors were dispersed, and its endowments were confiscated.

Equally severe were the laws against heresy. Heretics, like pagans, were deprived of political and civil rights;¹⁶ and to relapse into heresy was to incur the death penalty. With the re-establishment of the empire in Africa and Italy the Arian churches were confiscated and either given to the orthodox or destroyed, their clergy were proscribed, and their worship was suppressed. Even the Jews felt the heavy hand of an emperor who could brook no religious dissent. Only one heretical group, the Monophysites of Syria and Egypt, experienced imperial favor, and that was owing to the sympathy of the Empress Theodora with their tenets. Under her protection Jacob Baradaï organized the Jacobite, or Monophysite, Church of Syria, which ever since has remained distinct from Greek Catholicism.

A more enduring monument to Justinian's interest in the church is found in the edifices which he erected all over the empire, some of which still survive. Procopius, in his *De Aedificiis*, has preserved a list of them which shows how extensive Justinian's building enterprises were. After the capture of Ravenna by Belisarius, Justinian completed three churches that had already been begun, the finest of which was San Vitale. In the form of an octagon covered by a concealed dome, San Vitale exhibits Byzantine mosaic work of the sixth century at the height of its splendor. The choir, besides containing beautiful mosaics in gold, blue, red, and

green, is famous for its representations of Theodora and Justinian surrounded by their courtiers. The most magnificent monument of Byzantine art of the age was St. Sophia, or the Church of the Holy Wisdom, which has been called "the most important edifice in the history of Christian art."¹⁷ It was erected on the site of a former church built by Constantine, which had been destroyed in the great fire of 532. Ten thousand men, it is said, labored on it for a period of five years, and the entire empire was ransacked for its most beautiful material, governors being invited to send to Constantinople the spoils of pagan temples for its adornment. The most striking feature of the edifice is its colossal dome, one hundred and seven feet in diameter, which rises one hundred and eighty feet above the pavement. Justinian regarded it as one of his greatest achievements, and at its dedication exclaimed: "Glory to God who has judged me worthy to accomplish so great a work. I have outdone thee, O Solomon."

Justinian's attitude toward the Pope was another feature of his ecclesiastical policy. From the very beginning of his reign he sought to improve relations with the bishop of Rome. He addressed the latter as "Pope of Rome," and "Apostolic Father," and admitted the primacy of Rome over the see of Constantinople.¹⁸ But he was determined to be master of the Pope as well as of the Eastern church. In order to compel one Pope, Vigilius, to obey the imperial will, Justinian summoned him to Constantinople and kept him there seven years until he finally yielded.

The End of the Reign. The splendor of Justinian's reign, however, was but ephemeral. The vast projects that he undertook, such as the reconquest of the West, the defense of the frontiers, the rebuilding of fortresses and cities, the construction of aqueducts, roads, and bridges, and the erection of splendid churches, all called for an enormous expenditure of money, which he had difficulty in obtaining. There was

always a great disproportion between his great designs and the means at his disposal to execute them. His treasury was always empty, — a condition that led to the increase of taxation until the burden became unbearable and to the employment of financial expedients that were vexatious and deplorable. The agents whom he employed, such as John of Cappadocia and Peter Barsymes, were thoroughly unscrupulous; they cornered wheat, cut the pay of soldiers, and debased the currency. With such officials in power, it is no wonder that many of Justinian's administrative reforms proved abortive. Even the minister of justice, Tribonian, was guilty of selling justice, and his successor, Constantine, followed his example so well that in a few years he amassed an enormous fortune. Agathias tells us that officials openly robbed the government and that governors shamelessly appropriated money which should have gone into the treasury.¹⁹ At Justinian's death, in 565, the empire was financially exhausted.

In addition to the financial exhaustion during the latter part of his reign, there was a weakening of the administration brought about by Justinian's advanced age — he died at the age of eighty-two. He had lost much of the energy that had urged him on to conquer Africa and Italy. Especially after the death of Theodora, in 548, his rule was weakened by a constant irresolution, which showed itself in the war with the Goths, and often in negligence of and lack of interest in affairs of state. Absorbed in the study of theology and preoccupied with religious interests, he allowed the army to be neglected and the frontiers to be left unguarded. As an official document declared, "In the absence of all necessary equipment, the army was so completely dissolved that the state was exposed to incessant invasions and insults from the barbarians."²⁰ As a consequence he adopted the dangerous and futile expedient of buying off the invaders with gold. To add to the disasters, earthquakes shook Syria, damaging its cities, and plagues afflicted the population of the capital.

The Lombard Invasions. Not only did the Slavic invasions of the Balkan Peninsula continue after the death of Justinian, until, by 700, the ethnic basis of the modern Balkan states was laid, but Italy experienced a new Germanic invasion — that of the Lombards. From their position along the upper reaches of the Oder on the eve of the Germanic invasions, the Lombards continued southward and in 568 crossed the Alps. Neither the people of Italy nor the Byzantine troops in the peninsula offered serious resistance, and within a few years most of Italy was in the hands of the invaders. Only Ravenna and its environs, Genoa and the Ligurian coast, Rome and its environs (later known as the Patrimony of Saint Peter), and the south (Calabria and Apulia) remained under Byzantine rule. The authority of the Lombard king was most effective in the valley of the Po — Lombardy. The duchies of Tuscany, Spoleto, Beneventum, and Salerno in the center and south and of Friuli in the northeast were virtually independent. The efforts of the Lombards to unite all Italy into a Lombard kingdom were never successful, and in the eighth century they succumbed to the assaults of the Franks.

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- 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Cited from DIEHL, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 23, 191-192, 201, 231, 276, with the permission of the Librairie Ernest Leroux.
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CHAPTER VIII

The Rise of Mohammedanism

THE most serious menace to the empire in the seventh century came neither from Persia nor from the barbarian world, but from an entirely unexpected quarter, Arabia. Lying between Africa and Asia, the Arabian peninsula, inhabited by disunited tribes and composed largely of barren desert, mountain ranges, and tablelands; seemed scarcely to endanger the Roman Empire and had offered no natural resources to tempt the Romans to subject it. But in the seventh century, Arabia, shaking off its age-long quiescence, under the leadership of Mohammed and his followers undertook to conquer the world.

Arabia before Mohammed. Besides the desert, which composed about a third of the peninsula, Arabia consisted of three main parts. In the south was Yemen (the Sheba of the Old Testament), the most fertile part of the entire country and consequently the most civilized. In remote antiquity it was famous for its minerals, precious stones, and spices; and its ruins bear witness to its former greatness. Stretching along the western coast and bordering on the Red Sea was the Hejaz, in which were Yathrib (later Medina), Mecca, and Ta'if, whose importance was due to their situation on the caravan route between Yemen and Syria. East of the Hejaz, and consisting of a fertile plateau several thousand feet above the sea level, was Nejd.

The character of the inhabitants was as diversified as the land itself. Inhabiting the borders of the deserts or the oases were the Bedouin tribes, who lived a nomadic life and depended upon their flocks and herds of horses, camels, sheep,

and goats. Agriculture was practiced in Yemen, in Nejd, and in the northern part of Hejaz, where the date was the chief product. The merchant class was important in the south and in Hejaz. Colonies of Jews had established themselves in various parts of the peninsula, and Christianity had penetrated Yemen. Though for a time the Ghassānids on the Syrian frontier and Hira on the Persian frontier had been organized as Christian states, by the time of Mohammed these had ceased to exist. Political unity was utterly lacking, and within the borders of Arabia there was no political organization that deserved to be called a state. The inhabitants were grouped into tribes, which were sometimes subdivided into clans, and recognized no authority save that of their own chiefs. Bitter tribal wars, often engendered by the most trifling disputes, were frequent, the tribe regarding it as its duty to punish injuries to one of its members. But constant tribal warfare was prevented by the four sacred months (three in the autumn and one in the spring) set aside for religious festivals and pilgrimages, during which arms were laid down and blood feuds forgotten. "So faithful were they to the ordinances of their religion," declares Margoliouth, "that if a man met his father's murderer unarmed in one of the sacred months he would not harm him."¹ Hospitable to the extent of slaughtering a camel that constituted his sole wealth to feed a stranger who came to him at night, the Arab nevertheless did not hesitate to rob the wayfarer or merchant. An agreement made merely by a sign or nod was regarded as inviolable. Besides, the Arab was a lover of poetry, of freedom, and of manliness.

The religions of Arabia were of a very primitive nature: they retained many survivals of animism, stones and trees being frequently worshiped. Many gods and several goddesses were venerated. These deities possessed several holy places, to which pilgrims resorted to fulfill vows, to gain merit, or to consult an oracle. Frequently, religious festivals and fairs were combined. Temples were small and unim-

posing, and idols and images were not uncommon. Animal sacrifices were practiced, the blood being smeared on the holy stone while the flesh of the victim furnished a feast for the offerer, his family, and his guests. On the other hand, colonies of Jews who adhered to their ancestral faith were scattered over Arabia, and there were Christians in Yemen. Christian slaves were not uncommon, and in the trading centers were individuals who had discovered the inferiority of Arab paganism and adopted a monotheism appropriated from Jewish or Christian sources.

Mecca. The most important holy place and center of religious festivals and fairs was Mecca, in the Hejaz. Situated in an unproductive ravine some fifty miles from the western coast, its importance was due to the fact that it lay on the caravan route between the north and the south and to the fact that from remote antiquity it had been a place of pilgrimage. During the sacred months, pilgrims from all parts of Arabia visited Mecca and its holy shrine, the Ka'bah (or cube). The Ka'bah contained a black stone, probably a meteorite, which was regarded with special veneration, and the images of several deities. The inhabitants of Mecca were exclusively occupied with trade or with various professions associated with religion, and in the sixth century were dominated by the Kuraish, a tribe that possessed the right to levy a tax on all pilgrims. Since the sanctity that was attached to the Ka'bah extended some miles beyond the city, it was a convenient place for artisans to pursue their peaceful arts, such as carpentry, weaving, sword-making, tailoring, and leather-making. One clan of the Kuraish, the Banu Hashim, seems to have risen to prominence through its monopoly of providing pilgrims with drinking water, and it was to this clan that Mohammed belonged.

Mohammed. Although the Banu Hashim were socially prominent in Mecca, it seems doubtful whether, as was

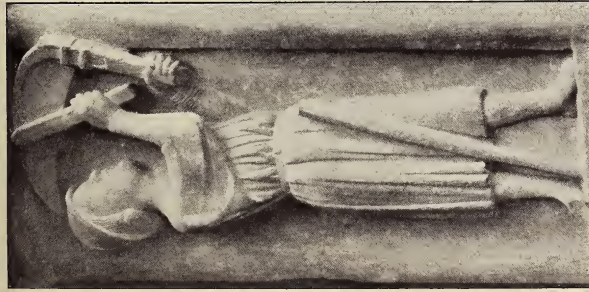
formerly thought, Mohammed belonged to an ancient noble family. Born about 570 A.D., and early left an orphan and penniless, he was cared for first by his grandfather and then by his uncle Abu Talib, for whom he tended sheep and camels. It is probable that he also frequently accompanied caravans on their journeys to Yemen and Syria, later entering the employ of a wealthy Meccan widow, Khadijah. After he had conducted her caravans with marked success for some time, the grateful widow, who was some years his senior, rewarded him by proffering herself in marriage, and Mohammed, whose poverty had compelled him to postpone marriage beyond the usual age, — he was twenty-five, — accepted. Made economically independent by his marriage, he seems to have settled down to the undistinguished life of a petty trader of Mecca. It was not until some fifteen years later that he appeared before his fellow tribesmen and citizens in a new role, that of prophet.

Little is known of Mohammed during this period. His married life was apparently a happy one, for as long as Khadijah lived he took no other wife. He was an affectionate father, even toward his step-children, and was a respected citizen of Mecca, though there is no reason to believe that he was held in especial esteem or that he was extraordinarily successful in business. In appearance he has been described as "of middle height, bluish colored, with hair that was neither straight nor curly; with a large head, large eyes, heavy eyelashes, a reddish tint in his eyes, thick-bearded, broad-shouldered, with thick hands and feet."² He was extremely neat and cleanly in appearance and habits and abhorred anything that produced a strong odor, such as onions and garlic, which he described as "evil vegetables." It is probable that he was unable to write, for in later years he always employed a secretary; and it is a matter of dispute whether he could read. He was not remarkable for his courage: he made safety and care for his life the first consideration; but in presence of danger he was cool and could fight

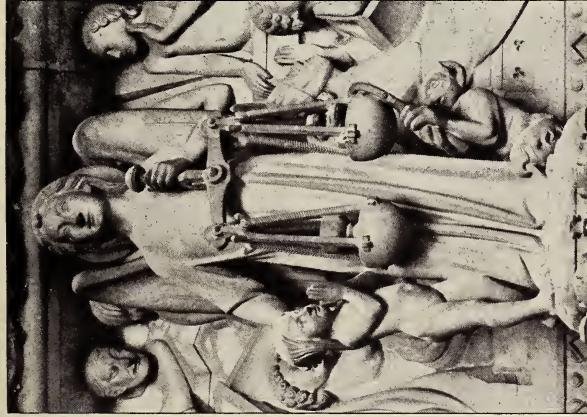
bravely. One of his greatest assets was his knowledge of human nature; in his judgment of men he rarely erred. He seems to have suffered from some nervous disorder, — probably of a hysterical nature rather than epilepsy, as some have thought, — which manifested itself by loss of consciousness, foaming at the mouth, reddening or blanching of the face, fever, and headache.³ To his followers these fits were regarded as symptoms of divine inspiration.

The process by which Mohammed became convinced of his prophetic mission lies wholly in obscurity; but from detached fragments of information it is possible to draw certain inferences. There is no indication that he early protested against the polytheistic or idolatrous creed of his fellow citizens; but later, probably under the influence of Christian and Jewish ideas, he came to regard it as wrong. As already pointed out, there were Arabs who had become convinced of the inferiority of paganism and had adopted a monotheistic creed. One of these, Warakah, was a cousin of Khadijah and an intimate in their own house. Moreover, in his travels as well as in Mecca, Mohammed had doubtless conversed with many Christians and Jews and imbibed many ideas from them. Probably under the influence of Christian asceticism, he spent much time in fasting and solitary vigil, for which purpose he was accustomed to retire to the caves of Mt. Hira, in the vicinity of Mecca. On one of these occasions he became convinced that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him, summoning him to become the prophet of his people, — to proclaim the doctrine of one God, Allah, who abominates idolatry, of a day of judgment, and of future punishment.

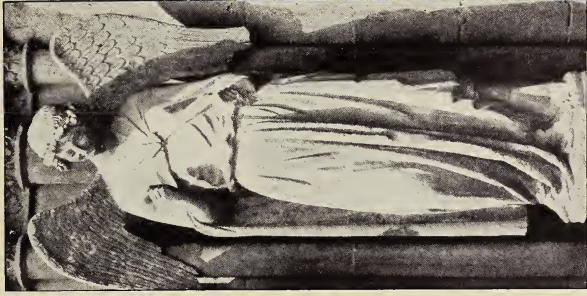
Beginning of Mohammedanism. At first Islam (meaning "submission to God") existed only as a secret society and included, besides the members of Mohammed's own household, a cloth merchant Abu Bakr. Like early Christianity it made progress chiefly among the poor and the slaves, and at the end of three years included only forty persons. When



Reaper: July. Façade of Notre Dame, Paris. Thirteenth Century



Last Judgment. Portal of Sainte-Chapelle, Paris. Thirteenth Century



Smiling Angel. Reims Cathedral. Thirteenth Century. (Page 566)



Ekkehard and Uta. Naumburg Cathedral. Thirteenth Century.
(See pages 566-567)

Mohammed decided on a wider propaganda, he called his clan together and invited them to embrace the new faith.

"No Arab," he urged, "has offered to his nation more precious advantages than those I bring you. I offer you happiness in this world and in the life to come. Who among you will aid me in this task?" All were silent. Only 'Ali, with boyish enthusiasm, cried out, "Prophet of God, I will aid thee!" At this the company broke up with derisive laughter.⁴

In derision the Meccans called them *Moslems*, or "traitors."* The opposition of the Kuraish was uncompromising; for the new creed threatened to injure the vested interests of the old religion. Abu Talib, who to the end of his life remained an unbeliever, besought his nephew not to bring disaster upon the Banu Hashim, of which he was the head; but when he saw Mohammed's earnestness and sincerity he declared: "Preach whatever thou wilt. I swear I will never give thee up to thine enemies."⁵ When persecution became more severe, Mohammed advised his followers to take refuge in Abyssinia; but even there the hatred of the Kuraish pursued them. Though exposed to continual insult and annoyance, he himself was safe in the protection of his clansmen. Finally the opposition of the Kuraish grew so bitter that they ostracized the Banu Hashim and refused to have any relations, social or mercantile, with them. For three years the Banu Hashim were shut up in one quarter of the city and dependent upon the charity of Khadijah. But they refused to give Mohammed up, and as their sufferings apparently aroused the compassion of the Kuraish, the ban was lifted. The deaths of Khadijah and of Abu Talib following shortly afterwards, Mohammed determined to seek a new abode.

The Hijra (Hegira), 622. Having made converts among pilgrims from Medina, a city about two hundred and seventy

* Ordinarily it meant "one who hands over his friends to their enemies"; but Mohammed interpreted it to mean "one who hands over his person to God" (MARGOLIOUTH, *Mohammed*, p. 117).

miles north of Mecca, on the occasion of the annual festivals, Mohammed resolved to accept their invitation and migrate thither. After dispatching his followers in small groups to avoid suspicion, in the summer of 622, accompanied only by Abu Bakr and his cousin 'Ali, he stole out of Mecca and made his way to Medina. This was the Hijra, or Hegira, the starting point of the Mohammedan era.

At Medina the prophet received an enthusiastic welcome. His first care was to build a mosque which should serve as a place of prayer and of assembly for his followers. Possibly with the object of winning over the Jews, he advised his followers to turn in prayer toward Jerusalem. When the Jews proved obdurate, he rescinded this order and bade them turn toward Mecca. As the Meccan refugees found subsistence difficult, — for they were skilled neither in agriculture nor in palm culture, the chief occupations of the citizens of Medina, — the prophet organized raids on the Meccan caravans returning from Syria. This led the Kuraish to retaliate by marching in force against Medina. They were met at Badr by Mohammed, who inflicted a severe defeat upon them and compelled the prisoners to pay a heavy ransom. Although the Moslems were later defeated by the Kuraish, this seems not to have injured the prestige that the victory of Badr gave him. He became the ruler of Medina, and all clan distinctions were broken down by the new unity of Islam. His implacable enemies were removed by assassination, and he offered the Jews of the city the alternative of conversion to Islam or death. When they chose the latter alternative, some six hundred suffered martyrdom, and their women and children were sold into slavery.

Extension of Moslem Power. Medina was thus no longer a place of refuge but the center of a despotic theocracy that was determined to subject all Arabia. Mohammed's successes had won him the respect of many of the Bedouin tribes of the surrounding country ; and when they sent deputations

to him, he received them courteously, heard their grievances, and settled their disputes. Frequently it happened that one member of a tribe would accept Islam, return home, and convert the entire tribe. Those who were not converted by pacific means were subjected by force. But it was Mecca, above all, that Mohammed desired to win. At first he seems to have considered conquering the city; then, for the time being, he abandoned such a scheme and negotiated with the Meccans a treaty which permitted him and his followers to enter as pilgrims and remain three days. He sought to convince the Kuraish that acceptance of Islam would by no means interfere with the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed. Prominent Meccans began going over to their old opponent and his faith until Mohammed perceived that he should meet with little resistance. On the approach of his army most of the citizens threw away their arms, shut themselves up in their houses, and allowed the prophet to occupy the city with scarcely a blow (630 A.D.). The idols and images in the Ka'bah were destroyed; but it became the holy place of the new religion as it had been of the old.

The fall of Mecca was followed by the adhesion of southern Arabia. The year 631 is known as the year of deputations, because so many tribes and cities sent delegates to give their submission. By the time of Mohammed's death, in the following year, much of Arabia had embraced his religion.

The victory of Islam wrought the political and social transformation of Arabia. The old tribal idea that had established society on the basis of blood relationship was destroyed. The ancient blood feuds between tribes and clans were abolished, and the Arabs were welded into a social and political unity such as had never existed in the peninsula before. It was this that made Arabia in the seventh century a menace to the Byzantine Empire and to Europe. Before describing the remarkable spread of Arabic power under Islam, it is necessary for us to pause and consider the nature of the creed that had produced such a marvelous effect.

Mohammed as Prophet. The primary doctrine of Mohammedanism is the belief in one God (Allah) and in the prophetic mission of Mohammed. This is summarized in the confession "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God."⁶ Consequently, in the revelations which he uttered, God spake to man. "Mohammed would fall into a violent state of agitation, his face would turn livid, and he would cover himself with a blanket, from which he would afterwards emerge perspiring copiously, with a message ready."⁷ Later his revelations were made with greater facility, in answer to a question addressed to him while he was eating or as he was standing in the pulpit. The character of these revelations constitutes a problem in psychology; they bear striking resemblances to the communications of mediums in modern spiritualism. In content they reflect the incidents and ideas Mohammed may well have gleaned from conversation with Christian or Jewish merchants. In the state of trance they were reproduced from the "unconscious" and delivered as divine revelations.

These revelations to which Mohammed gave utterance constitute the *Koran* ("reading" or "revelation"), compiled about a year after his death by his amanuensis, under the direction of Abu Bakr, from written records and from the memories of his followers, — "from date leaves and tablets of white stone and from the breasts of men." Hence the *Koran* is the inspired and infallible book of Mohammedanism.

Mohammedan Doctrines. The conception of God in the *Koran* is essentially that of the Jews, from whom Mohammed doubtless took it over. God is the creator, the judge, and the preserver of mankind, who has predestined all things and who is naively thought of as sitting on his throne in the highest heaven, surrounded by his ministers, the angels. Opposed to God and his angels are the devil and his demons, adversaries and tempters of men, who were cast from heaven because of their pride.

Mohammed's doctrine of the afterlife, like his conception of God, was borrowed largely from Jewish or Christian sources. The reality of the day of judgment and of a future life of rewards and punishments was one of the first of his teachings. For unbelievers and those who do no good works God has prepared a terrible hell,—a gulf of fire, where sinners, fettered and chained, eternally broil, unable to die or to escape. Mohammed believed in a physical resurrection, and consequently hell was essentially a place of physical torment. In contrast, paradise (or garden), a Jewish conception, was a place of physical enjoyment, —

of green meadows and shady trees, bearing all pleasant fruits, of springs and flowing rivers — the very heaven for a dweller in the barren, burning valley of Mecca, for the Arab of the desert. There are all things that man can desire in lavish abundance, delicious fruits, streams of milk and honey, wine without a headache in it, silken raiment and rich adornment, rare perfumes. It is frankly a paradise of the senses; fair-eyed maids with complexion like pearls and rubies are one of the attractions of the place. But it is also a place where no false nor foolish word is spoken, and where the saved continually praise God for his goodness.⁸

The Duties of the Mohammedan. Besides the obligation to believe in one God and in the divine mission of Mohammed, every believer has four duties to perform which are essential to a devout religious life. (1) Prayer. Five times a day the believer, having performed his ablutions, — for purity is essential to the efficacy of prayer, — with his face turned toward Mecca, must offer up prayer at the call of the mu'az-zin from the mosque. These five prayers are obligatory, no matter where the Mohammedan may be. If he is traveling in the desert or if water is scarce, his preliminary ablutions may be performed with sand. (2) The giving of alms. Charity toward the poor, which Mohammed enjoined, soon became converted into a tithe, or tax, to be paid annually by every Moslem who owned property, for the support of the

indigent, for war against the infidel, for the spread of Islam, and for the maintenance of mosques. (3) Fasting, especially during the month of Ramadan, which Mohammed enjoined, probably in imitation of the Christian Lent.

During the whole of this month Moslems are required to observe a complete fast from sunrise to sunset, abstaining not only from food and drink, but [in modern times] even from such alleviation of hunger and thirst as is afforded by smoking. It is the custom, therefore, to take a meal before sunrise and a fuller one after sunset. Indifferent Moslems not infrequently spend the night making up for the abstinences of the day; but piety requires that the sentiment of the fasting day should prevail in the night also, which, so far as it is not given to sleep, should be passed in prayer and the recitation of the Koran, or in godly conversation.⁹

(4) A pilgrimage to the holy Ka'bah at Mecca at least once during his lifetime is incumbent upon every Moslem if he can possibly afford it.

Mohammedan Worship. In contrast with the elaborate ritual that developed within Christianity, Mohammedan worship is extremely simple. There is no ecclesiastical hierarchy, no sacerdotal priesthood, no sacraments, and no holy day. On Friday noon there is a public service which all males are supposed to attend, and while it is being conducted all business is suspended; but otherwise there is no attempt to exalt it into a holy day, such as the Jewish Sabbath or the Christian Sunday. The service in the mosque consists of readings from the Koran, prayers accompanied by prescribed genuflexions and prostrations, and a discourse by the reader. Although colored tiles, mosaics, and carved woodwork or stone adorn the mosques, aids to worship such as statuary, painting, and even music are forbidden. "The nearest approach to a religious use of music permitted in ordinary acts of devotion is to be found in the chanting of the Koran, to which, however, the term 'singing' is not applied, and this performance is a solo."¹⁰ Unlike Christian churches,

mosques may often be used as lecture halls or schools. On the other hand, the worship of saints crept into Mohammedanism; and in Arabia sacrifices are still offered at ancient holy places, and oblations to deceased relatives; in this way much of paganism has been retained under a Moslem veneer.

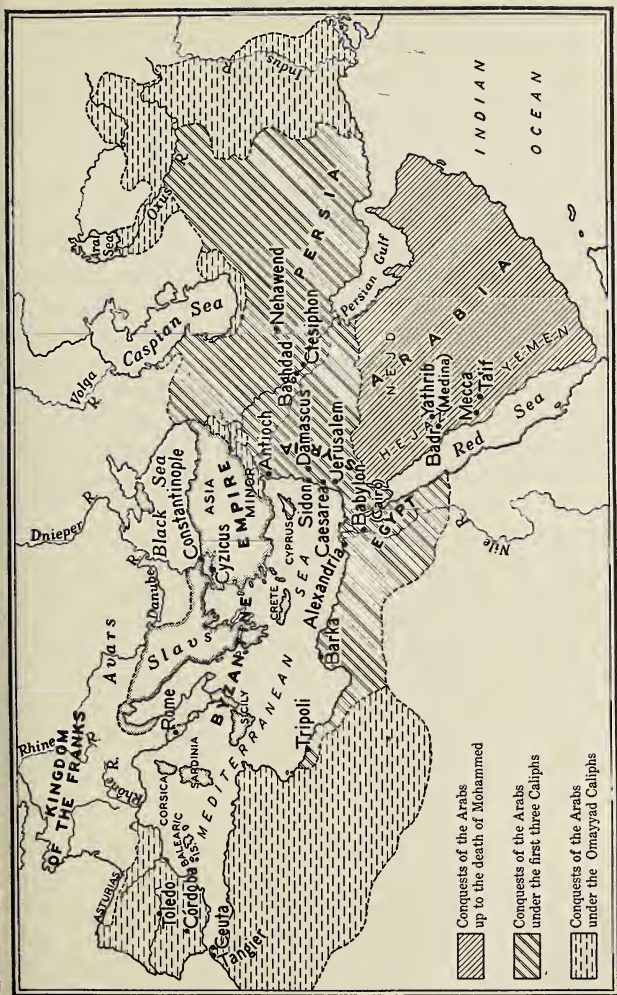
Mohammedan Ethics. The Koran was an authoritative law code as well as a revealed theology; consequently the conduct of life and even the details of etiquette were minutely regulated by divine precept or example. The ethical reforms that Mohammed instituted were a great improvement over existing practice; but "unfortunately he gave the finality of revelation to their limitations,"¹¹ and thus eventually they became a bar to progress. The use of wine and other intoxicating liquors was prohibited. Gambling likewise was forbidden, for wine and gambling were Satan's devices to promote quarrels among Moslems. Infanticide was condemned as murder and forbidden. Polygamy was retained; but the number of wives that a man might have was limited to four, and freedom of divorce was restricted. At the same time severe penalties were prescribed for adultery and fornication. A kindlier treatment of slaves was inculcated, and manumission was made an act of piety. Although Mohammed enjoined his followers to compel the heathen Arabs to accept Islam, the Koran commanded toleration and protection of the adherents of the two book religions, Judaism and Christianity.

Expansion of Islam. Arabia, as we have seen, had not been completely subjected to Mohammed's rule at the time of his death; and many tribes that had given their adherence now broke into revolt. "If he had really been a prophet," they declared, "he would not have died." The conquest of the peninsula was completed by his successor Abu Bakr, ably assisted by his skillful and energetic generals Ikrima and

Khalid, — that Khalid whom Mohammed, in recognition of his talents, had dubbed the "Sword of God." The rule of Islam was thus extended to the borders of Persia on the north and of the Byzantine Empire on the west and the way prepared for carrying its conquests into these two empires, exhausted by their wars with each other.

Conquest of Syria and Persia. The first efforts of the Mohammedans outside Arabia were directed against Syria, made more vulnerable by the reduction of the Byzantine forces there and by the discontent of the population brought about by taxation and religious persecution. In 634, armies under 'Amr and Khalid raided Palestine and took Bosrah, a Byzantine fortress east of the Jordan. The following year, after a siege of six months, they captured Damascus, in spite of attempts by the Emperor Heraclius to send relief. One city after another fell into the possession of the Arabs; only great cities such as Jerusalem and Caesarea, or a few coastal cities that were well provisioned, held out. Heraclius made one last effort to save Syria in 636; but his utter defeat by Khalid at the battle of Yarmuk spelled the fate of the province. Acre, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut fell in the following year; Antioch and Jerusalem, after a stout resistance, in 638. Caesarea, the residence of the imperial governor, held out until 640; but long before that the rest of the province was under Arab rule.

Raids into Persian territory by Arab armies had been carried on simultaneously with those into Syria; but it was only after the victory of Yarmuk that the conquest of Persia was seriously begun. Exhausted by wars with the Byzantine Empire, torn by political and religious dissension, and a prey to invasions from the north, Persia fell a ready victim to Arab invasion. Ctesiphon was captured in 637, with great booty. The defeat of the Persian army at the battle of Nehawend (641) broke the backbone of the resistance, and the entire Persian Empire was soon under Mohammedan rule.



THE RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM

Conquest of Egypt. The subjection of Syria and the ease with which it fell into the hands of the Arabs opened the way for, and encouraged them to undertake, the conquest of Egypt. Even before this, 'Amr had suggested the possibility of conquering the valley of the Nile, but his proposal had not met with much favor from the Caliph 'Omar. After the victory of Yarmuk, however, 'Omar's doubts were removed. Arab arms began to be regarded as invincible, and the material gains of such an expedition proved alluring. Accordingly 'Amr, with thirty-five hundred or four thousand men, set out in 639 for Egypt, at this time defended by an inadequate military organization. After a siege of about a month he captured the fortress of Pelusium, which opened the way to Heliopolis. On receiving reinforcements from Syria he continued his march and inflicted a decisive defeat upon the Byzantine general on the plain of Heliopolis, some miles from the modern Cairo. This advantage was followed up by the beleaguering of Babylon (old Cairo), a strong fortress, which, by reason of its situation at the head of the Delta, was the key to lower Egypt. A siege of some months, aided by the despair of the Byzantine governor, Cyrus, brought about its capitulation. Lower Egypt now lay open to the invader and speedily fell under his sway. Alexandria alone resisted until September, 642, when it also opened its gates to the troops of 'Amr. The story that the celebrated library of Alexandria was burned by order of the Caliph 'Omar is now known to be a legend.¹² Byzantine rule in Egypt was at an end.

Conquest of North Africa. With Egypt under Mohammedan rule, the way was open to the conquest of North Africa. Hardly had Egypt been conquered when Arab bands pushed westward along the coast, and in the same year as the fall of Alexandria they occupied Barka (ancient Cyrenaica). The seizure of the coast of Tripoli followed (644), but further advance was halted for the time being

by the opposition of the Berbers as well as by dissension within the Arab state. The Berbers were a North African people, fierce and treacherous, who (except along the coast) had never been assimilated either by the Phoenicians or by the Romans. The hinterland had always remained in their hands, and their organization and influence grew after the fall of the Western Empire. They had been almost constantly in rebellion against the Byzantines, with whom, however, they seem to have made common cause against these new invaders, the Arabs. Not until the very close of the century was North Africa permanently won by Hassan and Musa. The subjection of the Berbers was accompanied by their conversion to Islam, and they became quite as ardent for war and plunder as the Arabs themselves. The conquest of Spain was due as much to their war lust as to the desire of the Arabs for expansion, and probably would not have been achieved without their aid.

Conquest of Spain. The capture of Ceuta and Tangier enabled the Arabs and Berbers to look with covetous eyes across the strait to the rich cities and fields of Spain. The kingdom of the Visigoths was in a state of decadence and at the moment was in the throes of a dispute over the throne, which had been seized by a usurper, Roderick of Baetica. The Jews within the kingdom were bitterly persecuted, deprived of their liberty of worship, their property confiscated, and they themselves accused of plotting with the Arabs. The legitimate king, Agila, had taken refuge in Africa, where he sought the help of the Arabs against the usurper. Taking advantage of this situation, Tarik, the freedman and lieutenant of Musa, was dispatched to Spain and landed without opposition on the rock that bears his name, Gibraltar (Gebel Tarik, or Mt. Tarik), 711. Within two months the entire southern part of the peninsula, including Toledo and Córdoba, had fallen into the hands of Tarik. Many of the populace, especially the Jews, welcomed the Arabs and

Berbers as their deliverers from the yoke of Visigothic rule. The chief resistance was met in the towns, where Gothic knighthood predominated. Learning of the remarkable success of his lieutenant, Musa himself crossed into Spain the following year at the head of an army of reinforcements. One province after another fell under Arab rule, until in 714 the Goths held only Asturias, in the north, the nucleus of the future kingdom of that name, and the conquerors were preparing to cross the Pyrenees and plunder the Frankish kingdoms.

Development of Sea Power, and Attack on Constantinople. The advance of their arms led the Arabs to realize the importance of developing sea power. They had no ships, and were powerless against the Byzantine fleet and its attacks on their newly created provinces. Mu'awiya, the governor of Syria, began the construction of ships, and, after the capture of Egypt, Alexandria became the chief Arab dockyard. Evidence gained from a study of the papyri shows that by the close of the seventh century one of the chief concerns of the administration in Egypt was the building and equipping of a fleet. At first the Arabs were obliged to rely for their sailors upon Greeks and Syrians who had nautical knowledge. The first naval expedition of the Arabs was against the Byzantine naval base, Cyprus, which they conquered in 649. A few years later they met the Byzantine fleet off the coast of Asia Minor and inflicted a severe defeat upon it. At the same time plans were made for an attack upon Constantinople itself. The Arabs entered the Hellespont and seized the city of Cyzicus, on the Sea of Marmara, which they used as a base for repeated attacks upon Constantinople. These attacks were warded off with the aid of "Greek fire," or "liquid fire," the invention of a Syrian-Greek architect, Callinicus.¹³ The most serious attempt to capture Constantinople, however, came in 717-718, when for a whole year the city was beleaguered by Arabs. Thanks to the

energy of the Emperor Leo III, the Isaurian, and his reorganization of the empire, the Mohammedans were driven off and Constantinople saved. This achievement of Leo the Isaurian has frequently been overshadowed by the defeat Charles Martel inflicted upon them in Gaul, in 732¹⁴; but it should be noted that the merit of the former in saving Europe from Mohammedan domination was quite as great as that of the latter.

The transformation of the Arabs into a seafaring people led to their domination of the Mediterranean in the eighth and ninth centuries. They seized the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily (ninth century); they repeatedly ravaged the coasts of Gaul and Italy; and historians are inclined to see in their activities the last phase of the destruction of commerce in the West that made western Europe definitely and completely domanian and rural.

Reasons for Arab Success. What were the causes of these startling successes in the onward march of Islam? The old explanation that they were due entirely to religious fanaticism and zeal for the spread of Islam can no longer be accepted. The importance of the new religion as a unifying factor among the Arabs was certainly of great importance. But equally important was the growth of population in a peninsula that was incapable of sustaining more than a limited number of inhabitants. Behind Arab expansion, therefore, lay the same factor that impelled the Germanic tribes to seek entrance into the Roman Empire, and the Vikings in the ninth and tenth centuries to begin their ravages, — the *hunger* urge. Their warlike propensities were, accordingly, due quite as much to their primitive impulses and instincts as to religious fanaticism.¹⁵ The Moslems were attracted also by the wealth of Syria, Egypt, and Persia, — not only the prospect of spoils and plunder but also the more durable resources that the rule of these countries would afford. Moreover, Arab expansion was greatly furthered by

existing conditions in the countries they attacked. The political and military systems were effete in both the Persian and the Byzantine Empire. The masses were discontented, for social or religious reasons. In Persia the Moslem creed attracted the industrial and artisan classes, whose occupation was regarded by Zoroastrianism as impure. They welcomed a religion that made them "free and equal in a brotherhood of faith." The Monophysites of Syria and Egypt likewise welcomed the coming of the Arabs and the relief it would afford them from persecution at the hands of the orthodox Byzantine rulers.

The Caliphate. This enormous empire, which early in the eighth century extended from the Atlantic to the Indus and from the Caspian Sea to the cataracts of the Nile, was unified under the rule of the Caliph (successor). The Caliph succeeded to all the functions of Mohammed, — military, legislative, judicial, religious, — except the prophetic function, which came to an end with the prophet's death. He was at once a temporal ruler and a religious potentate. "To revolt against him was, according to the traditions, to rebel against Allah."¹⁶ After Mohammed's death his mantle naturally fell upon his closest disciples. Thus Abu Bakr, 'Omar, Othman, and 'Ali all held the Caliphate in succession. Of these the most important was 'Omar, during whose rule (634-644) most of the great conquests were made and the Arab state was placed on a firm basis. The last of these early Caliphs, 'Ali, however, did not receive universal support. Mu'awiya, the powerful governor of Syria, refused to recognize him, and on 'Ali's assassination he was elected Caliph.

The Omayyad Caliphate (661-750). Mu'awiya belonged to the aristocratic Meccan family of Omayyad and endeavored to transform the Caliphate, hitherto elective, into a hereditary office. Although he did not entirely succeed in abolishing the elective principle, he founded a dynasty, the Omay-

yad, that lasted until 750. Mu'awiya (661-680) was a tolerant, magnanimous, and capable ruler. He transferred the capital from Medina to Damascus and sought to establish a highly centralized political, administrative, and fiscal system for the entire Moslem Empire. But it was an impossible task. The disruptive forces were too strong for his successors, who lacked ability and energy. The people of the old civilizations, — Persian, Greek, Egyptian, — resented the rule of Arabs hardly emancipated from barbarism. Moreover, the pious and conservative Moslems of Medina and Mecca complained that the Omayyads had departed from the early traditions and "had transformed the Caliphate into a temporal sovereignty, animated by worldly motives and characterized by luxury and self-indulgence."¹⁷ This discontent was utilized by the descendants of Mohammed's uncle, Abbas (hence the name "Abbasids"), who by their piety had acquired the respect of the faithful, to execute a coup d'état. The Omayyads were ruthlessly exterminated, with the exception of one member who succeeded in escaping to Spain, where he founded a dynasty.

The Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258). The accession of the Abbasids marked the transformation of the Caliphate. They moved their capital to Mesopotamia, where they built a new city, Baghdad (762); they erected a costly palace, known as the "Golden Gate," where they dwelt in Oriental splendor and luxury; they adopted the ceremonial, the pomp, and the dress of the Persian monarchs. Beside their throne stood the executioner, and many who were summoned to the palace never left it alive. Yet the early Abbasid Caliphs were famed for their liberalism and patronage of learning. The most illustrious of these, Harun al-Raschid (c. 766-809), was renowned far and wide for his culture and was the hero of many of the Arabian Nights stories. Mussulman art, science, and philosophy, fundamentally Greek in origin, spread over the entire empire and constituted a veritable

renaissance that has aptly been compared to the renaissance of the sixteenth century in Europe.¹⁸ Baghdad became a commercial as well as an intellectual center, a distributing point for the products of the Far East.

The organization of the Caliphate likewise underwent transformation under the Abbasids. Each department of the state, such as finance and the chancellery, was controlled by a bureau, or *divan*, and all the divans were under the jurisdiction of the *vizier*, a sort of prime minister, who gradually became the virtual ruler. The provinces were ruled by *emirs*, whose powers were very extensive. The emirs kept in touch with Baghdad by means of a posting-service modeled after that of the Persian and the Byzantine Empire.

In the main, Moslem rule was tolerant of other religions. Mohammed accorded, as we have seen, freedom of worship to devotees of the two book religions, Judaism and Christianity, and this privilege was later extended to the Persians, Chinese, and others. Followers of other religions, however, were under certain disabilities: they were subject to special taxes and forbidden to build new churches or to perform their ceremonies too publicly; they might not bear arms, and their evidence was invalid in a law court. But their persons and property were assured protection.¹⁹

Disintegration manifested itself early in the Abbasid Caliphate. Moslem Spain gave its allegiance to Abd-er-Rahman, the sole survivor of the Omayyads, and after 755 was independent. Elsewhere also the centrifugal tendencies, manifest before the overthrow of the Omayyads, made themselves felt. Before the end of the eighth century North Africa had broken up into several independent principalities. In the ninth century Egypt separated from Baghdad and not only formed an independent state but, under the Fatimites (who claimed descent from Mohammed's daughter Fatima and 'Ali), became a rival Caliphate that included Syria also. In Irak, Khorassan, Persia, and Mesopotamia independent emirates arose, and the effective rule of the Caliph

was limited to Baghdad and its environs. Yet religion, commerce, and culture maintained a certain unity in territories that had become politically autonomous. This decline of the Abbasid power prepared the way for the domination of the Moslem Empire by a new Asiatic people, the Turks.

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CHAPTER IX

The Carolingian Age

THE Frankish dominions, as we have already seen, were divided into four main parts: Neustria in the west, comprising northern France north of the Loire and west of the Meuse; Austrasia in the east, occupying the valleys of the Meuse and the lower Rhine; Aquitaine, south of the Loire; and Burgundy in the southeast, between the Rhône and the Alps. Aquitaine, less Germanized than the others, tended toward a separate, independent existence. The other three kingdoms, the boundaries of which were continually shifting, were sometimes separated under different monarchs and at other times united under one. By the close of the seventh century the Merovingian house had become effete, its members content to delegate the government to officials and dying at an early age. The Carolingian writer Einhard has vividly described these *rois fainéants*. Shorn of all but "the mere royal title," they had no other function, he tells us, than to sit on the throne, receive ambassadors, and deliver ready-made speeches. Surrounded by a few servants who paid them a "show of deference," deprived of all revenue except the income from one estate, they lived the simple life of the small landowner. When they traveled, it was in a cart, "drawn in rustic style by a pair of oxen, and driven by a cowherd."¹

The Mayors of the Palace. The actual government was in the hands of the Mayor of the Palace, who, originally the chief servant in the royal household, had risen to fill the role of prime minister. At first each kingdom had had its own Mayor of the Palace; but by 687 Pepin of Héristal, the

Mayor of Austrasia, had succeeded in making himself also the ruler of Neustria and Burgundy and his office hereditary in his house. The rise to power of these new rulers was based primarily upon the support of the landed aristocracy.

On the death of Pepin there broke out a widespread revolt against the authority of the Mayor of the Palace; but after a few years' struggle it was suppressed by his son Charles Martel (the Hammer), 714-741. Having re-established his authority over the Frankish dominions, Charles defeated the pagan Saxons and Frisians on the north and compelled the rulers of Aquitaine and Bavaria, in the south, to swear allegiance to him. By the time of his death, in 741, the Frankish power had been considerably extended.

A more serious menace than that of the Saxons and Frisians was the invasion of Gaul by the Saracens. Having destroyed the Visigothic kingdom in Spain early in the eighth century, by 720 they had crossed the Pyrenees and in the following years ravaged the southern part of Aquitaine, burning churches and plundering towns and villages as far north as the Loire. In one of these expeditions under Abd-er-Rahman, governor of Spain, the Saracens were advancing toward Tours and Poitiers when they were met by Charles Martel and completely defeated (732), Abd-er-Rahman himself being killed. Only a rapid retreat saved them from complete destruction. Nevertheless, they remained (until 759) masters of Septimania, whence they frequently ravaged Aquitaine. When, in 739, they occupied Arles, Charles allied himself with the Lombards, who came to his aid; but it was not until the time of Charlemagne that the menace of Islam was finally removed.

The Overthrow of the Merovingians. Powerful as he was, Charles Martel did not think the time ripe to overthrow the useless Merovingian monarchs and assume the crown of the Franks himself; but when Theodoric IV died he did not take the trouble to crown a successor, possibly hoping that thus

the Franks might be gradually weaned away from their ancient dynasty. This actual supplanting of the *rois fainéants* by the Carolingians, as the Mayors of the Palace are called, took place under Charles's son and successor, Pepin.

On the death of Charles Martel, in 741, his power passed into the hands of his two sons, Carloman and Pepin; but within a few years the former renounced the world and retired into a monastery, leaving Pepin, who without just reason has been surnamed "the Short," as the sole ruler. Although Pepin placed a new monarch upon the throne which his father had left vacant, fearing the resistance of the Franks if he immediately usurped the crown, he laid his plans for overthrowing the Merovingians. In 751, with the approval of "all the Franks," he dispatched an embassy to the Pope "to ask concerning the kings of the Franks who were of the royal race and were called kings, but had no power in the kingdom except only that grants and charters were drawn up in their names." The Pope replied, as he was expected to do, "that it seemed better and more expedient to him that *he* should be called and be king who had power in the kingdom rather than he who was falsely called king."² Supported by such high authority, Pepin called an assembly of the Franks at Soissons, where he was elected king and anointed with holy oil by Saint Boniface. [The anointing was an innovation: it conferred a new dignity and power upon the Carolingians. "A German chieftain was transformed into the Lord's anointed."³ The Merovingian monarch, shorn of his flowing locks, a symbol of his position, was tonsured and sent into a monastery, where the dynasty passes from history. The Carolingian monarch now became the dominant power in the West.⁴]

Pepin and the Papacy. Not long after his coronation Pepin was called upon to repay the favor that the papacy had done him. Ever since the Lombard invasion of Italy in the sixth century the Popes had suffered from their aggression.

Nominally subject to the Byzantine emperor, successive Popes had besought Constantinople for aid against the Lombard kings, who desired Rome for their capital; but in vain. The Byzantine emperors had too many pressing problems in the East, especially after the rise of Islam, to send aid to Italy. For other reasons also, the relations between Rome and Constantinople had been none too cordial. The papal claims to universal authority aroused opposition in the East; and the harsh way in which Popes were often treated by imperial officials, and even by emperors, angered papal supporters. Moreover, the condemnation and destruction of images in the churches by the Emperor Leo III, the Isaurian, in 726 and following years were opposed by the Popes, who refused to enforce his iconoclastic decrees in Italy. In 731 Gregory III had even gone so far as to excommunicate all iconoclasts,⁵ and a schism had been created between the East and the West. When, therefore, the Lombards under King Liutprand renewed their aggression, the chance of receiving aid from Constantinople was less than ever. Then, it was that the Pope turned his gaze across the Alps toward the rising power of the Frankish Mayors of the Palace, and in 739 Gregory III sent an impassioned appeal to Charles Martel for aid. But the Frankish alliance with the Lombards to repel the Saracens prevented the Frankish leader, who was not disposed to repudiate his old allies, from granting a favorable reply. The accession of Pepin, however, gave the Pope his opportunity, and in 753, after the capture of Ravenna by King Aistulf and the termination of Byzantine rule in central Italy, Pope Stephen II crossed the Alps to place before the new king a plea for assistance. It was on the occasion of this visit that the Pope anointed Pepin at St. Denis and flattered his vanity by bestowing upon him the title of "Patrician of Rome." In return the Pope charged him with the duty of freeing and defending the papacy.

But Pepin was loath to begin a war against the Lombards which met with the opposition of his nobles, who regarded

them as friends and allies. Accordingly he sent an embassy to the Lombard king beseeching him to refrain from attacking the city of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. This being of no effect, Pepin dispatched to Italy an army which defeated the Lombards and compelled Aistulf to sign a treaty giving up Ravenna, with the other cities of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. As the Lombard king did not keep this treaty, but even attacked Rome, a second expedition was necessary. Once more the territory under dispute was renounced by the Lombard monarch.

Instead, however, of restoring these possessions, consisting of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, to the Byzantine emperor, the Frankish king, in a document known as the *Donation of Pepin*, bestowed them upon the Pope. In order to secure the execution of this agreement, Fulrad, the abbot of St. Denis, accompanied by representatives of Aistulf, went through the various cities in question receiving hostages and the keys of their gates, which they carried to Rome and laid upon the tomb of Saint Peter.⁶ Thus the Exarchate of Ravenna became part of the Papal States (756).

The bestowal of this territory by Pepin upon the Pope received theoretical support in the famous *Donation of Constantine*. This document, shown by Lorenzo Valla in the fifteenth century to be a forgery (probably of the middle of the eighth century), purported to have been issued by the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century. It declared that Constantine, on the removal of his capital to Constantinople, bestowed upon the Pope the Lateran palace, the city of Rome, and "all the provinces, places and cities of Italy." As the *Donation of Pepin* freed the Pope from the sovereignty of Constantinople, the *Donation of Constantine* placed him above the lordship of German kings. "*The Donation of Constantine*," it has been said, "gave expression to the idea of papal world rule, in which the Pope appeared as the unlimited ecclesiastical-political ruler of the West analogous to the Roman emperor of the East."⁷

Charlemagne (768-814). The work of expanding and consolidating the state built up by Charles Martel and Pepin was completed by Charlemagne, under whom the Frankish power attained its zenith. Like Charles Martel, Pepin, before his death in 768, had divided his dominions between his two sons, Charles and Carloman; but the death of the latter a few years later left as sole ruler Charles, known to posterity, because of his achievements, as Charlemagne or Charles the Great. So remarkable were his accomplishments in extending Frankish power, in organizing his state, and in reforming civilization that his age constituted an important epoch in early medieval history.

The new monarch was tall, dignified in bearing, with round head, large, keen eyes, a somewhat long nose, and a shrill voice. He never learned to write, although Einhard tells us that he kept tablets under his pillow, to practise writing in his wakeful moments. Yet he was not uncultured. He knew Latin, he was fond of music, and he liked to delve into theological questions. At table, when not engaged in discussion "on things human and divine," he had read to him works on ancient history or the writings of Augustine, especially the *City of God*, of which he was particularly fond.⁸ Charlemagne was approachable, affable, and kindly, receiving friends and strangers in the same genial way. Contemporaries praised his piety and his generosity toward the church and the poor. Yet his piety did not prevent him from keeping a number of concubines or ruling the church with a strong hand. For diversion he delighted in the chase and in swimming, for the sake of which he had great baths built. He was particularly fond of Aix-la-Chapelle because of its waters and its forests abounding in game.

Charlemagne Becomes King of the Lombards. At the very beginning of his rule Charlemagne was obliged to interfere in Italy. For some years following the defeat of Aistulf there had been peace between Lombards and Franks. The Frank-

ish nobles seem always to have been well disposed toward the Lombards, and under the influence of this policy Charlemagne had married — in spite of the bitter opposition of the Pope, who anathematized the union — the daughter of the new Lombard king, Desiderius. Fortunately for papal interests, he soon grew tired of his bride, perhaps because of her delicate constitution, and divorced her. At the same time Desiderius, reviving the old ambition of a united Lombard kingdom, seized papal cities and even dispatched an army against Rome. Once more the Pope (Hadrian I) sent an appeal to the Franks. Before invading Italy, however, Charlemagne tried diplomacy, and even offered an indemnity if Desiderius would restore the captured cities and satisfy papal demands. On his refusal Charlemagne crossed the Alps with an army to attack the Lombards, who precipitously retreated and shut themselves up within the walls of Pavia, where they held out against the Franks for almost a year. In the meantime Charlemagne visited the Pope at Rome on Easter (774) and there confirmed the *Donation of Pepin*. On the fall of Pavia, Desiderius was tonsured and sent into a monastery, — frequently the fate of undesirable princes, — and Charlemagne himself assumed the title of “King of the Lombards,” organizing Italy as a Frankish province. Southern Italy, however, was not brought under his rule, although the duke of Benevento agreed to put the name of Charlemagne on his coins and official documents.⁹

The Conquest of Saxony. A much greater achievement of Charlemagne was the conquest of Saxony and its incorporation into the Frankish kingdom. Occupying the entire northern part of Germany beyond Hesse and the Harz Mountains and lying between the river Ems on the west and the Elbe on the east was the land of the Saxons, a group of tribes, related to the Frisians, who had been conquered under Charles Martel and Pepin. Not only had the Saxons retained German customs and institutions but they were a

thoroughly pagan people, worshiping trees and streams and even practicing human sacrifice. They had long been a serious menace to the Frankish state, making sudden raids across the border, devastating the countryside, and plundering churches and monasteries. Numerous expeditions, mostly of a punitive nature, had been undertaken against them; for the very nature of their country, consisting of forests and swamps without towns, made conquest difficult.

In some twenty campaigns, spread over a period of thirty years, Charlemagne succeeded in reducing the Saxons to subjection. At first his purpose seems to have been as restricted as that of his predecessors: to establish peace on the frontier and to prepare the way for the peaceful penetration of missionaries.¹⁰ But after several disastrous expeditions in which large numbers of Franks perished, Charlemagne perceived that such halfway measures were ineffective and that nothing less than complete subjection would solve the Saxon problem. Moreover, the attempt to convert the Saxons had failed. Converts renounced their faith as soon as they were left to themselves; they burned the churches, murdered the priests, and renewed their marauding incursions into Frankish territory. The soul of Saxon resistance to both Christianity and Frankish domination was their leader Widukind. After 782 Charlemagne's methods became more severe: forty-five hundred Saxons were murdered in cold blood at Verden; a ferocious capitulary was issued giving the Saxons the choice between baptism and death; and those who plundered or burned a church, who killed a priest or bishop, or who continued to practice pagan rites were likewise subject to the death penalty.¹¹ Even after the submission and baptism of Widukind, revolts broke out; and as a final measure Charlemagne deported large numbers (Einhard says ten thousand), settling them in Frankish territory.¹² Only in 804 was Saxony finally subdued.

Conquered Saxony was then organized as a Frankish province under counts; monasteries were established as cen-

ters of Christianity; and the country was divided into bishoprics, such as those of Bremen, Münster, Osnabrück, and Paderborn. Towns soon sprang up at these episcopal sees. In the following centuries Saxony became the leading part of Germany.

Bavaria. Under Charlemagne, Bavaria also was brought into complete subjection. By the sixth century a group of Teutonic tribes had formed a federation under the name of Bavaria, which, though nominally part of the Frankish kingdom, was ruled over by its own dukes, who were frequently loath to recognize the supremacy of the king of the Franks. From the beginning of Charlemagne's reign Tassilo, the ruling duke, had given offense by claiming independence and by using titles that were the prerogatives of the king. When Tassilo intrigued with the Lombards in Italy, Charlemagne marched an army into Bavaria, deposed him, and brought the country under the rule of his counts.

The Avars. Another campaign of Charlemagne was against the Avars. They were a Ural-Altaic group of peoples who in the sixth century had pushed up the Danube valley, where they had established themselves and whence they plundered the Frankish frontier, Italy, and the Eastern Empire. In order to safeguard his southeastern frontier Charlemagne sent a series of expeditions against them, and finally, in 795 or 796, captured their fortress or "Ring," with its enormous store of booty, and subdued them.

Aquitaine. On the accession of Charlemagne, Aquitaine, which, like Bavaria, had been tenacious of its independence, rose against Frankish domination. Charlemagne promptly suppressed the revolt and erected the fortress of Fronsac, on the Dordogne, as a means of holding the conquered territory. A few years later he made his young son Louis king of Aquitaine, which was henceforth administered by Frankish counts.

One reason for the establishment of a strong government in Aquitaine seems to have been to afford protection against the Saracens, who continued to invade southern Gaul.

The Spanish March. The menace of Islam, as well as strife between various parties in Spain, one of which seems actually to have invited Frankish intervention, led Charlemagne to contemplate the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Accordingly, in 778 two armies, one commanded by Charlemagne himself, crossed the Pyrenees with the object of capturing Saragossa. Not only did this plan miscarry, but, recalled north by one of the numerous insurrections of the Saxons, his army, in passing through a narrow defile in the mountains, — the pass of Roncesvalles, — was attacked by the Gascons and its rear guard was annihilated. It was on this occasion that the knight Roland, the hero of later legend, perished. In 793 the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees, burned the environs of Narbonne, and returned with much plunder. To put an end to such invasions Charlemagne conquered the territory beyond the Pyrenees as far as Barcelona and organized it into the Spanish March, later the County of Barcelona. The leader in this conquest was Duke William of Toulouse, whose deeds made him one of the heroes of the *chansons de geste*.

The Marches. In addition to those actually brought under his rule, Charlemagne compelled many peoples, especially those on the eastern frontier, to become tributary to the Frankish state. Wars were conducted against the Wiltzi, between the Elbe and the Oder; against the Sorbs, between the Saale and the Elbe; against the Czechs, in Bohemia; and against the Danes, beyond the Elbe. To protect his kingdom against the incursions of these peoples, marches, governed by counts (margraves) and similar to the march on the border of Spain, were established along the northern and eastern frontiers.

Charlemagne Crowned Emperor. It was fitting that one who had united under his rule almost all western Europe and whom even Rome herself acknowledged as lord should be proclaimed emperor. Having visited Rome at the close of the year 800 for the purpose of investigating charges that were brought against Pope Leo III, Charlemagne attended Mass in St. Peter's on Christmas morning and there was crowned emperor.

Then [says the papal chronicler] all the faithful Romans, beholding so great a champion given them, and knowing the love which he bare to the Holy Roman Church and its vicar, in obedience to the will of God and of St. Peter, the keybearer of the kingdom of heaven, cried out with deep accordant voices: "To Charles, most pious and august, crowned by God, the great and peace-bringing emperor, be life and victory!"¹³

Einhard declares that Charles was completely taken by surprise, and that had he foreseen the design of the Pope he would not have entered the church.¹⁴ But Halphen has shown, on the basis of both the *Royal Annals* and the *Liber Pontificalis*, that this is inaccurate, and argues that the whole affair had the appearance of having been deliberately planned by the Pope and Charlemagne.¹⁵ There can be little doubt that the imperial title was the gratification of his own ambition.

As soon as the news of Charlemagne's coronation reached Constantinople, where the notorious Irene was ruling, a violent opposition was raised, and the new emperor was regarded as a common usurper; for the Eastern empress still claimed to be ruler of the West. Not until 812 did Charlemagne receive in Constantinople recognition of his right to the title.¹⁶

The Organization of the Carolingian State. Like Louis XIV in a later century, Charlemagne himself constituted the state. The bureaucracy that was one of the woes of the later Roman

Empire had largely disappeared. Nevertheless, his court necessarily consisted of a number of officials who assisted in the administration and whose duties were partly domestic and partly public. The most important of these were the following: the archchaplain, who directed the clergy of the court; the count of the palace, whose functions were judicial; and the archchancellor, the keeper of the public documents, under whose direction all official documents were prepared. More domestic in their nature were the offices of chamberlain, seneschal, cupbearer, and marshal; but even they were nobles and frequently had military or political functions as well. Most of these officials sat in the king's council, upon which he relied for advice; but in addition the council included wise nobles or clergy whom he summoned as the occasion demanded.

The laws were made by Charlemagne, with the advice of his councilors; but before their promulgation they were submitted to the general assembly of the people, an old Merovingian institution, that met in the spring or early summer wherever the court happened to be. This was not an elective assembly; while theoretically all freemen had the right to attend, it was composed mostly of nobles and clergy. It examined the projects submitted to it, sometimes article by article, after which Charlemagne gave his decision, which was always his right. Then the assembly was asked for its "consent," which practically meant *obedience*. The laws so prepared were issued as "capitularies." In this assembly military expeditions were decided upon, and before it complaints were laid.¹⁷

The local administration of the Carolingian state was in the hands of counts, of whom there were about three hundred. Each one of these counts had a particular territory over which he exercised political, judicial, and military power. Even in parts of the empire which were given the rank of kingdoms—such as Aquitaine and Lombardy—the same system was introduced. Subordinate to the counts

were vicars, who administered subdivisions of the county. As we have already seen, the marches were ruled over by counts of the march, or margraves.

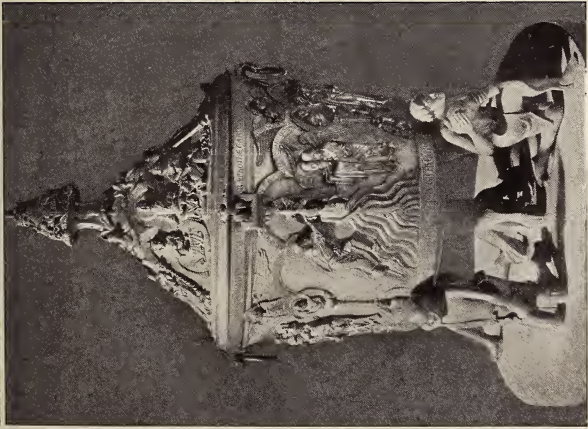
The connecting links between the counts and their vicars and the court were the *missi dominici*. They were sent out at least once a year in pairs, usually a count and a bishop. The empire was divided into *missatica*, consisting of several counties; and ordinarily a different pair of *missi* was sent to a given territory each year. Endowed with the full power of the sovereign whom they represented, the *missi dominici* received the oath of allegiance that every male was obliged to take on attaining the age of twelve; saw that no one usurped royal domains, that the capitularies were known and enforced, and that military service was fulfilled; and ensured the execution of justice. Especially were they to see that the counts were not abusing their power or ruling oppressively. One of the *missi* was a bishop because they were obliged to visit churches and monasteries to ensure that priests were faithful to discipline and that monks obeyed the Rule of Saint Benedict.¹⁸

The numerous wars in which Charlemagne engaged made the army an essential part of the Carolingian state. Every freeman was subject to military service and obliged to join the levy when summoned by the *missi*. Those who delayed or refused were heavily fined. Not only had the freeman to furnish his own equipment and arms, but he had also to maintain himself.¹⁹ As a consequence the military obligation was a burdensome one and had the effect of destroying many of the small landed proprietors and forcing them down to serfdom. In order that none might escape, Charlemagne was obliged to decree that no one might enter the church without his permission. One effect of this system was that military service became increasingly feudalized, that is, placed in the hands of the great landowners.

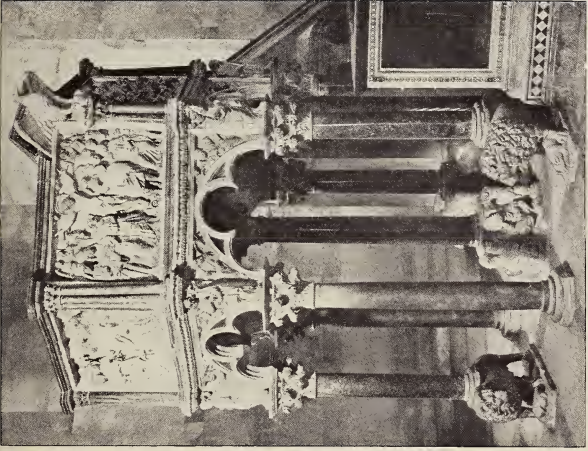
Unlike the Roman Empire, the Carolingian state received little money through taxation, for the direct taxes were col-

lected and expended by the local authorities. The bulk of the royal revenue came from the royal estates, or fisc, which was very extensive, comprising much of Belgium, northeastern France, Lorraine, and Rhenish Germany. From the capitulary *De Villis*, a series of instructions for the exploitation of his farms, we learn that Charlemagne was a keen manager and insisted on getting the utmost out of his estates. Although some money was coined under Charlemagne, it seems to have been scarce, and natural economy largely prevailed.

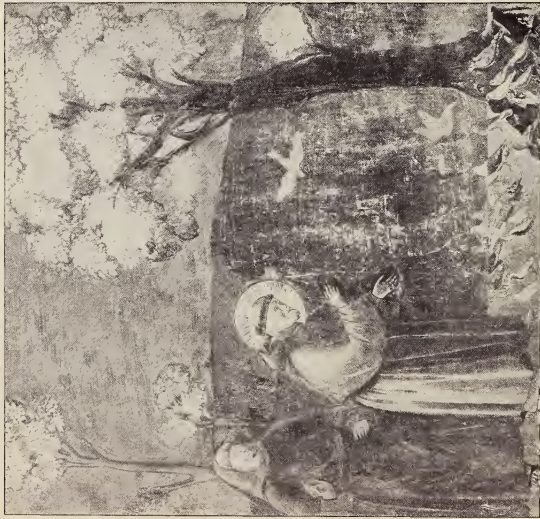
The Carolingians and the Church. Not only did the Carolingian rulers support the papal power but they also fostered the spread of Christianity into those parts of their kingdom that were still pagan. The work of such men as Saint Columban and Saint Gall had by no means Christianized all of Europe; and much that was nominally Christian was badly organized. The conversion of central Europe was largely the work of Saint Boniface, an Englishman, and his followers, who, during the mayoralty of Charles Martel, penetrated Hesse and Thuringia, in which Christianity had made little headway. In Hesse, Boniface boldly felled the oak of Geismar, which the pagans had continued to worship; and when they saw it fall, his biographer (Willibald) tells us, they ceased cursing and adopted Christianity.²⁰ He erected churches and monasteries, one of the most famous of which was at Fulda, and brought monks and nuns from England to assist him in his work. He then organized the territory into dioceses, creating many bishoprics, such as Würzburg, Buraburg, and Erfurt. The church in Bavaria he found unorganized, and there he created the famous sees of Salzburg, Freising, and Regensburg (or Ratisbon). In all this he was acting as the papal agent in bringing both old and new churches under the jurisdiction of Rome. With this work Charles Martel was in hearty sympathy, and Boniface later declared that without Charles's assistance he would have been unable to accomplish his work.



Bronze Baptismal Font.
Cathedral of Hildesheim. Thirteenth Century



Nicola Pisano's Pulpit.
Baptistery, Pisa. (See page 567)



Church of St. Francis, Assisi
 Giotto's (?) *Saint Francis Preaching to the Birds*.
 (See page 573)



Arena Chapel, Padua
 Giotto's *The Flight into Egypt*

The Carolingian interest in spreading Christianity was continued by Charlemagne, one of whose motives in conquering Saxony was to convert it from paganism. One of the conditions accordingly imposed upon the Saxons after their submission was the renunciation of their pagan deities and the acceptance of Christianity. Saxony was organized into bishoprics, as has already been pointed out, and monasteries and churches were erected that later became centers of civilization. The subjection of the Saxons and the establishment of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden paved the way for the conversion of northeastern Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

Under Carolingian auspices, moreover, much needed reforms within the church were carried out. The clergy were ignorant and worldly, and the monks were undisciplined, refusing to obey abbot or Rule. Pepin the Short, prompted by Saint Boniface, restored the periodic meeting of councils and sought to subject both clergy and monks to ecclesiastical discipline. The work thus begun was continued by Charlemagne, who regarded himself as competent to restore order or pronounce upon matters of doctrine.

He forbade the clergy to marry or keep concubines, to enter taverns, to carry arms, to hunt or hawk, to meddle in worldly business. He lectured the bishops on the nature of their duties. He informed the laity of three cases in which they might lawfully work on the Sabbath, namely, to bring up the baggage of the army, to transport food, to bury the dead. He altered the liturgy and church music; he introduced a new book of homilies; he ordered special fasts and services whenever he thought proper.²¹

Charlemagne appointed bishops as he appointed counts, and the national assemblies were quite as much ecclesiastical as secular in their nature, for many of the capitularies deal with ecclesiastical matters. But no one could hope to attain a bishopric or abbacy if his qualifications fell short of Charlemagne's exacting standards.

Charlemagne and Learning. It was his interest in the reform of the church that led Charlemagne to institute the renaissance of learning which goes by the name of Carolingian. From the very beginning of his reign he waged a ruthless war against the ignorance of the clergy. How can the ignorant make known or preach to others the law of God? he asked.

In many letters [he declared] received by us in recent years from divers monasteries, informing us of the prayers offered upon our behalf at their sacred services by the brethren there dwelling, we have observed that though the sentiments were good the language was uncouth, the unlettered tongue failing through ignorance to interpret aright the pious devotion of the heart.²²

He urged both monks and secular clergy to devote themselves to the study of letters that they might more readily penetrate the mysteries of sacred learning and be able to instruct Christians in the tenets of their faith. Charlemagne was also interested in the education of the laity. To this end he was aided by his more zealous bishops, some of whom sought to establish in every village a school to which children might be sent to learn letters "without payment of a fee."²³ Of course nothing like a universal system of education was established, and it is doubtful if the general level of culture among the laity was appreciably raised. More important than the parochial were the cathedral and monastic schools, which became the chief centers of learning. In a capitulary of 789 Charlemagne decreed:

Let every monastery and every abbey have its school, where boys may be taught the psalms, . . . singing, arithmetic, and grammar; and let the books that are given them be free from faults, and let care be taken that the boys do not spoil them either when reading or writing.²⁴

Accordingly, the schools of Tours, Corbie, St. Wandrille, St. Gall, Metz, Fleury, Fulda, and many others became famous for their learning, their libraries, and the copying of

manuscripts. Latin was restored to the position of a literary language, and the style of handwriting was improved, as one readily observes by comparing a Merovingian with a Carolingian manuscript. Indeed, it is probable that without this revival of learning few Latin works of classical antiquity would have come down to us.²⁵

For the education of his own family and of the sons of the nobility Charlemagne instituted, or rather revived (for some such institution seems to have existed since the time of Charles Martel), the School of the Palace, so that the servants of the state as well as of the church might be fitted for their tasks. To this school Charlemagne attracted scholars from various parts of Europe, and over it he placed Alcuin of York, who embodied the best traditions of Irish and English learning. Although not an original thinker, Alcuin was a great teacher, creating an enthusiasm for study in old and young alike. Instruction was based upon the works of Boethius, especially his version of Aristotle's logic, of Cassiodorus, of Isidore of Seville, and of Bede. The writings of church fathers such as Augustine and Gregory the Great, and of classical authors such as Cicero, Vergil, and Ovid, were read. There was little knowledge of Greek in the West, even that of a scholar like Alcuin being confined to a few words. A product of this school was Einhard, whose life of Charlemagne, written in the style of Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars* and based upon his own personal knowledge of the emperor, is a good example of the literary revival of the age.*

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* It is doubtful, however, whether Einhard's intimacy with the Carolingian court was as great as his work implies. (Cf. Halphen, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne*, pp. 68 ff.)

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CHAPTER X

The Decline of the Carolingians and the Expansion of the Vikings

IN THE period following Charlemagne's death, in 814, his empire broke up, and Carolingian civilization rapidly disintegrated, although culture and learning did not sink so low as in the Merovingian age. This decadence was brought about by political and social circumstances, such as the incapacity of the successors of Charlemagne, invasions of the Scandinavians, or Vikings, lack of geographical and racial unity, and the growing power of the landed nobility.

Louis the Pious (814-840). Following the tradition of his predecessors, Charlemagne in 806 had provided for the partition of his empire among his three sons. But as two of them predeceased him, the empire was inherited intact by the survivor, Louis, surnamed because of his devotion the Pious. Louis was of entirely different character from his great sire. Well educated, generous, tolerant, and moral, he was incapable of pursuing a consistent policy, overindulgent toward his family, and dominated by the church. One of his first acts was to purify his court by banishing his sisters, whose scandalous conduct had been offensive to him. By dismissing and shutting up in monasteries his father's trusted advisers he created a party opposed to his rule. Charlemagne, while favorable to the church, had ruled it with a strong hand; but Louis was dominated by ecclesiastics and by his second wife.

The Imperial Idea. One of the first symptoms of the new regime was an attempt to heighten the imperial idea, which

under Charlemagne had been left somewhat vague and ill-defined. Louis now proclaimed the indivisibility of the empire and declared that henceforth the practice of dividing the Frankish kingdoms among all the heirs of the sovereign would be broken. The empire would pass intact to the eldest son. The new order was inaugurated by proclaiming Lothaire emperor and by associating him with the government. "It seems good neither to us nor to those who know what is salutary," Louis declared, "that for the love or for the sake of our sons the unity of the empire preserved to us by God should be rent by human division."¹ The younger sons, Pepin and Louis, might consider themselves fortunate to receive appanages in Aquitaine and Bavaria under the supervision of the imperial authority.² One of the councilors of Louis, Agobard, archbishop of Lyon, desired the breaking down of all racial distinctions and the establishment of one universal law throughout the empire. The relation of the Pope to the empire, left ill-defined by Charlemagne, was now altered and defined. The Papal States were made a Frankish protectorate under the government of the Pope and his officials. Papal elections were not interfered with, but the newly elected Pope was obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor before the imperial representative in Rome.

Such an imperial restoration was no longer possible, as events were to show. Louis the Pious did not have the ability to carry it out, and the circumstances of the time were opposed to it.

Penance of Attigny (822). After the proclamation of the unity of the empire, Bernard, the son of Pepin, Louis's elder brother, revolted against his uncle. On the death of his father, Bernard had been invested by Charlemagne with the government of Italy. Now, feeling his position menaced, Bernard took up arms to defend his rights. The assembly of the Franks condemned him to death, but Louis commuted the sentence to blinding. The young prince died from the

effects of this barbarous operation, and Louis was soon smitten with remorse. In order to salve his conscience he did public penance at the palace of Attigny, undergoing expiatory fasts and vigils and permitting the clergy to inflict stripes on his bare back. This was in such sharp contrast with everything that men remembered of Charlemagne that Louis now became contemptuous in their sight. It was another indication of the clerical domination of the emperor. Moreover, the clergy maintained that all ecclesiastical property granted to laity during previous reigns should be returned to the church and that they were above all secular law.

Rebellion against Louis. The marked favor shown the clerical party, the emperor's weakness, and the plotting of the deposed councilors of Charlemagne created a discontent that burst into revolt when Louis sought to create an appanage for his fourth son. After the death of the empress, Louis had taken another wife, Judith of Bavaria, a beautiful and ambitious woman, who was anxious to secure an inheritance for her son Charles, later known as Charles the Bald. Accordingly, in his complaisance toward his second wife, the emperor carved out an appanage for him in Alsace and Burgundy. There now began (830) a series of civil wars and new divisions of the empire which dealt a mortal blow at the idea of unity.

Oaths of Strasbourg. After Louis's death the struggle was continued by his sons. Charles the Bald and Louis of Bavaria made common cause against Lothaire, who had inherited the imperial title (Pepin had died and Aquitaine had been given to Charles). Lothaire was defeated, but not crushed, at the bloody battle of Fontenoy (841). Charles and Louis therefore bound themselves by the Oaths of Strasbourg to mutual support against their brother. Each took oath in the language understood by the soldiers of the other, "Lud-



THE PARTITION OF VERDUN, 843

wig [or Louis] speaking in the *lingua romana* and Charles in the *lingua teudisca*.”³ This document is historically important as affording the first examples of Old French and Old German.

Treaty of Verdun (843). Unable to defeat this coalition, Lothaire signified his willingness to negotiate, and a commission was appointed to draw up the terms, which were agreed upon at Verdun. By this treaty Lothaire retained the imperial title and received Italy, together with a long, narrow

strip of territory extending from the mouths of the Scheldt and the Ems on the north to the mouth of the Rhône and the head of the Adriatic on the south. It included Frisia, Burgundy, Provence, and most of Austrasia. Louis (or Ludwig the German) received the territory east of the Rhine, comprising Bavaria, Thuringia, Franconia, and Saxony, and also the towns and environs of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz, "because of their abundance of wine." Charles was given the western part of the empire, — the ancient Neustria and Aquitaine, with the Spanish March and the western part of Burgundy. In this division little regard was paid to races or geography; the dominant motive was economic interest.

Fertility of soil, kinds of products, population, and contiguity were the ruling considerations. The partition was a tripartite distribution of bishoprics, abbeys, counties, and crown lands, with special regard to their area and their resources. Ludwig insisted upon having the rich vineyards in Franconia and got them by waiving possession of lands lower down the Rhine around Cologne, which were awarded to Lothar [Lothaire].⁴

The partition of Verdun meant the breakup of the empire of Charlemagne. It is true that the imperial title survived; but it had no significance, for Lothaire had no authority over the dominions of his brothers, who had become independent monarchs. The Treaty of Verdun also marked the beginning of the main geographical divisions of Europe and laid the basis of modern national states, — France, Germany, and Italy. The Oaths of Strasbourg indicated that there was a marked linguistic difference between the peoples east of the Rhine and those on the west. The state created for Lothaire possessed no geographical unity, but was a strange medley of Romance and Germanic peoples and the basis of buffer states to be fought over by France and Germany. It is this that has led a modern French historian to say that the Treaty of Verdun is at the root of almost all the conflicts that for centuries have embroiled Europe.⁵

Partition of Mersen (870). Lothaire bequeathed his illogical empire to his three sons, of whom one received Italy, with the imperial title, and the other two divided between them their father's territory north of the Alps. After the death of the two younger sons, Charles the Bald and Louis the German seized their kingdoms and partitioned them by the Treaty of Mersen, so that Europe north of the Alps was now divided into two kingdoms corresponding to modern France and Germany. Charles received the western part of Burgundy and what is now Belgium; Louis the German, eastern Burgundy, Alsace-Lorraine, and Frisia.

Decline of the Carolingians. For a brief period (884–887) these Carolingian kingdoms were once more united under the Emperor Charles the Fat, the son of Louis the German. He proved thoroughly incompetent, however; and on his deposition Arnulf, an illegitimate grandson of Louis the German, was elected king over the East Franks, while in the west Charles the Simple became king. Like the Merovingians, the Carolingians suffered physical and mental degeneration: they were incapable of coping with the forces of the time, and they died young. Thus the tenth century witnessed the disappearance of the Carolingians in both France and Germany.

The decline of Carolingian power had its economic as well as its political aspect. It has been pointed out that one source of Charlemagne's strength lay in his careful administration of the crown lands, or fisc, which constituted the chief support of the government. Under his successors the fisc was largely dissipated. Louis the Pious was unable to resist the demands of the clergy for the restoration of lands which they claimed had been taken from the church by his predecessors. His biographer tells us that his gifts from the crown lands were so lavish that "never either in ancient books or in modern times was such royal prodigality known."⁶ Underlying the struggle between the sons of Louis the Pious was the desire of each to obtain the richest of the crown lands

for himself, and each gained followers through gifts from them. In the battle of Fontenoy, says a contemporary historian, "every man fought either to enlarge his domains or to protect his property from seizure."⁷ By the beginning of the tenth century little remained of the once extensive crown lands. Thus did the later Carolingians undermine their power and become but petty lords.

At the same time the royal army ceased to exist. Powerful counts and dukes, each with a large retinue of his own, frequently refused to follow the king and defied him or made war on him at will. Feudalism, which was to transform the political and social life of Europe, was already beginning.

The Vikings. The disorder created by the weak government of the later Carolingians was increased by the invasions of the Northmen, or Vikings, from Scandinavia. As the decline of the Roman Empire was hastened by the inroads of Germanic hordes, so was that of the empire of Charlemagne by the invasions of these new barbarians from the north.

Inhabiting the most northerly part of Europe, the Northmen belonged to the Germanic family and were divided into three groups: Norse, Danes, and Swedes. The Danes had originally dwelt in Scandinavia; but by the fifth century they had occupied the peninsula of Jutland, and it was among them that Widukind, the leader of the Saxons, had taken refuge in his retreat before the forces of Charlemagne. Though known to Greek and Roman geographers and historians, these Northmen had remained almost entirely unaffected by classical civilization. They were thoroughly pagan: they worshiped a multitude of deities, chief of whom were Odin, "the wise, the prudent, the sagacious," and Thor, the personification of mighty strength and originally the thunderer. They were lovers of war and thought of the warriors who died in battle as carried by the Valkyries, the attendants of Odin, to Valhalla, where they would feast with the god himself. The primitive state of their religion is shown

by the frequent practice of human sacrifice. In battle they were cruel, not even sparing women and children, and frequently became filled with berserk fury, a kind of madness that seized them and made them, according to popular belief, insensible to pain. Toward their enemies they knew no honorable code. "They were as treacherous and deceitful as they were brave and cruel."⁸ Their greatest vices were polygamy and love of wine, and drunken orgies were of common occurrence. Yet women were highly esteemed and took a prominent part in national life.⁹

By reason of the nature of their country the Vikings, from a very early age, had been a seafaring people, and their courage is manifested by the daring with which they ventured in strange seas, often in the frailest of craft. Their ships were shallow, long, and narrow, and propelled by rowers and single sail, — qualities that enabled them to penetrate far up the rivers or to land easily on the seacoast. Their largest ships were often seventy-eight feet long and sixteen feet wide, with benches for sixteen pairs of rowers. The high prows (for both ends were alike) of Viking ships were carved in some fantastic shape, often in the likeness of a dragon or worm; and the gunwale was sometimes adorned with shields painted gold and black. In such craft the Vikings would suddenly land on the coast, plunder the monasteries or towns, and as suddenly disappear. Frequently they traveled in fleets varying in size from one to three hundred ships. On land the Vikings became excellent soldiers, well disciplined and familiar with all the arts and ruses of war.

Yet we must not think of the Vikings as entirely barbaric. Their civilization was marked by a considerable degree of wealth and luxury, gained in part, it is true, by plunder, but in part also by trade. At an early date the Norse were known as traders in every part of western Europe, long before they obtained a reputation as freebooters. By the eighth century, and perhaps earlier, they had appeared at the mouths of the Elbe, the Rhine, the Weser, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the

Thames, to exchange their dried fish, furs, and wax for wine, cloth, implements, and arms. Through these contacts the Norse acquired a skill in art and metal working that is by no means barbaric.

Of trade, and especially trade with the Orient [says Haskins] there is abundant evidence in the great treasures of gold and silver coin found in many regions of the north. The finely wrought objects of gold and silver and encrusted metal, which were once supposed to have been imported from the south and east, are now known to have been in large part of native workmanship, influenced, of course, by the imitation of foreign models, but also carrying out traditions of ornamentation, such as the use of animal forms, which can be traced back continuously to the earliest ages of Scandinavian history. Shields and damascened swords, arm-rings and neck-rings, pins and brooches . . . all testify, both in their abundance and their beauty of workmanship, to an advanced stage of art and handicraft.¹⁰

The sight of the prosperous countries with which they traded, their love of adventure, and overpopulation in their native country — which, by reason of its infertility, was incapable of sustaining a large population — led the Vikings to seek new homes. Those who emigrated seem to have been mostly younger sons of the yeoman classes for whom their native land afforded no heritage. By the close of the eighth century they had begun to ravage the coasts of Scotland, Ireland, England, and the Continent.

The first appearance of the Vikings as freebooters in the English Channel was about the year 800. The Monk of St. Gall, in his life of Charlemagne, tells us that their first raid on the Frankish coast made the emperor fearful for the future. Charlemagne accordingly ordered the construction of a fleet to guard the coasts against their incursions. But it was not until the reign of Louis the Pious that their expeditions became a serious menace. From 834 to 841 every year witnessed renewed attacks. The Vikings were particularly attracted by the wealth of Dorestad, which by 840 had been

plundered four times. In 841, while the sons of Louis the Pious were quarreling over their heritage, the Vikings sailed up the Seine and attacked Rouen, ravaging the city with fire and sword and pillaging the monasteries. At the time of the Treaty of Verdun they entered Nantes and slew the bishop before the high altar as he intoned the Mass. Two years later they sacked Paris and Hamburg. Wherever possible they established themselves at the mouth of a river, — especially on islands, which they used as bases for their piratical expeditions. Even Mohammedan Spain, southern France, and Italy were attacked.

Monasteries were special objects of attack by the Vikings; for there they found great treasure, well-filled granaries, and flourishing workshops, usually without much protection. Sometimes the monks perished in their monastery; often they fled carrying with them their title deeds and the precious relics of their patron saint. Many monastic houses entirely disappeared in the invasions, while in Normandy scarcely a church earlier than the tenth century survives. "As the monasteries were at this time the chief centers of learning and culture throughout Europe, their losses were the losses of civilization."¹¹ The effect upon the population as a whole was disastrous. The ransoms the Vikings wrung from the people ruined them. Fire, pillage, and massacre of the peasants everywhere destroyed labor and trade. As a consequence famines were of frequent occurrence and are mentioned almost every year by the chroniclers of the time.

With these invaders the descendants of Charlemagne were utterly unable to cope. The nobles refused to fight, and the kings were obliged to negotiate treaties with the Vikings. Indeed, in many instances the nobles actually entered into league with the Northmen and plundered like them.¹² The later Carolingian kings were obliged frequently to buy off the invaders, as did Charles the Fat when, in 886, he bought their retreat for seven hundred pounds of silver, or Charles the Simple when, in 911, he granted the territory at the

mouth of the Seine, the future Normandy, to Rollo. Castles sprang up on every hand, — not the stone structures of later centuries, but rude, hastily constructed buildings of logs. Even monasteries fortified themselves. And every owner of a castle defied the king. With the dissolution of the royal power Europe was rapidly becoming feudal.

Danish Invasions of England. Coincident with the Viking invasions of the Continent were the Danish invasions of England.

In a previous chapter we have seen England occupied by the Anglo-Saxons and, by the eighth century, organized into seven petty kingdoms, the Heptarchy. But by the beginning of the ninth century only three of these kingdoms counted; Northumbria in the north, Mercia in the center, and Wessex in the south. Northumbria and Mercia, however, had exhausted themselves in strife. Thus the future belonged to Wessex, which by 825 comprised all England south of the Thames. It was the Danish invasions that enabled the kings of Wessex to become the kings of a united England.

Beginning as isolated raids on the coast and up the rivers early in the ninth century, the Danish invasions by the middle of the century had become expeditions for conquest. By the latter part of the century the invaders had conquered the north and east of England and were preparing to assail Wessex.

Alfred the Great (871–899). The conquest of Wessex was prevented by the most capable ruler that Anglo-Saxon England produced, — Alfred, justly termed the Great. In 878 he inflicted such a severe defeat upon the Danes that Wessex was never again in serious danger of being conquered by them. By the Treaty of Chippenham (886) the Danes recognized Alfred's rule over all England south of the Thames and of a line drawn from London to Chester. The territory north of this line was ruled by the Danes and known as the *Dane-*

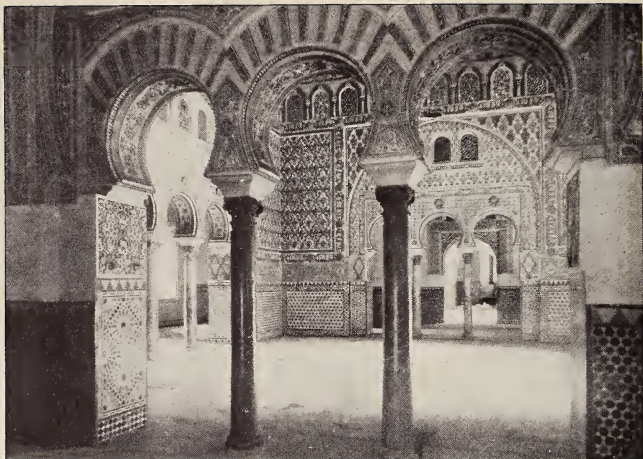
law. The remainder of Alfred's reign was devoted to repairing the ravages wrought by the invasions. He collected the Anglo-Saxon laws and put them together in convenient form; he restored London, left desolate by the Danes; and he encouraged trade. But most noteworthy of all were his attempts to revive learning and religion, which had been almost crushed out by the Danes. There was not a priest south of the Thames who understood the Latin of the Mass book, he declared. Accordingly Alfred endeavored to restore churches and monasteries and to fill them with educated priests and monks. At his court he gathered a group of scholars who, under his direction, began the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, an account of the deeds of his house, and undertook a series of translations from Latin into the vernacular, notably Bede's *History*, Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Rule*, Orosius's *History of the World*, and Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*. The most famous of these scholars was the Welshman Asser, Alfred's biographer.

Subjection of the Danelaw. The fifty years following the death of Alfred saw the formation of the kingdom of England under his son and three grandsons. During their reigns, which lasted until 955, wars were waged against the Danes until the entire Danelaw was reconquered (954) and subjected to the rule of Wessex. The Danes, through their extinction of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and dynasties within the Danelaw, had aided unification, and through their dissensions they fell a ready prey to conquest.

Like the Normans in France, the Danes were readily assimilated by the native population, to whom they were racially and linguistically akin. At an early period they became Christian. Dane and Anglo-Saxon lived side by side, they intermarried, and within a few centuries all distinction between the two peoples was lost. Few new elements of English civilization can be traced to the Danes. Only a small group of words are Danish in origin. Their



Cathedral of Troyes. Thirteenth-Sixteenth Century



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Hall of Ambassadors. Alcázar, Seville. Twelfth-Fourteenth Century.
(See page 751)



Court of Lions. Alhambra, Granada. Thirteenth-Fourteenth Century

chief contribution seems to have been a stimulus to trade; for they were good traders as well as buccaneers.¹³ York became a great rendezvous of merchants. It was "filled," says a contemporary writer, "with the riches of merchants who come from everywhere, especially from the Danish nation."¹⁴

Dunstan and the Reform Movement. This early period of English unity was one of ecclesiastical reform, under the leadership of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury and later archbishop of Canterbury. Monasticism had greatly suffered during the invasions. Many monasteries had lost their endowments and were ruined and empty, while all had departed from the strict letter of the Benedictine Rule. The vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience were no longer enforced, and the clerks who inhabited the monasteries were frequently married men. Dunstan sought to correct such irregularities and also, in accordance with a contemporary reform movement on the Continent, to restore the observance of the Benedictine Rule. Many new monasteries were founded. Not only did Dunstan, by insisting that priests should observe the rule of chastity, seek to reform the secular clergy, but he endeavored, by launching canons against drunkenness, brawling, and other vices, to improve the morals of the laity. The results of this reform movement, however, were only temporary, for during the eleventh century decay once more set in and lasted until the Norman Conquest.

Danish Rule. In spite of the political unity of England, the Danes still possessed sufficient consciousness of national differences from the Anglo-Saxons to aid their kinsmen from across the North Sea in a new invasion of England. During the reign of Ethelred the Unready (that is, *redeless*, or "without good counsel") (978-1016), a thoroughly incompetent ruler, the country lacked a strong central government and

was filled with dissension. Matters were worsened by the invasions of a Norwegian exile, Olaf Trygvesson, and of Swegen, king of Denmark. Ethelred's lack of energy and the evil counsel of his advisers led him to adopt the policy of buying off the invader, for which he imposed a tax on land, the *Danegeld*. Naturally the Danes took the bribes, but they soon returned and wanted more. Finally Swegen conquered England, and Ethelred fled to Normandy. On Swegen's death the Danes chose his son Canute (1017-1035), a capable and wise ruler, under whom the country enjoyed an epoch of peace and prosperity. As Canute was also the ruler of Norway and Denmark, England was part of a great northern empire. Canute made his headquarters in England. He busied himself in enforcing the laws and in stamping out survivals of heathenism, for he was a Christian. He was highly respected abroad; his alliance was sought by the emperor of Germany; he was favorably received by the Pope; and he made advantageous commercial treaties for English merchants. After the brief reign of Canute's two sons the English nobles chose as their king, Edward, the son of Ethelred, known because of his religious zeal as Edward the Confessor (1042-1066). The Danish epoch in English history was at an end.

The Vikings in Iceland. While some Vikings were ravaging the coasts of western Europe and adding to the confusion there or making settlements, others were carving out new homes far to the west in Iceland and Greenland, exploring the coasts of North America, or making their way from the Baltic into eastern Europe and laying the foundation of Russian states.

At the close of the eighth century (795) some Irish monks, venturing forth in their small boats, discovered Iceland, till then a desert land, and established themselves there. Over half a century later several Northmen, driven by storms from their course to the Hebrides or the Faroe Islands, landed on

the coast of Iceland. Not long afterwards (874) the Norse made their first settlements on the southern coast of the island. During the next sixty years the taking up of land was rapid, and some thousands of settlers migrated thither. The harsh rule of Harold Fairhair, and especially the appeal of large estates to be had for the taking, led the Norse to emigrate in large numbers.¹⁵ The climate, for such a latitude, was comparatively mild. The lowlands along the coast produced a luxuriant growth of grass, admirable for stock-raising, and there was an abundance of wild fowl and of fish in the coastal waters and streams.

Settlement in Iceland made more rapid progress than government. The colonists had early formed themselves into confederacies of neighboring estates, loosely knit together under a chief (*godí*), the most prominent landowner of the community. But there was no central authority, and feuds were bitter and bloody. This condition led, in 930, to the drawing up of a rough code of laws and the formation of a national assembly, the *Althing*, which met for two weeks every summer to make laws and settle disputes. Those condemned by the Althing were outlawed. In the year 1000 the Althing accepted Christianity, although pagan practices long continued. The lack of a strong executive and of any means of enforcing the decisions of the Althing caused the Icelanders to place themselves in 1262 under the rule of the king of Norway.

Greenland. One of the Vikings outlawed by the Althing and driven into exile, Eric the Red, about 982 set sail from Iceland to find a land said to have been discovered by previous mariners. To this new land, which he called Greenland, he later returned with settlers and planted two colonies on the southwestern coast. Here their descendants eked out a precarious existence until the latter part of the Middle Ages. Cut off by the cessation of visits from Iceland and Europe, a prey to a climate which had probably become more rigor-

ous, these colonists, suffering from undernourishment, physical degeneration due partly to intermarriage, disease, and the attacks of the Eskimos, finally succumbed. Archaeological investigation alone in modern times has revealed the story of their extinction.¹⁶

America. Iceland and Greenland were but steppingstones to North America. In 986 Bjarni, on a voyage to Greenland, was driven off his course by storms and touched the coast of North America somewhere near Cape Cod. On his return he sighted Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Some fifteen or sixteen years later Leif, son of Eric the Red, — according to one account, driven off his course; according to another, intent on investigating Bjarni's discoveries, — sailed along the eastern coast of North America. He saw a barren, rocky land (presumably Labrador), and a wooded land, low-lying and gently sloping to the sea, which he called Markland (probably the southern coast of Nova Scotia), and continued southward for several days until he came to a pleasant country where he camped for the winter.¹⁷ From the description given in the *Flatey Book* (one of the sagas that describes these visits to America) this place has been identified as some spot in Virginia or Maryland, on the shores of Chesapeake Bay.¹⁸ A German sailor in Leif's party, a native of a wine country, discovered wild grapes growing; so in the spring they carried back home a cargo of wine. Leif accordingly called the country Wineland.

A few years later Leif's camp in Wineland was visited by his brother Thorvald, who lost his life in conflict with the Indians. In 1007 another brother, Thorstein, set out to find his brother's body; but, driven from his course and losing his bearings, he returned to Greenland.

The most famous of all these voyages to Wineland, however, was that of a wealthy Icelandic merchant, Karlsefni, who, about 1020, equipped a ship to trade with Greenland. After a winter spent in Greenland, Karlsefni, accompanied

by several other Icelandic boats, visited North America. Their first winter the explorers passed near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, where they suffered greatly from cold and shortage of food. The following summer they sailed southward and camped at the mouth of a river (possibly the Hudson, if not Chesapeake Bay) on the shores of which wild grapes and wheat were growing. There, with abundance of food, they spent a second winter. In the spring they traded with the Indians, bartering cloth for furs. But the murder of an Indian by a Norseman led to a fight, in which the Indians were beaten off. The danger of further attack from the Indians led Karlsefni and his followers to abandon their settlement and return northward. After a third winter spent near their first encampment Karlsefni returned to Greenland.

The rest of Europe remained oblivious, except for possible rumors, of the achievement of the Vikings. Europeans soon centered their attention on the East, in an attempt to break the power of Islam, and it was only five hundred years later that they turned to the West.

The Vikings in Russia. While the Norse were venturing forth upon the Atlantic, the Swedes were crossing the Baltic and following the network of rivers which, except for an occasional portage, connects that sea with the Black and Caspian Seas. Their object was not merely plunder but trade and colonization as well. Early in the ninth century they had settled on the southern shores of Lake Ladoga. From there they pushed down the Volkhov to Novgorod, and thence eastward to the Volga and southward to the Dnieper.¹⁹ As the Swedes passed down the Dnieper, to trade with Constantinople or to enter its service as soldiers, they subjected the Slavs to their rule and organized a series of principalities which they soon amalgamated into the first Russian state. Under their rule, trade treaties were negotiated with Constantinople; and every spring, in June, a convoy of merchant boats laden with furs, wax, honey, and slaves passed down

the Dnieper to the Byzantine capital. By means of the Volga the Swedes reached the Caspian Sea and, as the quantity of Arabic coins found in Russia and Sweden attests, entered into trade with the Mohammedans and the markets of the East.

The Vikings thus contributed a great deal toward European exploration, colonization, and development of trade. They are noteworthy not only for the political organization they established, particularly in Normandy and Russia, but also for the growth of feudalism that their invasions promoted in western Europe.

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CHAPTER XI

Feudalism

THE collapse of organized government during the later Carolingian epoch and the inability of monarchs to afford protection to the individual landowner, either against his more powerful neighbor or against the marauding expeditions of the Northmen, gave rise to feudalism. No individual created feudalism, and no sudden revolution ushered it in. It was primarily a social and political system that gradually evolved for regulating the holding of land and the relations between classes in a society where the state was disappearing; but it was based upon customs and institutions that can be traced back to Roman or Germanic society, such as the *precarium* and *beneficium*, *commendation* or *comitatus*, and *immunity*. The twelfth century saw the culmination of feudalism, and the thirteenth the beginning of its decay, though it has left many survivals in modern times. A description of some of the leading customs out of which it arose will help to explain its nature.

Precarium and Beneficium. Based upon a Roman custom that became prevalent during the later empire, the *precarium*, in Frankish society, meant two things. (1) The proprietor of a small estate, finding it difficult to maintain himself in a period of disorder, surrendered his land to a neighboring powerful lord in return for his protection (*beneficium*), but retained the use of the land during his lifetime. The *precarium* was the request that such a person made; the *beneficium*, the favor conferred upon him. Both bishoprics and monasteries received land in this way; for there was the added inducement that gifts to the church counted as good

works, atoned for sin, and assured the donor salvation. (2) Frequently, however, the request for a benefice was made by one who possessed no land, but who desired to enter into relationship with a great landowner. By Merovingian times the church was glad to grant manors from its vast estates to freemen in return for a fixed revenue. Monarchs had no other way of rewarding officials for their services than by delegating to them the use of an estate or benefice. Ordinarily the concession of a benefice was only for life; but sometimes it was granted for several generations, and gradually the hereditary principle came to be introduced.

Commendation or Comitatus. Another root of the feudal system is found in the practice of *commendation*. In Roman society the nobleman had his clients, who, under his patronage and dependent upon him for support, constituted his retinue. Men placed themselves under the patronage of the great for various reasons: to avoid taxation, to gain a lawsuit, to escape destitution. In German society there was the *comitatus*. A young freeman became the follower of a chief or noble, pledged him fidelity, and fought for him, in return for maintenance and for instruction in the art of war. During the Merovingian and Carolingian epochs this practice of commendation developed, both under the influence of Roman and Germanic customs and because of the increasing disorder of the times. The weak were glad to obtain the protection of the strong by "commending" themselves to them. Similarly, the great landowners were glad to enlarge their body of retainers and thus strengthen themselves to resist marauders, bandits, or invaders. The rise of powerful counts and dukes who had veritable armies at their disposal was one of the features of the Carolingian age.

Immunity. The power of these great landowners was further increased by the practice of *immunity*, which was the third root of the feudal system. Immunity was the exemption of an estate, granted as a favor by the monarch, from the

visitation of royal officials and hence from the payment of taxes. In the Roman Empire immunity from duties or taxation had been granted to cities and, especially in the later centuries, to powerful nobles. In Merovingian and Carolingian times great landowners and monasteries frequently obtained diplomas which declared that no officials should enter their lands to levy taxes or fines, to recruit troops, or to execute justice.¹ The consequence was that such estates became virtually independent; all the *coloni*, or serfs, on them were subject only to the lord, who levied taxes and judged offenders. They constituted domains from which the royal authority was withdrawn.

A combination of these three institutions — *beneficium* and *precarium*, commendation, and immunity — gradually produced, at the end of the Carolingian epoch, the feudal system. From this period onward the small freeholder, in the absence of a strong central government that could afford him protection, tended to disappear: his estate was absorbed by some great lord. At the same time, the great lords, requiring retainers, introduced into the contract the personal relationship signified by commendation; and consequently the holder of a benefice became the vassal of feudalism. For a similar reason the great landowners began to parcel out their domains as benefices, — or *fiefs*, as they came to be called, — in order to increase the number of their vassals and thus to strengthen their military position.

The Fief. By the close of the eleventh century the word “fief” had everywhere supplanted the term *beneficium*, the holder of which came to be called a vassal.* Ordinarily the fief was land, an estate of varying size, which a vassal received from a lord, or suzerain, on condition that he render certain services, chiefly of a military character. This granting of a fief was called infeudation or enfeoffment. With the

* The word “vassal” was originally equivalent to “soldier.”

development of this system, free holdings, or *alods*,* tended to disappear throughout the greater part of Europe, — more especially in France, the Low Countries, and England. The idea prevailed that there should be no land that did not entail allegiance to some lord — *nulle terre sans seigneur*. Although the fief was usually land, it might consist of other things as well. Administrative offices, the duty of collecting ecclesiastical tithes, the right to fish in certain streams, to hunt or to gather honey in certain forests, to maintain the manorial mill, or to levy tolls at streams and bridges — all were enfeoffed. Theoretically, on the death of a vassal the fief, like the *beneficium*, reverted to the suzerain. But the instinct to transmit property or rights to an heir, combined with the need for social stability, conspired to establish, in the eleventh century, the principle of hereditary succession.

Homage and Investiture. When a vassal received a fief from a suzerain, he paid *homage* to him and in return was *invested* with the fief. A medieval customary gives the following description of this act:

The man should put his hands together as a sign of humility, and place them between the two hands of his lord as a token that he vows everything to him and promises faith to him; and the lord should receive him and promise to keep faith with him. Then the man should say: "Sir, I enter your homage and faith and become your man by mouth and hands [that is, by taking the oath and placing his hands between those of the lord], and I swear and promise to keep faith and loyalty to you against all others, and to guard your rights with all my strength."²

This oath was the act of fealty, or fidelity, and was usually taken with the hand upon relics or the Bible. In return, the suzerain invested his vassal with the fief by giving him a bit of straw, a stick, a lance, a glove, or anything else that sym-

* Even in France, however, as well as in other countries, alodial tenure did not completely die out. Cf. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. VII, p. 719.

bolized the object transferred, and by bestowing upon him the kiss of peace. Strictly speaking, it was not the ownership of the fief which the lord transferred but merely the usufruct; and the transfer had to be renewed at the accession of each new vassal or suzerain. Thenceforth vassal and suzerain were bound to each other by mutual obligations that could not be neglected without violating faith — in the Middle Ages a terrible sin. Let us glance at these obligations in turn.

Obligations of the Vassal. 1. Above all things, the vassal was under obligation not to wrong his suzerain: to attack neither his person nor his property; to injure neither his honor nor his family. Any infringement of this loyalty was regarded with the utmost horror. In the *chanson* "Girart de Roussillon," when Girart reveals his plot to assassinate his lord, the aged hermit to whom he tells it is deeply shocked and exclaims:

Thou wouldst slay thy suzerain! Never wilt thou find priest or saint or bishop or Pope or doctor who will grant thee absolution! Theology and Holy Writ teach us in the law of the Redeemer what justice should be meted out to the traitor. He shall be torn asunder by horses, his body burned at the stake, and the place of his execution shall forever remain sterile: neither grass nor tree shall grow upon it.³

2. By the very nature of the feudal system, homage involved military obligations, which by the thirteenth century were clearly defined. The two most important were service in the *ost*, or host, the general rally for the defense of the country against invasion, and in the *chevachie*, an expedition of lesser importance. If the vassal was a great baron, he was summoned by a personal letter; if a lesser personage, by a seignorial agent, such as a bailiff. Frequently the act of homage was accompanied by a definite contract stating the number of retainers a vassal was obliged to furnish on different occasions. Ordinarily the duration of such service was limited to forty days.

Then the vassal was liable to *estage*, or the duty of garrisoning his lord's castle, sometimes accompanied by his family. Simple *estage* merely obliged the vassal to garrison the castle for a week or two once a year; continuous *estage*, for months and even years on end. A vassal often had to garrison his suzerain's castle while the latter was engaged in war. Besides, he was under obligation to place his own castle at his suzerain's disposal on demand. But the suzerain had to restore the castle in as good a condition as when he received it and to seize nothing in it but "straw and hay."

3. Court service was another obligation the vassal owed his lord. At the suzerain's request a vassal was required to be present and give counsel at the manorial court, ordinarily on the great feast days of Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. On such occasions disputes between vassals were settled or advice was obtained on some question of importance to the lord. The presence of numerous vassals also flattered the vanity of the suzerain on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter or the knighting of a son. Such service was not a right but a duty that could not be shunned without violating the oath of fealty.

4. Besides the foregoing, the vassal was under certain financial obligations, which sometimes became very burdensome. At the time of investiture, and probably as a compensation for it, the vassal was ordinarily expected to make the lord a present, the value of which varied according to custom or agreement. For some it was only a pair of gloves, a lance, or iron spurs; for others, gold spurs, a gold cup, or a horse. In Guienne the gift was a sum of money, the *sporra*.

Another of these contributions was *relief*, sometimes payable by the vassal when he inherited the fief, but more often when a new suzerain succeeded the old. Here again the amount varied according to locality and custom. Often merely a nominal sum, relief was sometimes a serious burden, consisting, as in northern France, of a year's revenue from the fief. A tax of a similar nature was the *quint*, which the vassal

paid when, with the lord's consent, the fief was alienated by sale. This sometimes amounted to as much as three years' revenue from the fief.

The suzerain had also the right to request his vassals to assist with his extraordinary expenses. Such *aids*, as they were called, might be legally asked for on the following occasions: when the lord's eldest son was knighted, when his daughters were married, when he went on a crusade, and when he was taken prisoner and required a ransom. Naturally, the occasions on which an ecclesiastical suzerain demanded an aid differed from those of a secular lord. The most important was when the Pope imposed a levy. In reality, it was not the vassals who bore the burden of an aid; for they, in turn, wrung it from the families of the serfs on their fiefs.

5. One of the most burdensome of all the vassal's obligations was the *droit de gîte*, the entertainment of a lord and his retainers when he was on a journey or a hunting expedition. Perhaps because this was a right that might be abused, the extent of entertainment was often stipulated in customary or written agreement. By the twelfth century the lord might not demand entertainment more than three times a year. Frequently these agreements were of the most explicit nature and minutely regulated the details of the service expected.

Thus in Guienne [says Seignobos] the possessor of Sommières must serve to his seigneur, the Duke of Aquitaine, when he came, a repast for himself and ten knights; the repast to consist of pork, beef, cabbage, roast chickens and mustard. He himself must wait on the duke in scarlet leggings with spurs of gold. Another vassal had to receive six of the hunters accompanying the duke, give them bread, wine and meat, and lead them into the forest the following day.⁴

Gradually the *droit de gîte* was transformed into a money payment.

Escheat. In addition to the obligations the vassal owed, the lord had certain rights over the fief itself. One of the

most important of these was *escheat*. If the vassal died without legitimate heirs, the fief reverted, or escheated, to the suzerain, who could consequently grant it to another vassal. Originally escheat seems to have been customary also when the direct heirs of a deceased vassal were minors, on the ground that children could not perform the feudal obligations, particularly those of a military nature; but by the eleventh century this gave place to wardship. Then the suzerain assumed the guardianship of the heir and the administration of the fief until he came of age. If the vassal left only a daughter, it was the right of the lord to provide her with a husband. If the vassal went on a pilgrimage or a crusade, it was likewise the suzerain who took charge of the fief. In feudal law the vassal did not have the right to marry either his son or his daughter without first obtaining his lord's consent.

The suzerain might declare a fief confiscated if a vassal refused to fulfill his obligations, violated the laws of his lord, or made war on him. Rarely, however, could confiscation be carried into effect without forcibly ejecting the vassal.

Obligations of the Suzerain. On the other hand, the suzerain was under certain obligations toward his vassal. "The lord," said Beaumanoir, "is quite as much bound to be faithful to his man as the latter is bound in regard to the lord."⁵ First of all, he owed him justice in the feudal court and protection against his enemies. He might not subvert the vassals of his vassal or erect castles on the fief without consent. Then the suzerain might not injure his vassal's honor, either as husband or as father. Any infringement of these obligations on the part of the lord was equivalent to a breaking of the feudal bond, although this could usually be achieved only by a successful war against the suzerain.

The Feudal Hierarchy. The multitude of suzerains and vassals constituted the feudal hierarchy, in theory graduated

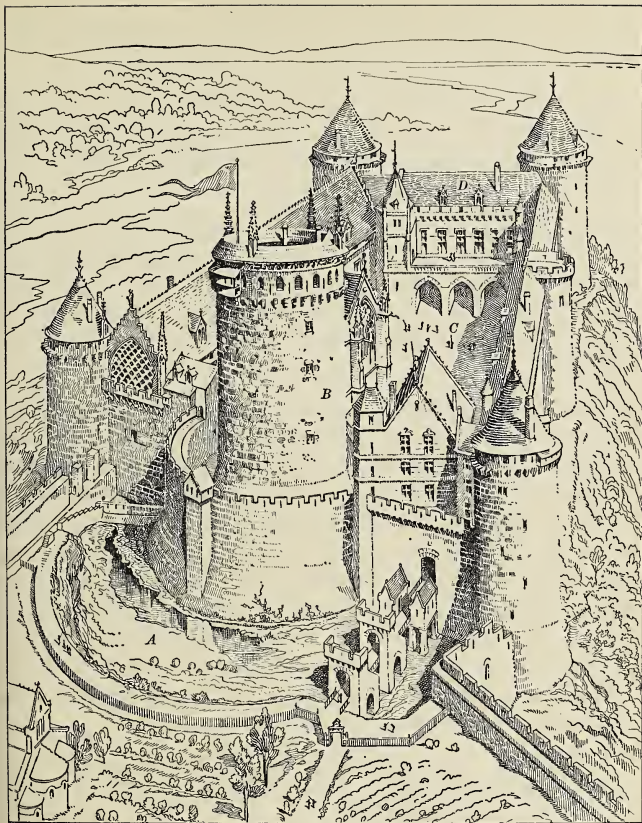
from the highest ruler down to the humblest knight. At the top stood the emperor, king, or prince; at the bottom, knights who held the smallest fiefs, and squires or retainers of lords who were themselves of noble birth. Next to the king or emperor stood the dukes, counts (or earls, as they were called in England), bishops, and abbots; for the higher clergy, as we shall see, also formed part of the feudal system. Beneath them, again, were lesser nobility, such as viscounts, barons, and petty lords. In general the rank of a noble depended upon the nature of the fief which he held.

But in practice the feudal system was far less simple than this. In reality the hierarchical scale was illusory, for counts were often as powerful as kings, and barons as dukes or counts. A noble was sometimes vassal of an inferior lord for certain lands and might even, as was the count of Champagne, be a vassal of his own vassals. Moreover, feudalism was almost infinitely complex: every lord was the vassal of a multitude of different suzerains to whom he owed obligations that frequently conflicted with one another. In the event of such conflict the vassal usually safeguarded himself by written contracts that specified what his duty would be if several of his suzerains made war on each other. Thus he swore allegiance to Duke A "saving his allegiance" to Count B and Baron C.⁶

War the Chronic State of Feudal Society. The complexity of the feudal system, the conflicting interests of the lords, the frequent unwillingness of both vassals and suzerains to fulfill their obligations, and the ambition of all to extend their power, at the expense of either relative or neighbor, led to an almost constant state of warfare. Indeed, the appeal to arms was a legitimate and legal method of settling a dispute. As a consequence every lord, whether duke, count, or simple knight, was obliged to have his castle in which he could defend himself against his enemies. Western Europe fairly bristled with castles or with fortified manor houses —

many of the ruins of which still survive — around which centered feudal society.

The Castle. The earliest castles, the erection of which in large numbers began in the Carolingian epoch, were almost all built of wood. Each consisted of a tower (the donjon, or keep), and was erected on a hill, a rocky promontory, an island, at the junction of two rivers, or, lacking a good natural site, upon an artificially constructed mound, surrounded by a deep ditch, or moat. Wooden castles had the advantage of being rapidly built, but the disadvantage of being easily set on fire. By the eleventh century wooden construction was giving place to stone; and by the thirteenth century the castle had become a much more elaborate structure. In reality, it consisted of a castle within a castle, each protected by walls and turrets, so that if the outer one were captured the garrison might retreat into the inner one. The idea of the donjon survived in the round or square tower, often situated in the strongest part of the site. Its plain walls were broken only by an occasional loophole. At the top was the hall which formed the living quarters of the lord. Outside the donjon was a yard, of greater or less extent, called the bailey, enclosed by a flanking wall protected by turrets from which molten metal, boiling pitch or water, arrows, or stones might be hurled at assailants. The early ditch became a moat, kept filled with water out of which the castle walls seemed to rise. Entrance to the castle could be gained only by a drawbridge held in place or raised at will by huge chains. The entrance was flanked by two towers, and over it was a guard room from which an iron gate, or portcullis, might be dropped to close it. Within the bailey were various buildings essential to the life of the castle, such as barracks for the garrison, storerooms for food and fodder, workshops for carpenters, armorers, and smiths, and a chapel. Every castle also had its gruesome dungeon, into which offenders or captives held for ransom might be cast. By the thirteenth century the lord had aban-



COUCY-LE-CHATEAU

Built for Enguerrand III, lord of Coucy, between 1230 and 1242, this castle was dismantled in the seventeenth century and destroyed during the World War. It is noteworthy for its enormous round donjon, or keep (B), over two hundred feet high and one hundred feet in diameter. The courtyard (C) was surrounded by storehouses, kitchens, the residence of the lord (D), and barracks for the garrison. The chapel adjoined the donjon. In front the castle was protected by a moat (A), a double drawbridge, and a bailey which extended between the castle and the village

doned the primitive hall in the donjon and occupied a finer and more spacious dwelling in the innermost castle.

Life within the Castle. Life within the castle was concerned primarily with warfare, and nobles seem to have been happiest when engaged in feud with someone. This is well illustrated by Bertrand de Born :

I tell you that I never eat, sleep, or drink so well as when I hear the cry, "Up and at them!" from both sides, and when I hear the neighing of riderless horses in the thicket, and hear voices shouting: "Help! Help!" and see men fall on the green of the moats, and see the dead pierced in the side by the shafts of spears gay with pennons.⁷

Not only did the violation of feudal obligations and questions of inheritance and succession invariably lead to war, but in an age when tempers were hot and men were brutal a slighting remark, a mocking word, injured honor, or even a contemptuous gesture was sufficient to embroil nobles in strife. War was usually declared by sending to one's enemy some symbol, such as a glove, with a challenge, as a sign that hostilities were to begin. Such wars, however, were usually of short duration; for a lord's resources were speedily exhausted, and his vassals were bound to serve for only forty days. Nor, as a rule, was the mortality great. Orderic Vitalis, speaking of a battle in 1119, says :

In the battle . . . in which nearly nine hundred knights were engaged, I have ascertained that three only were slain. This arose from their being entirely covered with steel armour, and mutually sparing each other for the fear of God and out of regard for the fraternity of arms, and aimed less at killing the fugitives than making them prisoners.⁸

The heaviest brunt of feudal warfare fell upon the peasantry; for the first thing a lord did when making war on another was to burn the villages on his enemy's lands, destroy the crops, drive off the cattle, and slay or mutilate the peasants.

Besides engaging in wars, the feudal barons, secure in their fortresses, levied tolls upon or despoiled the merchants that passed along the highways near their castles. It was by such means that they financed their wars and extravagant displays. The church too suffered heavily at the hands of the feudal nobility, who plundered churches and robbed monasteries, even in spite of the ecclesiastical anathemas that were hurled at them. Many of the lords were little better than robbers and bandits.

Joust and Tournament. When not engaged in actual warfare, robbing merchants, or plundering monasteries, feudal lords spent much of their time in mock battle, — in the joust and tournament. The joust was a conflict between two armed knights; the tournament, a general mêlée. The tournament was a veritable military school, in which old knights kept their hand in and younger ones acquired skill and finesse. As Roger of Hoveden, the English chronicler, declared, "A knight cannot shine in war if he has not been prepared for it in the tournaments."⁹ Frequently nobles took advantage of a wedding or the knighting of a son to give a tournament. Mounted, dressed in complete armor, and armed with long wooden lances, two knights in the joust rode at each other, each seeking to unhorse his opponent. In the general mêlée each knight singled out an opponent and attacked him. While this was merely sport, yet it gave an opportunity for the display of brutal passions and for wreaking vengeance upon an enemy; and rarely did a tournament take place without casualties. For this reason the church condemned tournaments and frequently declared that those who participated in them endangered their eternal salvation.

The Chase. When there was neither war nor tournament to occupy him, the noble, bored by peace, engaged in the chase, which, next to the tournament, was his chief amusement. Medieval nobles were great eaters, and the chase af-

forded them venison, which was their staple diet, as they despised meat from the market. Every noble prided himself on his hunting dogs and falcons, and the ladies of the castle as well as the lords took delight in pursuing game. Preachers and moralists complained that ladies often took their falcons on their wrists with them to Mass and that the lords preferred hunting to listening to sermons. "This lord," one complained, "heard the hunter's horn more readily than the bell of the chaplain, and took more pleasure in throwing the falcon and applauding the exploits of his bird than in listening to a priest's sermon."¹⁰

In their less strenuous moments the society of the castle indulged in chess or dice or listened to the recitals of some wandering minstrel, or *jongleur*, who was always glad to entertain in exchange for a bed and a meal. Especially in the long winter evenings were such guests welcomed, and particularly by the baroness and her daughters, who must frequently have been oppressed by the monotony of life within the castle walls.

Knighthood and Chivalry. Out of the life of the feudal nobility grew the institutions of knighthood and chivalry. As we have seen, it had been customary for young men of noble birth in German society to attach themselves as *comitatus*, or squires, to the persons of warriors for training in the use of arms. This practice was continued in feudal society, and every castle and feudal court became a veritable school of chivalry. Boys began their training at the age of seven or eight as pages in the castle of some lord, usually an uncle, other relative, or suzerain, where they learned manners, to wait on the lord and lady at table, the use of weapons, the rules and practices of hawking and hunting, and the rudiments of religion (perhaps from the castle chaplain). At the age of fifteen or sixteen they became squires. They continued to wait at dinner, carving, and serving the food and wine, and attending the lord when he retired at night or rose in the

morning. Military exercises and athletic sports occupied an increasing portion of the day. They learned to ride, to tilt at the quintain, to wield the sword and battle-ax, to accustom themselves to the weight of armor, and to endure hardship. When considered sufficiently skillful and worthy, the squire was dubbed knight. Kneeling before his lord he received a blow (the accolade) on the back of the neck with the flat of a sword, with the words "In the name of God, Saint Michael, and Saint George I dub thee knight. Be valiant." He was then presented with helmet, coat of mail, and lance, and his sword was girt on. The knighting of a son of a wealthy lord was made the occasion of elaborate entertainment and festivities. The young knight was feasted at a banquet, which was frequently followed by a tournament. Sometimes a squire was dubbed knight on the field of battle for some particular deed of valor.

The church seized upon the institution of knighthood, added to it religious ceremonies, and attempted to develop a code of conduct, or chivalry. Preceding his reception of knighthood, the squire underwent a period of prayer and vigil before the altar. Then he bathed, clothed himself in white (symbol of purity), confessed his sins, and partook of the Eucharist. After receiving the accolade he repaired to the church, offered his sword on the altar, and with his hand on the altar swore to defend the church. The Roman pontifical contains this rubric for the occasion :

Receive this sword in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Use it for your defence, for the safety of the church of God and for the confusion of the enemies of the cross of Christ. Go and remember that the saints have not conquered kingdoms by the sword but by faith.¹¹

The church thus sought to inculcate the doctrine that faith and devotion to Christianity were as essential aspects of knightly character as valor and military prowess. Such a knight who fell in battle was assured of paradise. The ex-

emplary type of knight is found in the father of Bernard of Clairvaux, a man of gentle manners, a lover of the poor, of ardent piety and great zeal for justice. So overcome was he by the feeling that warfare was wrong that on one occasion, rather than engage in mortal combat with an adversary, he made peace with him by relinquishing the point in dispute, — an exceedingly difficult thing to do in an age when personal honor demanded satisfaction for every slight. Far too frequently, however, the church's code of chivalry made little impression on brutal and violent feudatories. The knight who plundered the merchant and clerk, who murdered peasants and violated women, hurling defiance at the anathemas of the church, was endemic throughout the Middle Ages.

Another mollifying influence on feudal society besides the church was courtesy, — the French *courtoisie*. "Courtesy," said Luchaire, "was born in southern France. The troubadours of this country taught to a nobility occupied with wars and pillage the refinements of chivalrous love and the worship of woman."¹² Love was thought of as a cult, almost as a religion. The knight selected some lady — it mattered not whether she was the wife of another — as the inspiration of his thought and action. He sought to merit her love, not only by bravery in war or on a crusade, but by chivalrous conduct and noble action. "The chosen lady was the suzerain of the knight, who, on bended knees with his hands joined in hers, swore to devote himself to her, to protect her, and to serve her faithfully till death. As a symbol of investiture she gave him a ring and a kiss."¹³

The Church and Feudalism. The medieval church, realizing that its best interests lay in a peaceful state of society, endeavored to mitigate the evils of feudal warfare. By its "Peace of God" it threatened with excommunication all who plundered churches or monasteries, who robbed merchants, and who seized the property of peasants. By the "Truce of God" it forbade all warfare on holy days and between

Wednesday night and Monday morning, promising absolution for their sins to all who obeyed and threatening with eternal fire all who did not. But, on the other hand, the church did not condemn war as unchristian. It exalted the military virtues — courage, fidelity, steadfastness, endurance — as the finest fruits of the Christian character. By taking chivalry under its aegis and giving its benediction to the profession of the sword, it helped to perpetuate wars and warlike customs.

The medieval church, because of the vast landed domains the bequests of the faithful had bestowed upon it, was itself drawn into the feudal system. Bishops and abbots as holders of fiefs were vassals of king or emperor, and they themselves had vassals under them. In theory an ecclesiastic might not bear arms, as it was unseemly for him to shed blood. A vassal, called an advocate, was chosen to perform his military obligations for him; but in practice many bishops and even abbots became warriors and were proud of their military achievements. Bishops and abbots were commonly nominated by kings and emperors and were invested by them with ecclesiastical lands after they had done homage and sworn allegiance. This bestowal of ring and crozier, the symbols of episcopal office, by laymen soon became, as we shall see, a great offense to church reformers. As a consequence of this feudalization of the church, the clergy came to be chosen less and less for their piety, their learning, or their theological attainments than for their military and political qualifications.

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CHAPTER XII

Life on the Medieval Manor

DURING the greater part of the Middle Ages life in Europe was predominantly rural. The social upheaval that accompanied the collapse of the Roman Empire and the barbarian invasions led to the disappearance of many of the towns and cities of the ancient world. (Even those towns that continued to exist ceased to depend on trade or industry: the population subsisted on agriculture and sometimes tilled the vacant land inside the walls. But the most important economic activity, at least during the earlier Middle Ages, was on the great estates — the *latifundia* — which, as we have seen, were among the most important features of the last centuries of the empire. The villa, or *latifundium*, was thus the ancestor of the medieval manor. By the feudal epoch even the small holdings that had persisted until Carolingian times tended to become absorbed in the great estate of noble, bishop, or abbot. The manor was consequently the characteristic economic and social unit and prevailed over the greater part of Europe, especially in the grain-growing belt, from England, across northern France and central Europe, to the plains of Russia. Yet the small holding persisted in many places, particularly in mountainous regions or in areas of specialized cultures, such as those of the vine and the olive. As the vast majority of people lived on the manor and were part of its social organization, a description of it is essential to an understanding of medieval life.

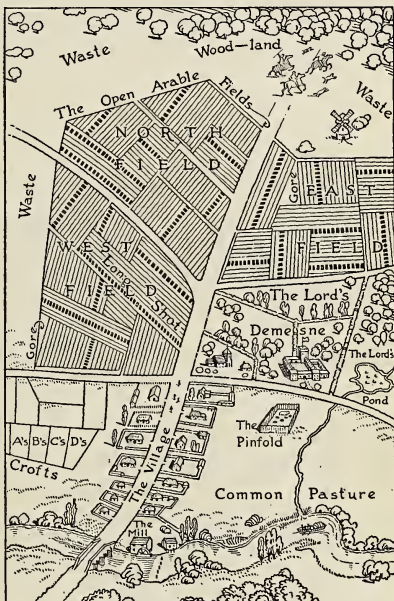
Nature of the Manor. The manor was an estate that varied in size from several hundred acres to a thousand or more. The smallest estate that could be termed noble was a knight's

fief, or fee, usually reckoned on the basis of at least the work of five servile families. Inasmuch as the feudal maxim was "No lord without land, no land without a lord," the possessor of but one manor must have been at the bottom of the feudal hierarchy. The great nobles numbered their manors by hundreds, while bishoprics and monasteries frequently possessed thousands. These were not necessarily contiguous, but often widely scattered, sometimes over an entire province. In England, for instance, one great baron had seven hundred and ninety-three manors spread over twenty counties. Nor did an individual manor always comprise contiguous territory: its parts might be severed from each other by land belonging to other lords.

Each manor consisted of two main parts: the lord's *demesne*, reserved for the special use of the noble, and the holdings of the peasants or serfs. The holdings of the latter in England often consisted of three fifths or two thirds of the whole. On the *demesne* were situated the castle or manor house of the lord and the grange, or barn, surrounded by gardens and orchards. The land cultivated for the lord's use did not usually adjoin the manor house, but was scattered in strips among the holdings (often called *manses*) of the peasants. On each side of a main track or road running through the manor were the cottages of the peasants, often with little yards around them, compactly grouped together into a village instead of dispersed over the manor. This grouping of the cultivators of the soil into villages was characteristic of the Middle Ages, and survivals of it may be seen in Europe today.* These villages were for the most part small, containing at most from fifty to five hundred persons. The part of the manor under cultivation was divided into three great fields, one for fall planting, another for spring planting, and a third that was left fallow. These fields were

* In parts of Europe, however, and especially in mountainous or grazing country, hamlets or scattered homesteads might be found.

subdivided into acre or half-acre strips, separated from each other by *balks* of unplowed turf, instead of by hedges or fences. This is known as the open-field system. The holding of each villager consisted of a number of these strips, not adjoining each other but scattered up and down the three fields so that no one man had all good or all poor land. To go from one to another might involve a journey of several miles. The size of each peasant's holding varied from country to country and according to local circumstances; but the average was probably about thirty acres and in England was known as a *virgate* or *yard-land*. In addition to the arable fields, there were meadows or hay lands of which each peasant had his share assigned to him by lot or custom. The peasants also had the right to pasture their cattle on the *waste*, or the *common*, and frequently to gather wood in the forest, which was, however, primarily a hunting ground for the lord.

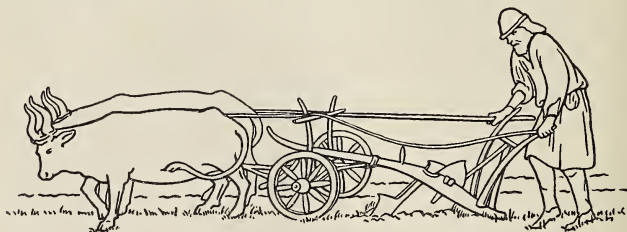


CONVENTIONAL PLAN OF A MANOR

The shaded areas in the open fields indicate the holdings of the lord's demesne

Primitive State of Agriculture. From the Romans and the Germans the Middle Ages had inherited a two-field system of

alternating cropped field and fallow, the purpose of which was to prevent exhaustion of the soil. But by the eighth century the three-field system was introduced and widely adopted.* The discovery that wheat or rye might be sown in the autumn as well as in the spring was undoubtedly an important one: only a third instead of half the cultivated land remained fallow each year. Aside from this one improvement, little



PLOWMAN AND OXEN

Redrawn from *Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, a manuscript in the Condé Museum, Chantilly, France. Second decade, fifteenth century

advance in method was made in the Middle Ages. The open-field system militated against individual initiative or improvement. The serf possessed no capital, insufficient stock, and no knowledge of the value of nitrogen-yielding plants, such as clover, or of the rotation of crops. His implements were crude: a cumbersome wooden plow with an iron plowshare that did not always turn up a furrow of adequate depth, a harrow that was often nothing but a thorn tree weighted down with a log, spades for digging, beetles for breaking up clods, sickles for reaping, and flails for threshing. Without artificial fertilizers and with an altogether inadequate supply of manure, the yield per acre was small. The staple crops

* The earliest documentary evidence for the existence of the three-field system comes from the years 765 and 771. This has led Professor J. W. Thompson to suggest that it may have originated on the monastic estates of Hesse. Other writers, such as Bloch (*Les Caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*, p. 34) and H. Peake (*The English Village*, p. 20), think it more ancient.

were cereals. Wheat or rye was sown in the autumn, and oats, barley, peas, or beans in the spring. Vegetables, such as turnips, onions, cabbage, and artichokes, were known, though not as universally cultivated as cereals. Apples, pears, quinces, cherries, and plums were frequently grown in the demesne garden. In the south of Europe the vine and the olive were universal.



THRESHING WITH FLAILS

Redrawn from the Luttrell Psalter, a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum

One of the most important and valuable parts of the manor was the meadow, or hay land. Because artificial grasses and clovers were not known until the seventeenth century, the supply of hay was limited; for only the moist, low-lying lands would produce it. On one English manor in the thirteenth century the hay land comprised only one twenty-fourth of the land under tillage. Moreover, since there was no rotation of crops on the meadows, the soil gradually became exhausted. Used as pasture during the autumn and winter, the meadows were enclosed in the spring (usually in February), divided, and apportioned among the peasants. The quantity of hay during the Middle Ages was always limited, and this had a profound effect upon stock-raising.

Stock-raising. The animal most commonly raised on the manor was the hog; for hogs, by rooting through the waste and forest and feeding on beech mast, could fend for themselves. Oxen were preferred to horses as draft animals, because they were cheaper to maintain. As Walter of Henley, a thirteenth-century authority on farming, said:

A plough of oxen will go as far in the year as a plough of horses, because the malice of the ploughman will not allow the plough of



REAPER'S CART GOING UPHILL

Redrawn from the Luttrell Psalter, a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum

horses to go beyond their pace, no more than the plough of oxen. Further, in very hard ground where the plough of horses will stop, the plough of oxen will pass. And the horse costs more than the ox, for he is obliged to have the sixth part of a bushel of oats every night, worth a halfpenny at least, and twelve pennyworth of grass in the summer. Besides, each week he costs more or less a penny a week in shoeing, if he must be shod on all four feet.

But the ox has only to have $3\frac{1}{2}$ sheaves of oats per week (ten sheaves yielding a bushel of oats), worth a penny, and the same amount of grass as the horse. And when the horse is old and worn out there is nothing but his skin, but when the ox is old with ten pennyworth of grass he shall be fit for the larder.¹

The cattle were small, scrubby, and lighter in weight than in later centuries, and there was little attempt until the close of the Middle Ages to improve the breed. How, indeed, could there be, since all were herded together in a common pasture? No root crops were raised for fodder, and, with the scarcity of hay, the problem of keeping stock was a serious one. Cattle could graze on the commons, on the waste, on the edge of the forest, or, in the autumn, on the stubble of the grain fields (which was left long,) or on the aftermath of the meadow. But in winter they were fed on straw and tree loppings, and in the spring were frequently so weak that they had to be carried out to pasture. Hence it was customary to kill and salt down all except those needed for draft or breeding purposes. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that the milk yield from such stock was meager. Walter of Henley expected only three and one-half pounds of butter a week from three cows. Most of the milk was made into cheese.

Hens, ducks, and geese also were commonly kept by the serfs; but only the lord could raise pigeons which, greatly to the annoyance of the serfs, injured the crops. In a single year during the fourteenth century Lord Berkeley obtained two thousand one hundred and fifty-one pigeons from one manor. Sheep-raising was universal, and England, which produced some of the finest wool, was like a huge sheep run. Bee-keeping also was common; for honey provided the chief sweetening for food, and beeswax the material for seals and for candles (the consumption of which in churches was enormous). Its importance is shown by the fact that bees were frequently mentioned in wills or enfeoffed.

Administration of the Manor. Usually the manor, even when the lord lived on it himself, was administered by officials, — the seneschal, the bailiff, and the reeve. The seneschal acted as legal adviser to the lord and supervised all his manors. Over each manor was a bailiff, whose duty it was to superintend the cultivation of the demesne, to hold court,

to execute justice, and to collect dues, fines, and rents. "The bailiff," said a medieval writer, "should rise early in the morning, and see that the plough-teams are yoked; and then he should walk round and inspect the tilled fields, woods, meadows and pastures. Then he should visit the ploughs at their work, and take care that the oxen are not unyoked till a full day's work has been done."² The bailiff was obliged to keep minute account of the products of the manor and submit them to the lord. When the lord did not reside on the manor, the manor house was sometimes inhabited by the bailiff. The reeve was a sort of foreman of the villagers, chosen from among them, and to a certain extent represented their interests. On their behalf he "kept a tally of the day-works, and reckoned them up with the bailiff at the end of the week." But at the same time the reeve was responsible to the lord for the performance of villein services; he acted as assistant to the bailiff, looked after the stock, and supervised the manuring and sowing of the land. By the fourteenth century the offices of bailiff and reeve, never clearly delimited, seem to have coalesced. Frequently these officials claimed the right to transmit their offices to their heirs, and they became hereditary. Subordinate to the bailiff and reeve were lesser officials such as the messor (reaper), who superintended the sowing and reaping to ensure that these processes were completed within a certain time. Swineherds, oxherds, and shepherds to tend the pigs, cattle, and sheep, especially when they were turned on the open fields, or waste, were also permanent servants on the manor.

To a high degree the medieval manor, especially before the eleventh century, was a self-sufficing economic unit, largely independent of the outside world and characterized by many activities not purely agricultural. The peasant built his own house, made his furniture and probably his implements; his wife and daughters spun wool or flax and wove garments. Even the needs of the lord and his family were simple and were supplied by his own household or by the bondmen and

bondwomen on the manor. The clothes that he wore, the weapons with which he fought, as well as the food he ate, were all produced on the demesne. Every manor had its windmill or water mill for grinding grain, and frequently also a bakery and a brewery. Usually the post of miller, baker, or brewer was farmed out, and often descended from father to son. But aside from the miller, baker, and brewer, it is doubtful if the ordinary manor boasted artisans who devoted themselves solely to their crafts. On royal and especially on monastic manors, however, industrial activity was more extensive. To them was often attached a group of artisans whose work was specifically industrial. Charters and regulations of monasteries mention spinning, weaving, carpentry, ironwork, ropemaking, saddlery, shoemaking, and even goldsmith work and glassmaking. Of all these artisans the commonest as well as the oldest was the metal-worker, or "smith." Monasteries produced many articles, such as chalices, crosses, candelabra, and relic chests, for the use of churches. Indeed, "many craft secrets were known only to the monks."³

But it is easy to exaggerate the self-sufficiency of the manor. It was always dependent on the outside world for salt and iron. As soon as the market and fair appeared, both lord and peasant began exchanging their surplus produce for foreign commodities and even articles of luxury. The rise of the town⁴ was an incentive to increase production, and the relation between country and town eventually led to the transformation of the manor. Money economy reappeared, and with it in the thirteenth century the decline of serfdom.

The Manorial Court. Another phase of the independence of the manor in relation to the outside world was the administration of justice. The lord exercised rights of justice, both civil and criminal, over all persons on the manor. The plowman who was negligent, the poacher who fished in the lord's pond or killed deer in his forest, as well as the mur-

derer and robber, were amenable to his justice. For minor offenses the punishment was a fine or the stocks; for theft, murder, or arson, hanging on the manorial gallows. Every manor consequently had its court, which met periodically (in some places every three weeks) in the lord's hall, in the village church, or under a tree, for the judgment of offenses committed by serfs and villeins. It was presided over by the bailiff, and the peasants were obliged to attend in the capacity of jurors; but it was probably the decision of the bailiff that prevailed. "Manorial justice," says Sée, "seems to have been very severe toward the peasants; the least offense was punished in the most severe manner; every act of violence or disrespect committed toward the lord or his agents was cruelly repressed."⁵ Moreover, justice was an important source of revenue to the lord by reason of the fines and of the fact that the chattels of all criminals were seized by him.

Such was the manor and its organization. Let us now look at the people on the manor.

Classes on the Manor. Serfs. Although slaves existed throughout the Middle Ages as valets, household servants, or concubines, they were too expensive to be used to cultivate the fields. Agricultural labor was performed by serfs, who differed from slaves in several respects. The medieval serf had an advantage over the slave in holding the tenure of a manse which he cultivated and the profits of which, after certain dues were paid to the lord, he himself enjoyed. He had his own cottage in the village. Unlike the slave, he possessed a legitimate family and was able to accumulate private property which, along with his tenure, he could transmit to his heirs. But there his advantage ended. He could not leave the manor, and if he ran away he could be brought back and punished. Like the fields and meadows, he constituted part of the manor, and is frequently so referred to in the documents. If the manor was sold, he went with it, un-

less reservation was made in the deed. But serfs could be sold off the land, either as individuals or as families, according to the pleasure of the lord. "The serf is a chattel who is sometimes sold, so to speak, by retail," says Sée; "a man grants part of a serf as he now grants a part share in a company."⁶ Originally marriage of the serf outside the manor was forbidden, but eventually it was permitted on payment of a tax (*merchet*, or *formariage*). Even so, it frequently entailed a sharing of the children between the lords of the two manors concerned. Another stigma of serfdom was *mainmorte*, or inheritance, by the lord, of the property of a serf who died without children living with him in the village. Thus, if the serf's family had left the manor, they could not inherit his property. A fourth indication of serfdom was subjection to the lord's pleasure in taxation (the *taille à volonté*), although by the twelfth century the arbitrary tax tended to become fixed even for serfs.

Free Villeins. By no means all the inhabitants of the manorial village were serfs. There were always freemen on the manor who, from the eleventh century, were called in France *villani* (or villeins) and in England, from early times, *socmen*. They differed from the knights, the holders of the smallest fiefs, in being spoken of as *rusticani*, in laboring in the fields as did the serfs, and in paying the lord rent instead of doing him homage. Theirs was *villein* instead of *noble* tenure.* On the other hand, they differed from actual serfs by the possession of personal freedom; they could leave the manor at will and renounce or sell their tenure; they were free from arbitrary *taille*, *mainmorte*, and *formariage*. But

* In practice the distinction was not always sharply drawn between villein and noble tenure. "To a slight extent everywhere one sees nobles and clergy who, occupying villein lands, are subject to dues that burden non-noble tenants. In the long run, incidents of this kind brought about some confusion between the feudal and the domanial régimes." (H. Sée, *Esquisse d'une histoire économique et sociale de la France*, Paris, 1929, p. 56.)

otherwise the free villein was usually subject to the same manorial restrictions, regulations, and dues as the serf. The strips that he cultivated adjoined those of the serf; he lived in the village in a cottage similar to that of the serf, from whom, in mode of life, he doubtless could scarcely be distinguished. He has been described as "the meanest of the freemen" or "the most fortunate of the serfs."⁷ In the twelfth century the free villeins constituted only a small minority of the manorial population; but in the following centuries they rapidly increased in numbers through emancipation.

Hospites. The very nature of the manor and the position of the majority of its inhabitants tended toward social stability and the prevention of wandering on the part of the serfs. The peasant whose lord owned only one manor did not venture far afield and probably knew by sight no more than two or three hundred men in his whole life. When he died his son succeeded him and followed the same customs and manorial routine with little variation from generation to generation. But the peasant whose lord owned many scattered manors might be obliged to carry his food-rents long distances. For instance, the tenants of St. Paul's were obliged to carry produce from Essex up to London.⁸ Then there was doubtless far more migration of serfs than has generally been supposed; and as the Middle Ages wore on, the agricultural class became more and more mobile. Indeed, migratory peasants constituted an entire class, the *hospites*, who were the pioneers in clearing the forests and in bringing new lands under cultivation. These hospites were doubtless often runaway serfs who had escaped the vigilance of their lord; for if they avoided capture for a year and a day, their former lord had no longer any right over them. The natural increase in population must necessarily have led to a good deal of such migration; indeed, the documents show that it was extremely common. When a lord desired land deforested or swamps

drained and put under cultivation, he invited in the hospites and was none too scrupulous about coaxing his neighbor's serfs away. "Thanks to the institution of hospites," says Sée, "the mobility of the rural classes became so great that many lords were threatened with seeing their domains depopulated. To retain their serfs there was only one remedy: to improve their lot by freeing them from servile burdens."⁹ Naturally, when they settled on the domain of a new lord, the hospites, whether originally free or not, ranked as free villeins and were given many privileges that others did not possess.

Obligations of Serfs and Villeins. The obligations, both personal and real, that bound serf and villein alike to the lord were a fundamental part of the manorial system. On every hand the peasant was the victim of manorial exploitation. These obligations varied from country to country and from manor to manor, but some of them were almost universal. They fall into three main classes: (1) taxes or dues levied on the peasant's person or property; (2) services which he rendered by his own labor; (3) manorial monopolies.

1. First of all, the serf paid a capitation tax, *chevage*, which was payable annually and amounted, in France, to fourpence. More important was the *taille*, or tallage (whence the word "tally," from the practice of recording payment by a notch in a stick). Originally a personal tax, by the thirteenth century it was levied on the tenure. Until the twelfth century the amount payable was dependent upon the pleasure of the lord (*taille à volonté* or *à merci*) and consequently a galling exaction. Another important tax levied on the tenure was the *cens*, or quitrent, primarily the price paid for the use of the land. It varied from place to place and according to the size of the tenure. Ordinarily it was due four times a year — on All Saints' Day (October 31), Christmas, Easter, and midsummer — and consisted of money or of payments in kind, such as grain, fowls, eggs, sheep, or pigs. In addition

to chevage, taille, and cens was the *champart*, a variable percentage of the harvest exacted by the lord. It was levied not only upon grain but upon vintage, fruits, and flax as well. The peasant was forbidden to gather his harvest until the bailiff had selected the *champart*, and then he was obliged to carry it to the lord's grange. As if all this did not suffice, when the peasant died the lord seized his best beast or movable possession. This was known as *heriot*.

All these taxes, with the exception of chevage, weighed upon the free villein as well as upon the serf. For the free-man, however, tallage was always a fixed rather than an arbitrary tax.

2. In addition to the contributions in money or kind which the serf owed his lord were certain personal services. Foremost among these was the *week-work* (the *corvée* in France), consisting of labor performed several days a week for the lord. The most diverse duties were imposed upon him, from carting manure to the fields and plowing to making repairs on castles, roads, and bridges or carting wood from the forest or grain from the field. He might be called upon to carry a letter for the lord or to beat the pond or moat on a summer's night to quiet the frogs so that milady of the castle could sleep. In time of sowing or harvest the serf was required to perform extra labor, *boon-work*. Frequently, when working for the lord, especially in time of harvest, he was given free meals. And custom often specified the nature of the repast to be provided, whether white or black bread, meat, cheese and wine, — "not of the best," declared one custumal, "but good enough." In one place, we are told, on the last two days of harvest each laborer might bring a comrade to supper. Week-work and boon-work were required of both free villeins and serfs, although possibly they were less burdensome upon the former than upon the latter. Military service was another duty that might be required of serfs as well as of free tenants and vassals.

3. Not only did the lord profit by the labor and contribu-

tions of the peasants, but he also had monopolies from which he derived revenue. Every serf and villein on the manor was obliged to grind his grain in the lord's mill, bake his bread in the lord's oven, make his cider or wine in the lord's press, and pay a toll in kind for so doing. These monopolies were frequently vexatious. Peasants were often obliged to wait several days to grind their grain. If they made use of hand mills, the hand mills were seized; if they took their grain elsewhere, they were severely punished, for were they not depriving the lord of one of his main sources of revenue? Some of the manorial regulations, however, were fair in their provisions, as those of Ramsey Abbey in the thirteenth century:

All tenants owe suit to the mill, whereunto they shall send their corn. And if they cannot, on the first day, grind as much whole meal as may keep their household in bread for that day, the mill must grind it; and if the peasant cannot grind there that day, then he may take his corn elsewhere at his will. . . . From August 1st to Michaelmas each man may grind where he will, if he be unable to grind at my lord abbot's mill on the day whereon he has sent his corn. Moreover, if it chance that my lord's mill be broken or his milldam burst, so that the tenant cannot grind there, then, as in the former case, he may take it elsewhere at his will.¹⁰

On some manors the peasants were obliged to repair mills and ovens or contribute toward the cost of upkeep.

The monopoly of the right to sell wine in the village during a certain period was also common. Such wine was known as *ban-winë*. If the villagers did not buy, they were penalized. A German manorial regulation decreed:

If the tenant have not drunk his [prescribed] two gallons [of ban-wine] then the lord shall pour a four gallon measure over the man's roof; if the wine runs down, the tenant must pay for it; if it runs upwards, he shall pay nothing.¹¹

The Peasant and the Church. Scarcely less vexatious than the peasant's relations with the lord of the manor were those

with the church; for both alike exploited him. Foremost among the dues paid to the church was the *tithe*. Nominally a tenth, the peasant contended that it should be paid only on the net receipts, after the expenses of sowing and harvest were deducted, while the church insisted that it be paid on the gross receipts. What the church regarded as its just dues, the peasants looked upon as an oppressive exaction. The Council of London in 1175 declared :

All tithes of the land, whether of produce or of fruits, belong to the Lord and are consecrated to him. But because many [persons] are found who are unwilling to give tithes, we decree that, according to the ordinances of the Lord Pope, they be admonished three times to pay without diminution tithes of grain, of wine, of fruits of trees, of animals, of wool, of fruits of the field, of butter, of cheese, of linen, of hemp, and of other things that are annually renewed. If they do not then amend, they shall be anathematized.¹²

Priests were advised to question their penitents in the confessional whether or not they had defrauded the church of tithes.

In addition to tithes, the peasant was often obliged to pay fees for the sacraments and burial. It is true that the church forbade its clergy to demand fees for their ministrations; but in spite of this the practice continued, until it must frequently have seemed to the poor peasant that the church existed primarily to exploit him. Then, when he died the priest exacted *mortuary*, the best remaining beast after heriot had been paid. If such did not exist, his clothes or the bed on which he died might be taken. Mortuary was the means the church took to reimburse itself for any defaults in payment on the part of the peasant; for it was regarded as doubtful whether there was anyone who had not at some time, wittingly or unwittingly, defrauded the church of tithes. All this, however, should not blind us to the fact that often the priest was the best friend the peasant had. Usually of peasant birth himself, he was frequently as poor

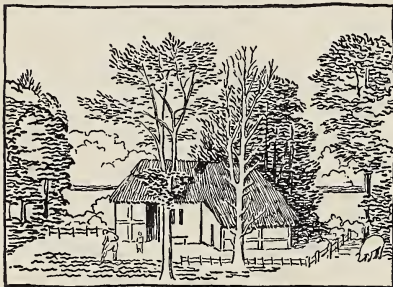
as the people to whom he ministered, and sincerely sought to impart to them the spiritual blessing of the institution to which he belonged.

The Life of the Serf. The life of the medieval peasant was a hard one. His working hours were long, ordinarily from dawn till dark, and his remuneration small. The meager yield of his crops, combined with the numerous dues that he owed to his lord, to the priest, and to the church, left him the barest necessities of life. A crop failure almost inevitably meant dearth and even famine, which, indeed, was almost endemic in the Middle Ages. In the ninth century sixty-four years and in the eleventh century sixty years were designated as years of local famine.¹³ Privation and lack of hygiene caused frequent epidemics of plague and leprosy. To these were added the miseries brought by the almost continuous feudal wars, for it was the peasants more particularly who bore the brunt of them. "Each time one of these wars burst out," says Sée, "the villages were burned, the fields devastated, their herds carried off, and the peasants captured or killed."¹⁴ The peasant's crops were frequently a prey to the pigeons that his lord kept or to the game from the forest that he was forbidden to kill. That he did not always bear his lot patiently is shown by the numerous peasants' revolts scattered across the Middle Ages.

The cottage in which the peasant dwelt was a flimsy structure,—a wooden frame with walls of wattle and straw or wattle and mud, with a thatched roof. Very rarely, except in the later Middle Ages, was it built of stone or roofed with tile or slate. Usually it had only one story, though sometimes a loft, and boasted only a single room with a clay floor. Frequently the stable was under the same roof and adjoined the quarters of the peasant. The fire was ordinarily made on a hearth stone in the middle of the cottage; only the cottages of the more well-to-do had fireplace and chimney, and even these not until the thirteenth century.¹⁵ The door

was often the only means of ventilation and light. Where there were windows they were not covered with glass, but were stuffed with straw in winter.

Furniture and utensils were in keeping with the peasant's dwelling. A table, a bed, a kneading trough for dough, and a cupboard comprised the staple furniture. The poor frequently slept on a pallet of straw, and



PEASANT'S COTTAGE

Redrawn from a Flemish Book of Hours in the British Museum. Early sixteenth century

even among the well-to-do there was often only a single bed for the whole family. An inventory of the furnishings of the cottage of one of the richer Norman peasants mentions two metal pots, four frying pans, a number of kneading troughs, two feather beds, a grid-

iron, three tables, one wooden bed, eight bed covers, two table covers, and one serviette.¹⁶ Pigs and chickens had free access to the cottage, to add to its odor and squalor.

The peasant's clothing was homespun and home-fashioned, of woolen or linen cloth, and consisted of a coat girt about the waist by a belt, hose covering the legs and laced around the calf, and shoes of leather or hide. Until the fourteenth century the shirt was an object of luxury; then even the peasants, thanks to the more widespread manufacture of linen, adopted it. But the medieval peasant was always notorious for his uncleanness. His food was coarse and frequently meager. It consisted of rye bread more often than wheaten, porridge or soup, pulse, eggs, cheese, kraut (in Germany), salt pork or bacon, and rarely beef, poultry, or fish. In the southern countries he drank wine; in the

northern, beer or cider, although water was perhaps his ordinary beverage. A moralist of the twelfth century declares that the peasant "never drinks the fruit of his vine nor tastes a scrap of good food; only too happy is he if he can keep his black bread and some of his butter and cheese.

"If he have fat goose or hen,
Cake of white flour in his bin,
'Tis his lord who all must win."¹⁷

Yet the gloom of the peasant's life was not entirely unrelieved. Satirical literature such as the *fabliaux*, *Der arme Heinrich*, and *Meier Helmbrecht* shows us peasants who had become well-to-do. The fact that they frequently could purchase emancipation also indicates an improved condition.

Then peasants were not without their amusements. The church forbade them to work on Sundays and holydays, although they frequently disregarded her prohibitions. The village dance in the churchyard or even in the church itself, dicing or quoits, wrestling, and church ales (convivial meals and drinking bouts) were their chief amusements. In addition, there were mystery plays, pageants, or entertainments by wandering minstrels or actors. The church denounced the holding of such worldly amusements on Sundays and saints' days, though the parish clergy frequently connived at them; and they continued in spite of ecclesiastical condemnation.

The moral condition of the peasant was quite in keeping with his physical environment. He was ignorant, superstitious, brutal, given to wife-beating, avaricious, often untrustworthy and immoral. Sometimes he is depicted as a simpleton, easily deceived and robbed; at other times as shrewd, fiendishly cunning, even witty and eloquent. Seldom was he a devout son of the church, and his impiety was proverbial. Preachers and moralists alike complained of his indifference to the services of the church and of his irreverence. Jacques de Vitry, a popular preacher of the thirteenth century, declared:

There are those among you who are so negligent, so barbarous that they rarely set foot inside of a church. These do not know what days are holidays. At most, they discover it when they no longer see the carts in the field or hear the sound of wood-chopping. There are some peasants who not only work on holidays, but, seeing others go to Mass, profit by their absence to steal: as there is no one in the fields and vineyards, these marauders plunder the vines and orchards at the expense of their neighbors.¹³

The following decree of the Council of Chichester (1292) is highly instructive:

Let parishioners be instructed that on Sundays and other holy days they remain in the church solemnly and devoutly, at least while Mass is being sung, constantly following the prayers, not, as has been customary hitherto, noisily running about anywhere through the cemeteries and other places near the churches, and frequently to no purpose but an unseemly one.¹⁹

The upper classes had little but contempt or ridicule for the peasant. If his lot was unceasing toil, it was the divine will that it should be so: his bondage was part of the eternal order of things. The lord of the soil cared little about the way his human herd lived. His chief interest was in the services they rendered and in the revenues they brought him. "The population," says Luchaire, "liable to forced labor and taxation, could live just as bestially as it pleased: it sufficed if it fulfilled its obligations."²⁰ Now and again an ecclesiastic might lament over the lot of the peasant, but he saw no remedy for it save to encourage him to be resigned to his fate.

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CHAPTER XIII

Italy, the Papacy, and Germany

ALTHOUGH Charlemagne had overthrown the Lombard kingdom and assumed the crown of the Lombards, he did not succeed in bringing southern Italy under his rule. Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria (the heel and toe of the peninsula) acknowledged Byzantine lordship. Most of the southern part of the peninsula consisted of the duchy of Benevento, the ruler of which never gave Charlemagne more than a nominal allegiance. After the breakup of the Carolingian Empire descendants of Charlemagne continued to bear the title "King of Italy"; and, with the extinction of the direct line, this or that Italian prince continued to strive for the royal or imperial dignity. But in reality there was no unity: Italy was divided into a multitude of principalities under rulers of Lombard or Frankish origin.

In the north, with its capital at Pavia, was the old Lombard kingdom, commonly known as the Kingdom of Italy; in the center, the marquisate or duchy of Tuscany, the Papal States, and the duchy of Spoleto; in the south, the duchies of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua. The maritime cities, Gaeta, Naples, and Amalfi, virtually republics, recognized, as did Apulia and Calabria, the lordship of Constantinople. In central and northern Italy the bishops were attaining political power and becoming the real rulers of cities. The marquisates of Ivrea in the northwest and Friuli in the northeast were also politically important. During this period, too, Venice, at the head of the Adriatic, was rising to power. To increase the confusion, the Hungarians attacked the north and the Saracens the south. In 831 the latter captured Palermo and brought Byzantine rule in Sicily to an end.

With Sicily as their base, the Saracens for over a century continued to ravage the coasts of Italy. In 846 they sailed up the Tiber and sacked the church of Saint Peter. To defend themselves the Popes constructed and fortified the Leonine City (so-called from the reigning Pope Leo IV), enclosing St. Peter's and the Castle of St. Angelo.

The Papacy under Nicholas I (858-867). The papacy was the one institution in Italy during the ninth century that showed signs of strength. Under the pontificate of Nicholas I, who was a strong believer in papal power, the papacy played an important role in European affairs. Nicholas asserted his prerogatives in quashing the divorce of Lothaire of Lorraine, which the complaisant clergy had sanctioned, and in deposing the offending Frankish clergy, the archbishops of Cologne and Treves, who were concerned in the case. The archbishops had rebelled in an effort of the national churches to obtain independence of Rome, but they were compelled to yield to papal authority. They had exceeded their powers, Nicholas declared, and he compelled Lothaire to take back his wife. Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, was also forced to submit to the Pope. He had deposed one of his bishops, who had then appealed to Nicholas. When the latter commanded that the bishop be restored to his see, Hincmar was obliged to obey. The archbishop of Ravenna, who had rebelled against Rome, likewise was forced to submit to the papal will.

The authority that Nicholas thus asserted over the national clergy found support in the *False* or *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, which appeared about this time. Besides some authentic decrees, these consisted of a series of decretals purporting to have been issued by early Popes, but actually forged by a Frankish clerk (c. 850). Their aim was to free the bishop from secular control, restrict the power of the metropolitan over him, and exalt that of the Pope. The Pope was not only the sovereign lawgiver, without whom no council might be held or pass valid decrees, but also the supreme

judge, without whose consent no bishop might be deposed. The influence of these *False Decretals* was not great until the middle of the eleventh century, when they were employed to strengthen papal authority.

Degradation of the Papacy. From the high position attained by Nicholas the papacy soon fell. The latter part of the ninth and the early part of the tenth century, often known as the period of the *Pornocracy* (or Rule of Harlots), constituted the darkest era of papal history. Between the years 896 and 963 there were no less than twenty Popes, many of whom were deposed or murdered. Rival factions fought for control of the papal see, and all the Popes were subjected to a shameful dependence upon the noble families of Rome. For a time the papacy was the pawn of a Roman noble, Theophylactus, and of his notorious wife, Theodora. Their daughter, Marozia, was the mistress of one Pope, by whom she had a son whom she created Pope John XI. Another son of Marozia, Alberic, ruled Rome as "Prince and Senator of the Romans." On his death he bequeathed his power to his son, Octavian, a youth of sixteen, who had himself created Pope as John XII and completed the degradation of the papacy by the orgies that he staged in the Lateran Palace. From this plight the papacy was to be rescued by a rising power from across the Alps, a new line of German kings. With the decline of the Carolingians, Frankish interference in Italy had ceased; but the policy of intervention was to be resumed in the tenth century.

Germany in the Tenth Century. Of all the fragments into which the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century split up, Germany showed the greatest vitality. Like France, the country was swept into the vortex of feudalism; but, owing to the existence of great duchies that remained intact, the disintegration was less complete than in the former country. These duchies, sometimes known as the *Stem Duchies*, were five in number. In the southeast, between the Lech and the



THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Enns, tributaries of the Danube, was the ancient duchy of Bavaria. West of Bavaria was Swabia, the ancient Alemannia. To the north of Swabia, on the right bank of the Rhine and dominating the valley of the Main, was Franconia, the land of the East Franks. Occupying the entire northern part of Germany was Saxony, the newest of the duchies, still tenacious of its independence, still partly pagan in feeling and backward in its political, economic, and social life. West of the Rhine was Lorraine, upper and lower; somewhat distinct from the other duchies, it sometimes, as in modern times, gravitated toward France. These duchies were ruled by their dukes with the absoluteness of kings. Each duke possessed his court, his army, and his assembly. Numerous racial and linguistic differences as well as a wide divergence in laws and social customs constituted barriers to unity between the duchies.

Quite distinct from these Stem Duchies was another important fragment of the old Carolingian Empire, the kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles. It occupied the valley of the Rhône and the western part of modern Switzerland. In the eleventh century it was incorporated in the Holy Roman Empire.

Survival of the Imperial Idea. The disintegration of the Carolingian Empire and the growth of feudalism by no means destroyed the imperial idea. Fostered by the church, which saw that its interests could best be served by a strong central government, it survived. On the death of Ludwig the Child in 911, the last of the Carolingians in the eastern Frankish kingdom, the dukes met and elected Conrad of Franconia as their king. With singular ineptitude he sought to curb the power of the dukes and thus brought about his own undoing. Realizing the failure of his policy he advised, on his death, the election of Henry of Saxony. He declared, said one chronicler, that the future of the realm lay with the Saxons, and bade his brother carry the royal insignia to the

Saxon duke. Accordingly, in 919 Henry, although elected only by the Franconians and the Saxons, accepted the crown, but refused to be anointed by the archbishop of Mainz. "Enough for me," he said, "that I am raised so far above my forefathers as to be chosen and called king, through the grace of God and your devotion; let the sacred unction and the crown be for better men than I; I cannot hold myself worthy of so great an honor."¹ Henry at once sought to conciliate the duchies. The dukes of Swabia and Bavaria, who had stood aloof from his election, he induced to do homage in return for important concessions (the right to appoint bishops and to coin money). In order to protect Germany against the invader, and especially against the Magyars, Henry erected fortified towns throughout the country. Under Henry's son Otto the Great the Saxon dynasty attained the apogee of its power.

Otto the Great (936-973). So strong was Henry's position that, with the sanction of the princes, he was able to designate his son Otto as his successor. Accordingly, after Henry's death Otto was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle with solemn splendor and anointed by the archbishop of Mainz. By officiating as the personal servitors of the king at the coronation festivities, the dukes accepted him as the overlord of all the Germans. Nevertheless, Otto's accession was attended by a series of revolts by the dukes, the suppression of which occupied the early part of his reign. In the end he was completely successful, and the rebellious vassals were replaced by his own appointees, frequently by his relatives. Otto was thus more powerful than any of his predecessors had been.

Otto and the Hungarians. The early part of Otto's reign was also disturbed by renewed invasions of the Hungarians. A Ural-Altaic race that apparently had been dislodged from central Asia in the course of ethnic movements there, the

Magyars, as they called themselves, or Hungarians, as they were called in Europe, first appeared in the valley of the Danube toward the close of the ninth century. Like their predecessors the Huns, with whom they seem to have been racially affiliated and whom they resembled, the Magyars were a thoroughly barbarous people and lived from their flocks and herds, on the products of the chase, or on plunder. Repeatedly they invaded Germany, ravaging the fields, burning the monasteries and villages, and slaying the inhabitants. Henry I, having bought them off by the payment of tribute, erected castles over the country for defense and in 933 decisively defeated them at the battle of Unstrut. But shortly after the accession of Otto they again became troublesome; they even plundered and laid waste parts of France and northern Italy as well as Germany. To meet one of the largest of these invasions Otto hastily assembled an army and defeated the Magyars at the battle of Lechfeld (955), near Augsburg. For three days the Germans pursued the scattered remnants of the Hungarian host that precipitately retreated to their own country. This victory was of decisive importance. Germany was henceforth free from invasion. The Magyars gradually gave up their nomadic mode of life, adopted agriculture and Christianity, and laid the foundation of the Hungarian state. The German monarch was now indisputably the first sovereign, and Germany the leading nation, of Europe.

Otto and Italy. Not content with reviving the East Frankish kingdom, Otto dreamed of reconstituting the empire of Charlemagne by intervening in Italy where this or that noble or faction was contending for the Lombard crown. His excuse for intervention was the appeal of Queen Adelaide, the widow of King Lothaire, who was being persecuted by Berengar, marquis of Ivrea, the new claimant of the crown. In the summer of 951 ^{Otto} Lothaire crossed the Alps, married Queen Adelaide at Pavia, and received the allegiance of the nobles

as king of Italy. Berengar, shorn of many of his possessions and forced to do homage, was left as Otto's representative.

But Otto's intervention had not brought peace to a distracted Italy. Berengar was constantly at feud with the nobles, and both princes and ecclesiastics were growing restless under his rule. Finally Pope John XII, feeling his position menaced by Berengar, dispatched ambassadors to Otto to ask aid. These ambassadors, it may be added, did not fail also to lay before the German king complaints of the immoral conduct of the Pope. Accordingly, in 961, the Hungarian peril meanwhile having been removed, Otto once more crossed the Alps. Without opposition from Berengar he received the Italian crown at Pavia and then marched to Rome, where the Pope bestowed upon him the imperial crown (962). Pope and emperor signed an agreement by which John pledged his loyalty to Otto and swore never to support Berengar, and Otto guaranteed the Pope his temporal claims and possessions. Shortly afterwards Berengar was taken prisoner and sent as a captive into Germany. This imperial restoration, following upon the revival of the German monarchy, has well been called the "capital event of the tenth century."² It gave birth to the Holy Roman Empire, which was based on a union of the German and Italian kingdoms and the dignity of the Roman emperor.

No sooner had Otto turned his back than the Pope, repenting of having given himself a master, intrigued with the adherents of Berengar and even sought to induce the Hungarians to create a diversion by invading Germany. At the news of such perfidy Otto retraced his steps to Rome, where he held a synod, deposed the Pope for his crimes, and set up a Roman noble as Leo VIII. John XII fled, and the Romans swore "that they would never again *elect* or *ordain* any Pope without the *consent and choice* of the Emperor Otto and his son Otto II."³ This was the famous *Privilege of Otto*, on the strength of which emperors in the following century were frequently to nominate Popes. The papal office was thus

removed from the control of the factions of Rome and made the pawn of the emperor. And this, as we shall see, was later a grievance to the reform party when it grew up. Meanwhile, as soon as Otto departed from Rome, John XII returned, drove out the imperial Pope and wreaked vengeance upon Otto's agents. On John's death the Romans sought to reassert their independence by electing a successor, Benedict V. But Otto returned once more, laid siege to the city, deposed the Roman Pope, and again set up Leo VIII. On Leo's death shortly afterwards, the Romans, not daring to hold an election, consulted Otto and accepted his nominee, though they later expressed their dissatisfaction by rebelling against him.

The policy of Otto, in both church and state, was followed in the main by his successors, Otto II (973-983), Otto III (983-1002), and Henry II (1002-1024), with whose death the Saxon house came to an end. It was Otto III who placed upon the papal throne the greatest scholar of the age, Gerbert of Aurillac, an Aquitanian who had studied mathematics in Spain and philosophy at Reims. His learning had attracted the attention of Otto I, who took him into his favor. Later he became tutor to Otto III, who bestowed the papacy upon him. As Sylvester II he sought, during a brief pontificate, to reform the church. In this he anticipated the papal policy of the eleventh century.

The Saxons and the Church. Another feature of the Saxon revival of the German monarchy was an intimate alliance with the church. Otto I perceived that the church in Germany, owing to his father's having granted the dukes the right to make ecclesiastical appointments, was fast becoming a prey to the nobility and that there was danger lest it should "split into a number of tribal organizations, which would intensify national differences."⁴ On the other hand, a church controlled and utilized by the monarch would be a strong bulwark of royal power and national unity.

As the Church required aid of the civil power, the civil power required aid of the Church. The state demanded cultured and docile human instruments, and the Church alone could supply them. The state required a fund out of which to salary and reward its servants; the benefices of the Church alone constituted such a fund. The state required agents who would not found formidable families and create hereditary interests. Such agents were alone to be found within the Church. The king desired the development of his estates, and no bailiff was so good as the capable abbot.⁵

Otto accordingly arrogated to himself the appointment of the higher clergy; and in his appointments he was more concerned over having good officials than good churchmen. When the representatives of the people and clergy of a diocese came to court with the staff of their deceased bishop, the king would give it to his own nominee with the words *accipe ecclesiam* ("receive the church"). In order to gain the support of the church, landed estates, and rights of market, toll, mint, and justice, were showered with lavish hand upon monasteries and bishoprics. In return, church lands were obliged to furnish feudal levies for the army and contributions for the royal exchequer. All ecclesiastical property, it was claimed, remained in the ownership of the empire. To a considerable degree the king lived upon ecclesiastical revenues; bishops were his officials and even generals; and church lands provided a large percentage of the contingents for the army,—for example, 74 per cent of the Italian expedition of Otto II in 981. It was this subjection of the church to the monarchy that was to lead to the long struggle with the Gregorian papacy.

Eastward Expansion of the Germans. Not only did the Saxons reconstitute the empire, rescue the papacy from the factions of Rome, and rule the German church, but they began the penetration of the Slavic lands between the Elbe and the Oder and the conversion of the Slavs.

Until the tenth century the Elbe constituted the eastern

boundary of Germany; beyond lay hordes of Slavs, or Wends, as the Germans called them. These people differed from the Germans in race and language, but their civilization was quite as advanced as that of the Germans of Tacitus. They lived in villages which, especially on the seacoast, were frequently of considerable size. Though they preferred to live by hunting and fishing, they also practiced agriculture, horticulture, and bee-raising. They worked hemp and flax, and each household had its spinning wheel. They imported iron with which they made implements, arms, household utensils, and ornaments. They carried on an extensive commerce, as the number of Arabic coins on the shores of the Baltic shows. In religion they were thoroughly pagan. Their worship centered at great temples: at Arkona on the island of Rügen, the seat of Svantowit, the God of Light; at Rethra, the seat of Redigast, the Creator and Councilor. The temple of Rethra was the greatest sanctuary of the Slavs, the seat of a famous oracle and center of propaganda against Christianity. Ever since the time of Charlemagne it had been hated by Christian Germany. "The oracle of Rethra was consulted from far and near, even by Christian Danish kings. Upon its walls hung the colored banners of every Slavonic tribe between the Erzgebirge and the Baltic, and the trophies of victorious wars."⁶ Its site, long unknown, was unearthed in 1922 by German archaeologists.⁷

The creation of the empire of Charlemagne had brought the two races face to face and made inevitable a conflict between them. The decline of the Carolingians, however, and the Norse and Magyar invasions postponed the conflict for a century; but with the election of Henry I to the German throne in 919 the eastward movement once more began. In the struggle that ensued the Germans had a twofold advantage: a superior organization, the German kingdom, that possessed unity, over against the disunity of a host of Slavonic tribes; and Christianity, with its superior civilization. It was thus a struggle not only between Teuton and

Slav but also between Christianity and paganism. Henry I, intent on subjecting these trans-Elbean peoples to the tribute from which they had escaped in the ninth century, made an expedition, in the winter of 928-929, across the Havel River and captured Brunabor, the chief town of the Hevelli, where he erected a fortress. This marked the beginning of Brandenburg. Henry's policy was continued by Otto I with the aid of Margrave Gero and Hermann Billung. The former was Otto's viceroy in the marches east of the Elbe; the latter Otto made Duke of Saxony. With great cruelty the Slavs as far as the Oder were subjected and compelled to pay tribute. The country was covered with monasteries and churches, and six new bishoprics were founded to Christianize the land. The marches of Lausitz, Meissen, and Nordmark, later the Mark of Brandenburg, were organized, and German colonists were settled on Slav lands. The Slavs naturally resented these assaults on their country, customs, religion, and independence, and in 983 they rose in rebellion and drove out the Germans. The eastward expansion was halted until the twelfth century. A Teutonic wedge, however, had been driven into Slavdom, and it ultimately led to the Germanization of the whole country between the Elbe and the Oder.

Bohemia. The only Slavs along the Elbe to retain their identity were those who, protected by the Erzgebirge and the Böhmer Wald, occupied the Bohemian plain. In the ninth and tenth centuries these Slavs were unified under the rule of a tribe that occupied the territory around Prague, the Czechs, who eventually gave their name to all the Bohemians. During the same period they were being Christianized, and the bishopric of Prague was established in 973. Although the Bohemians maintained their identity and language, their land was later penetrated by many German settlers, whose institutions and culture tended to become dominant. Then, in 950, the Czechs were compelled by Otto I to submit to German suzerainty, and from that time their king was a

vassal of the German monarch and Bohemia a part of the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages.

Austria. The foundation of the Duchy of Austria, as well as of the Mark of Brandenburg and the Duchy of Bohemia, goes back to Otto the Great. After the defeat of the Magyars the old Bavarian Ostmark, established by Charlemagne (803), was opened for colonization, and a steady stream of settlers from Bavaria and other parts of Germany poured into it. By 976 the Mark was in the possession of the family of Babenberg, and by 996 it was called *Ostarrichi*, or Austria. The Babenbergs, who ruled until 1246, by their energy, their ability, and their colonization laid the foundation of modern Austria. Step by step they carved out for themselves a state in the Danube valley. By the time of Henry Jasomirgott, in the twelfth century, they had established their capital at Vienna, in the Wiener Wald, the site of an old Roman camp.

At the same time Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, later to become adjuncts of Austria, were in process of formation.

Failure of the Saxons. But in spite of their achievements the Saxon kings failed to build up a strong government. The power of the feudal nobility was one reason for this. Otto I, as we have seen, adopted the practice of replacing rebellious dukes by his own favorites or relatives; but this by no means guaranteed their allegiance or fidelity. The new duke soon became a Bavarian, a Swabian, or a Franconian, as the case might be; he frequently married into the old ducal family and was more loyal to the duchy than to the king. Otto I made his son and then his brother Duke of Bavaria; both married Bavarians and soon became Bavarian in sentiment. A noble transplanted from one part of Germany to another soon took root and sought to establish a hereditary power. Officials thus tended to become hereditary princes. The monarchs even lost control over the marches, the new-

est principalities, which were claimed by particular families, as the Babenbergs in Austria and the Wettins in Meissen. The failure of the German monarchy to gain the upper hand over the nobility, as the monarchs of France and England were to do, helps to explain their failure to create a national German state.

Another reason for the failure of the Saxons was economic. A monarchy, to be strong, must have adequate financial resources. The main sources of revenue for a medieval monarch were profits from royal justice, tolls, market rights, sale of offices, and revenues from the royal estates, or *fisc*. The royal courts in Germany were never developed as in England and France: justice remained feudalized, and thus the monarchs lacked an important source of power as well as of revenue. Toll rights were often bestowed upon the clergy and enriched the church rather than the monarchy. Nor did the Saxons develop the *fisc*. The Carolingian *fisc*, one of the chief sources of Charlemagne's power, had, as we have seen, been largely dissipated. By 911 there remained only scattered fragments of once vast domains. Instead of conserving these, the Saxons still further dispersed them. Otto I was most lavish in his gifts to both bishops and monasteries: he is said to have bestowed one fifth of the crown revenues in Saxony upon the archbishopric of Magdeburg and other sees. In ten years Otto II gave away seventy-one manors belonging to the *fisc*; and during the long minority of Otto III the *fisc* was despoiled by both bishops and nobles. Indeed, Otto III actually bought off rebellious vassals by gifts of estates. Nor did the Saxons compensate themselves out of the conquered lands east of the Elbe. With almost unbelievable shortsightedness they made no attempt to reserve for the crown the lands of the Slavs. Otto I gave away whole regions of the Slavonic lands, with houses and villages upon them. The bishoprics of Merseburg, Magdeburg, and Nuremberg, as well as the Billungs in Saxony, were enriched in this way.⁸

Establishment of the Normans in Italy. The most important political event in the history of Italy during this period was the establishment of the Normans in the southern part of the peninsula. Various bands of knights and adventurers from Normandy, returning through Italy from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, aided princes of southern Italy in repelling Saracen invasions or in throwing off the Byzantine yoke. Other Normans were attracted by the love of adventure thus afforded, and by 1030 they had established a small principality at Aversa, north of Naples. Prominent among these Normans were the sons of Tancred of Hauteville (near Coutances), whose patrimony was insufficient to provide for his twelve sons. Long before the close of the century two of Tancred's sons, Robert Guiscard and Roger, had carved out for themselves kingdoms in southern Italy and Sicily. After assisting Robert Guiscard in conquering the south, Roger in 1061 began the conquest of Sicily. His purpose, he declared, was to "win back to the worship of the true God a land given over to infidelity, and administer temporally for the divine service the fruits and rents usurped by a race un-mindful of God."⁹ After a struggle of thirty years Count Roger completed the subjugation of Sicily and organized a state "where Greeks and Mohammedans enjoyed tolerance for their speech and their faith, where a Norman fortress had been constructed in every important town, and where the barons, holding in general small and scattered fiefs, owed loyal obedience to the count who had made their fortunes."¹⁰

The Normans in their conquests by no means conducted themselves as chivalrous knights. Robert Guiscard regarded nothing as sacred and shrank from no violence. "He respected neither old age, nor women and children, and on occasion he spared neither church nor monastery."¹¹ Stirred to action by the tales of Norman atrocity, Pope Leo IX sought to organize a crusade against the invaders, and Leo himself led the expedition. But the Pope was defeated, taken prisoner, and obliged to subscribe to the terms of the victors.

Then in 1059 the Normans were invested by Nicholas II with southern Italy and Sicily as a fief; they did homage to the Pope and promised to be the ally "of the Holy Roman Church," so that she might acquire the possessions, rights, and lands of Saint Peter and hold them against all men. In the twelfth century the papacy bestowed upon the Norman rulers the title of "King." This alliance of Pope and Norman was to be of momentous significance in the later history of both the papacy and Italy.

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CHAPTER XIV

The Franconian House and the Conflict over Investiture

AT THE death of Henry II without heirs the Saxon house came to an end; but so firmly had the dynastic principle established itself that the elder and younger Conrads, great-grandsons of Otto I, alone were considered worthy of the crown. Under the leadership of the archbishop of Mainz the choice of the princes fell upon the elder Conrad of Franconia, who thus became the founder of the Salian, or Franconian, house, which ruled Germany from 1024 to 1125.

The new monarch had little patrimony and no education, but an extraordinary diplomatic ability that was to stand him in good stead amid the dissensions of German politics. He speedily broke down the opposition of Lorraine to his election and appeased the Saxons, who had held aloof, by his confirmation of Saxon law. It was he who created the policy followed by the other members of his house, the building up of a strong, highly centralized monarchy. To this end he brought three of the five great duchies under his personal rule, — Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria. Suspicious of the great nobility, he sought to win the support of the other classes as a counterpoise to them. He favored the extension of the hereditary right among the lesser nobility and knights (it had already been recognized among the dukes), who were thus inclined to side with the king against the ducal power. He also sought to win the support of the rising burgher classes by the favor that he conferred upon them. In foreign policy Conrad was energetic and equally successful. Crossing into Italy he re-established the royal authority, against which there had been a rebellion on the death of Henry II. He received the Italian crown at Milan.

and the imperial crown at Rome from the hands of the Pope. "Almost never," says Lamprecht, "had a German king ruled across the Alps as did he."¹ The Salian dominions were still further increased by the addition of the kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles, which Conrad claimed by right of inheritance.

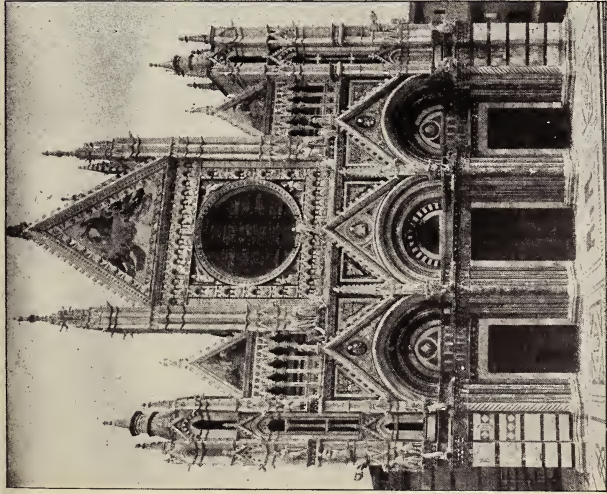
This policy of enhancing the royal power was continued by Conrad's son Henry III (1039-1056). Not only did he hold the reins of power in Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria, but he early acquired Carinthia and sought to bind Saxony, the least loyal of the duchies, to him by personal ties. To this end he abolished the age-long practice of an itinerant government, with its capital wherever the monarch happened to be at the moment, and established a permanent capital at Goslar, in Saxony. Goslar was nothing but a royal hunting lodge in the Harz Mountains, but its importance was enhanced by its nearness to the great silver deposits of the Rammelsberg, then recently discovered, the significance of which Henry III may have grasped in an age in which money economy was reviving. Goslar was also on the great Hessian way between the Rhine and the Elbe, so that the town was readily accessible from Franconia and even from Swabia and Bavaria. Henry III also inaugurated the policy, later more fully developed by Henry IV, of coercing Saxony to submission by the erection of castles at strategic points.² In order to promote a more peaceful state of society a *Landfrieden* was established, providing for the severe punishment of infractions of laws as breaches of the peace. Under later monarchs the *Landfrieden* was to become a convenient weapon for coercing powerful foes.

Before Henry's work of consolidating the monarchy was complete, however, his premature death brought about its undoing. His son and heir, Henry IV, was only a child of six, and the government fell into the hands of the empress-regent, Agnes, who possessed no qualification save piety. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that during the regency the royal power and prestige greatly declined,—that both bishops

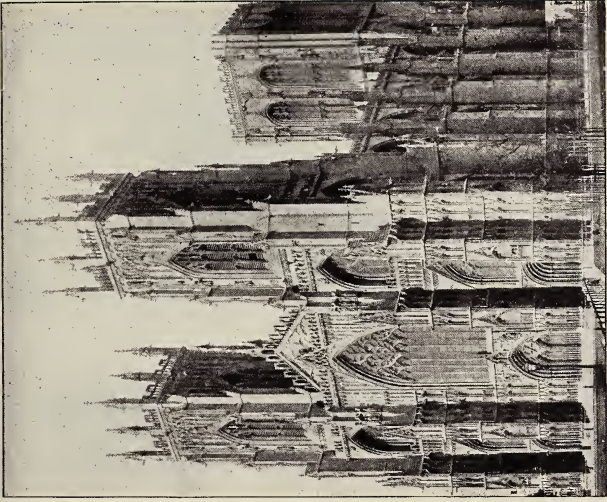
and nobles enhanced their authority and independence at the expense of the monarchy.

Henry IV (1056–1106). On attaining his majority Henry IV set himself to undo the damage wrought during his minority and to restore the royal authority both in Germany and in Italy. He was determined to be master as his father and grandfather before him had been at the height of their power. His ambition was nothing less than to complete the edifice of which they had laid the foundation, — an absolute monarchy, to which both clergy and nobility should be submissive.

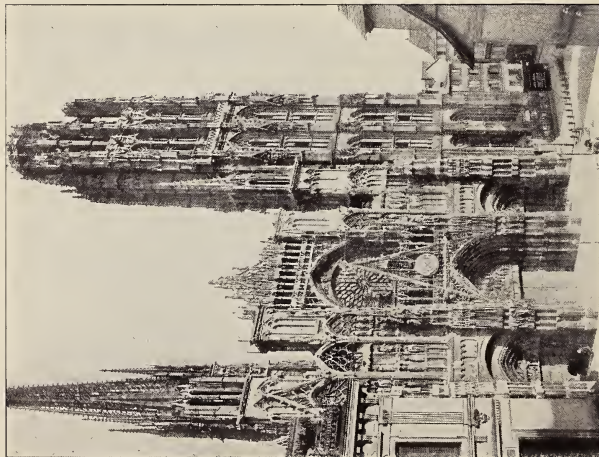
In appearance Henry IV was tall and handsome. Endowed by nature with great gifts, he had been brought up under the tutelage of ecclesiastics and had acquired a knowledge of Latin, a fondness for reading and discussion, and an appreciation of art and music. But he always looked at the world from the lay rather than from the ecclesiastical point of view. The stern discipline to which he had been subjected in boyhood led him to revel in the freedom that manhood brought. This was perhaps in part a rebellion against an ecclesiastical policy that had married him in boyhood and refused to sever that marriage tie when it had become repulsive to him. His moral obliquity, however, has been exaggerated: probably he did not greatly overstep the bounds enjoyed by the noble youth of his day. The picture of him as "an abhorrent combination of lust and cruelty, a sort of bluebeard knight or one wholly given up to unnatural vices, neglecting for them his royal duties and violating every law," is one that modern historians have discarded.³ In reality he was a ruler with a lofty conception of his office; a ruler who, by his endeavors to secure the peace of society, by his magnanimity toward his people, and by his interest in their welfare, won the love of different classes. Seen in his true light, Henry stands out as one of the greatest of German monarchs. That he failed to create a strong monarchy such as that of the Capets in France and the Plantagenets in England was due, not to defects in



Cathedral. Siena. Thirteenth Century



York Minster. Thirteenth-Fourteenth Century



Rouen Cathedral.
Flamboyant Gothic. (See page 563)



Communal Palace, Siena.
Thirteenth-Fourteenth Century

his own character, but to political and economic forces that he failed to bend before his will. Perhaps no other medieval monarch so resolutely pursued his designs in spite of insuperable obstacles or so stoutly refused to be crushed by failure. In order to understand his career, it will be necessary first of all to consider the fiscal and religious policy of his house.

Fiscal Policy of Franconians. The fiscal like the political policy of the Franconians originated with Conrad II, who perceived, what the Saxons had inadequately realized, that economic independence was essential to political power. Accordingly Conrad sought to recover for the crown the large number of manors and the huge tracts of forest lands that had been appropriated without royal consent, and revoked many of the gifts that his too generous predecessors had made to the church. On his election he instituted an inquiry at Regensburg concerning the estates that were known to belong to the monarch. Then by careful administration he increased the revenue from the crown lands. This administration was entrusted to men of servile or humble origin, the *ministeriales*, technically trained officials, whose position depended upon loyal service to the crown. Conrad sought to consolidate the possessions of the fisc by disposing of isolated tracts and acquiring those adjacent to other crown lands. Besides, he was far stricter "in enforcing escheats and forfeitures" than his Saxon predecessors had been. By such means the economic position of the German monarch was better at the time of his death than it had ever been before.⁴

Henry III's fiscal policy was less astute than that of his father, and his piety led him to make many grants to the church. His favorite church at Goslar was endowed with one ninth of the revenues of all the crown lands in the Harz. But it was especially during the long minority of Henry IV that the fisc was plundered by clergy and nobles alike. The clergy in particular became expert at forging deeds. On coming of age Henry sought to repair the inroads that had been

made in the fisc as well as in his political authority. Indeed, he manifested a real genius for fiscal administration and efficiency. The greatest number of spoliations had been in Thuringia and Saxony, and these he endeavored to reclaim. The entire system of fiscal administration was reformed along the lines laid down by Conrad II. Greater use was made of the *ministeriales*, and from them Henry required a detailed statement of revenue. A larger amount of produce was demanded from each farm, better methods of exploitation were introduced, and an attempt was made to replace payment in kind by a money economy. An endeavor was also made to utilize the forests to the advantage of the fisc by enclosing them, by stopping indiscriminate lumbering and charcoal-burning in them, and by forbidding unlicensed hunting and fishing. This policy led to a great outcry in Saxony and was undoubtedly one factor in the rebellion of that duchy.⁵

Policy toward the Church. Another clue to the understanding of the reign of Henry IV is found in the ecclesiastical policy of his house. Conrad subordinated the church as he did the state to his rule. He appointed both bishops and abbots and was by no means careful to observe canonical forms, even installing them without consulting the metropolitan. Thus he claimed and unreservedly exercised the right of lay investiture. It mattered little to him whether a bishop were a scholar or a man of piety as long as he was an imperial supporter. Conrad was also not averse to receiving bribes from his nominees, an odious practice that the reform party branded as *simony*. In the same way he asserted his rights over church property, some of which was even assimilated to the fisc.⁶ In the main, Henry III and Henry IV continued this policy of control of the church by the crown. They both appointed and invested bishops and abbots at pleasure.

Domination of the papacy in accordance with the "Privilege of Otto" was another aspect of the ecclesiastical policy of the Franconian house, especially of Henry III.

After the premature death of Otto III had ruined the reform projects of Sylvester II, the papacy had sunk once more under the control of the Roman aristocracy. For a time it was virtually a possession of the family of the count of Tusculum, one of the members of which became Pope at the age of twelve, as Benedict IX. After a career of shameless profligacy that recalled the reign of John XII in the preceding century, he became weary of his office and sold it to an elderly priest of some wealth, John Gratian, who styled himself Gregory VI. But Benedict IX soon repented of his bargain and returned to Rome. For a time there were three rival Popes. It was this situation that led the Roman clergy to appeal (1046) to Henry III to establish order.

In response to this appeal Henry III went to Italy and held synods in Sutri and Rome at which the three Popes were deposed. Having thus cleared the field he appointed Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, Pope with the title of Clement II, and at Clement's hands he and his queen, Agnes, received the imperial crown. At the same time the Romans took an oath to Henry (as in 962 they had done to Otto I) by which they recognized his right to control papal elections, which meant the right to nominate the Pope. There followed a series of German Popes, all appointed by the emperor, although the formality of an election by the clergy and people of Rome was usually observed. The papacy had thus been rescued from the factions of Rome to fall a prey to the empire. But in the meantime there had arisen within the church a reform party that stood for complete independence of the papacy as well as for sweeping ecclesiastical reform. This party obtained control of the papacy with the election in 1049 of Bruno, bishop of Toul, himself a nominee of Henry III, as Leo IX.

The Reform Party. The early eleventh century witnessed a strong movement toward reform of the church from the evils which feudalism had brought. The movement began at

Cluny, in Burgundy, with a program of monastic reform and at Liège, in Lorraine, with a demand for the purification of the secular church. From these centers it soon spread to other parts of Europe. In particular its leaders denounced the widespread simony of the clergy, especially of the bishops, and clerical marriage. The popular enthusiasm that it soon aroused was shown by the rise of the Patarenes (rag-pickers), a group of common people in Milan who rebelled against their clergy, denouncing them for their simony and immorality. Marriage, they declared, invalidated priestly functions, and immoral priests they denounced as enemies of God. The Patarenes plundered the houses of married clergy, scorned their sacraments, and attacked their persons. In Germany, Henry III manifested his sympathy by the appointment of champions of reform to the papacy.

✕ Leo IX showed his temper by refusing to occupy the papal throne until he had been elected in canonical fashion by the clergy and people of Rome. He then assumed the leadership of the reform party, visited various countries and held synods at which simony and marriage of the clergy were condemned. Leo's policy was continued by his successors, Victor II (1055-1057), Stephen IX (1057-1058), Nicholas II (1058-1061), and Alexander II (1061-1073). In their reforming activities these Popes were warmly supported by several able advisers, notably Peter Damiani, Humbert, and Hildebrand. Peter Damiani, the hermit of Fonte Avellana, and later cardinal bishop of Ostia, was already renowned as a teacher and reformer of monks. Heartily in sympathy with the efforts of Henry III, he believed that the reform of the church could be accomplished only by the close co-operation of emperor and Pope. Much more radical was Humbert, a monk of Moyennoutier, in the Vosges, whom Leo had attached to his person and created a cardinal bishop. Not only did Humbert maintain that simony invalidated the ministrations of bishops and priests, but he also bitterly opposed all secular control of the church. "The virgin

purity of the church was ravished while administered and ruled by the laity." The lordship of the empire over the church he would replace by the lordship of the church over the world.⁷

Of less importance under Leo and his immediate successors was Hildebrand. An Italian cleric of obscure origin, Hildebrand had been attached to the court of Pope Gregory VI, to whom he seems to have been related, and had gone with him into exile. Later he had returned to Rome with Leo IX. But although Hildebrand was frequently employed as legate on papal business, it was not until the pontificate of Alexander II that he played a predominant role in the councils of the curia. He possessed neither physical attractiveness nor the learning of Damiani and Humbert. Tremendously earnest, austere, inclined to asceticism, lacking a sense of humor and imagination, he came to think of himself as called of God to perform a divine mission. With inflexible will he sought to establish "righteousness," which he, following Humbert, believed could be secured only through the independence of the church and the domination of the papacy over the secular power. At the same time he was an astute politician who did not scruple to employ human means to serve divine ends. His influence at the papal court gradually grew until finally he became Pope himself, as Gregory VII.

The policy of these radical reformers at the papal court is discernible in the famous election decree of 1059. They saw that the papacy could not be a great independent power as long as the Popes were mere puppets of the emperor; but during the reign of Henry III they were unable to effect any great change. The death of that monarch, however, in 1056, and the regency that followed afforded the wished-for opportunity. Accordingly, in 1059 Nicholas II summoned a council at Rome which inaugurated a new form of papal election, by the College of Cardinals. On the death of a Pope the appointment of his successor was to rest with the cardinal

bishops (the incumbents of the seven suburbicarian churches in the immediate vicinity of Rome), and their decision was to be ratified by the cardinal priests and deacons and finally by the rest of the clergy and the Roman populace.

The papacy was now cut free from dependence upon the emperor as well as from dependence upon the Roman nobles. But was it strong enough to stand alone without material support? The papal advisers realized that it was not, but they had a solution of the difficulty at hand; possibly this was the suggestion of Hildebrand. The Norman power in southern Italy was now the greatest political force in the peninsula, and the papacy hastened to gain its support. Reversing the policy of Leo IX, Nicholas II made a treaty with the Norman princes: he invested them with southern Italy as a fief and received in return the promise of their aid against his enemies. By giving away what did not belong to him, the Pope had secured an invaluable ally. The Norman oath of allegiance was thus the sequel to the election decree.⁸

Hildebrand Becomes Pope. On the death of Pope Alexander II in 1073 Hildebrand was elected to the See of Peter. While he was celebrating the obsequies of the deceased pontiff in the Lateran Church the assembled multitude suddenly hailed him as Pope, and almost before he had time to protest he was rushed off to St. Peter's and enthroned, without the formality of a regular election. It was symptomatic of the new order of things that Henry IV was not asked to give his consent, but merely informed of Hildebrand's election. No longer was the emperor to have a voice in the choice of the Pope. The reform of the church, its independence of secular power, and the supremacy of the papacy, not only over the church but over princes as well, constituted the program of Gregory VII. This is succinctly expressed in the *Dictatus Papae*, twenty-seven short theses, now, after much controversy, recognized as emanating from Gregory himself

and based upon Augustine (especially the *City of God*) and the *False Decretals*. These may be summarized in two leading propositions. First, the Pope possesses unlimited power over the universal church, to call councils and to appoint or depose archbishops, bishops, and priests. His legate takes precedence over all other clergy, and his court is the final place of appeal. Second, in the Pope resides the supreme power in the world. To him alone truly belong the imperial insignia and the power to make or unmake emperors and kings. Monarchs therefore owe him respect and obedience.

The coincidence of two such individuals as Henry IV and Gregory VII on the thrones of the empire and the papacy, each ambitious to promote the power of his position, inevitably led to conflict. To Henry the subjection of the clergy, including lay investiture, was essential to the absolute monarchy that he sought to create. It was unthinkable that great feudal princes, such as medieval bishops and archbishops, should owe him no feudal allegiance. To Gregory, on the other hand, these rights that Henry claimed were inconsistent with the liberty and independence of the church. It was intolerable that the church should be subject to lay control.

The conflict between empire and papacy was still further complicated by the rebellion of Saxony against Henry IV.

Revolt of Saxony. Saxony, the last of the duchies to be brought under Frankish rule, had preserved many of its own customs and manners and a greater spirit of independence than the others. This independence had been greatly fostered by the Billungs, the family upon whom Otto I had bestowed the duchy. The coercion of Saxony had been begun by Henry III, who had established his capital at Goslar, erected strong fortresses at strategic points, and conferred upon his favorite Adalbert the archbishopric of Bremen, which was to be used for the extension of royal power. This policy was now taken up, after a brief respite following the

death of Henry III, by his more capable son. The nobility were incensed and alarmed by the numerous royal castles that were erected throughout the duchy, and the peasants were oppressed by the new fiscal measures to increase the royal revenues by larger payments and by the restriction of their immemorial rights in the forests. In addition, the unrest of the peasants was enhanced by three successive crop failures and the suffering that resulted. The flame of revolt accordingly burst out and was only suppressed with the utter defeat of the Saxon nobles and peasants at the bloody battle of Langensalza in 1075. At this juncture strife broke out with Gregory VII over the question of investiture.

The Investiture Question. During the early years of Gregory's pontificate peace ruled between the papal curia and the German court. Gregory's first measures did not affect the relations with Henry, but concerned only the internal affairs of the church. On one occasion, when hard pressed by the Saxons, Henry had written to Gregory a letter of most abject obedience. The Pope was delighted. He granted Henry absolution for his sins and even recognized the king's right of investiture. Gregory, believing that he had Henry's support, now began a campaign against simony and the marriage of the clergy. In March, 1074, he held a synod in Rome at which he condemned simony and re-enacted the old stringent laws of celibacy of the clergy. The ministrations of priests guilty of these offenses were declared invalid, and the laity were encouraged to rebel against them. These decrees met with universal opposition in Germany as well as in other countries. The Pope "would compel all men to live like angels," the German clergy complained. "They had rather abandon their priesthood than their wives, and then let the Pope, who thought men too groveling for him, see if he can find angels to govern the church."⁹ Recalcitrant bishops, among them a number of the king's intimate advisers, were excommunicated and suspended from office.

A year later, at another Roman synod (February, 1075), Gregory took a further step toward carrying out his ideas of papal supremacy by condemning lay investiture. Henceforth no bishop or abbot should be invested with ring and staff by any layman whatsoever, whether emperor, king, duke, or count. It was Gregory's purpose to secure for the church in every country her great temporal dominions, "to withdraw her everywhere from feudal obligations to the crown, to render her subject to the Pope alone, and thus to convert half of Europe into a state of the Roman church."¹⁰ Although the decree was not widely published, the text of it was sent to the king, who ignored it by investing a new archbishop of Milan and by bestowing the sees of Fermo and Spoleto, which belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Rome, upon German clerics who had not even taken priests' orders. To obey meant to shatter the very foundation on which, since the time of Otto the Great, the royal power had rested. With the abolition of lay investiture, bishops and abbots would become independent princes, and ecclesiastical estates would be lost to the empire. The military duties and monetary contributions which they owed the king would then go to the Pope. For more than a century, lands of the royal fisc in Germany had been bestowed upon bishops with the assurance that they would not be alienated from the service of the king. Lay investiture was therefore essential to the royal absolutism that Henry sought to build up.

The king's disobedience called forth a rebuke from the Pope. Gregory complained not only of Henry's disregard of the investiture decree, but also of his association with simoniacal and married clergy who had been condemned. If he did not mend his ways, he was threatened with excommunication and even deposition. Henry might be meek toward the Pope when he was in difficulty, as he was in 1073 during the rebellion of Saxony, but in the first flush of victory over the Saxons he could ill brook such a threat. In January, 1076, he summoned the German bishops, who were highly in-

dignant against Gregory because of the condemnation of clerical marriage, to a council at Worms, and king and bishops combined in decreeing the deposition of the Pope.

Let another ascend the throne of Saint Peter [they decreed], one who will not use religion as a cloak of violence, but will teach the life-giving doctrine of that prince of the apostles. I, Henry, king by the grace of God, with all my bishops, say unto you: "Come down, come down, and be accursed through all the ages."¹¹

Excommunication of Henry. There could be only one reply to such an act. Gregory held a synod at which he excommunicated Henry, declared him deposed from the kingdom of Germany, and released his subjects from obedience to him. At the same time the Pope suspended from their offices the bishops who had participated in the Council of Worms, as he had all the recalcitrant bishops of Lombardy.

This action of Gregory had immediate repercussions in Germany. The more timid of Henry's adherents were frightened and the more moderate horrified by his attack on the Pope. Rebellion once more raised its head in Saxony, and many of the nobles in the rest of Germany, alienated by the high-handed measures of the king, took occasion to revolt. Disaffection in Saxony and elsewhere was fostered by papal legates. In addition, many of the clergy who had supported Henry now made their peace with Gregory. Not only did Henry find himself deserted by all save the Lombard clergy, but the princes called a diet at Tribur (October, 1076), where they declared that unless Henry had the ban of excommunication removed before February, 1077, they would no longer recognize him as king. Furthermore, they summoned a council to meet at Augsburg, which they invited Gregory to attend. The Pope was delighted, and accepted with alacrity. Nothing would please him better than to sit in judgment on Henry IV. In a sense it would efface the stain of Henry III's sitting in judgment on Gregory VI.

Canossa. In such a dilemma Henry, perhaps advised by his friend and stanch supporter Abbot Hugh of Cluny, determined on a bold stroke: to seek reconciliation with the Pope before Gregory had an opportunity to reach Germany and conspire with his enemies there. In the depth of winter, accompanied by his wife and infant son Conrad, he crossed the Alps. In Lombardy princes and prelates rallied around him in the hope that he had come to depose the Pope. But, putting aside such a temptation, he sought Gregory at Canossa, the castle of Matilda of Tuscany, to which the Pope had turned aside from his journey to Germany to await the escort that the German princes were to send him. In the garb of a penitent, "barefoot and clad only in wretched woolen garments," Henry appeared before the gate of the castle seeking papal absolution and forgiveness. At length on the third day, urged by the Countess Matilda and others, Gregory reluctantly (for it meant the defeat of his plan to unite with the princes) admitted Henry to reconciliation. His duty as priest overcame his political conviction. The day of Canossa was thus a victory for Henry rather than for Gregory. On his return to Germany he was regarded once more as the lawful sovereign.

Election of Rudolf of Swabia. The rebel princes and prelates of Germany were angered beyond measure and regarded Henry's absolution as a betrayal of their cause. But they were determined to prevent the restoration of the king's authority, and accordingly they summoned a diet to meet at Forchheim, in Franconia, where they elected Rudolf of Swabia as king. This meant civil war. With Henry sided most of the burgher and industrial classes (except in Saxony), as well as the bishops and lesser nobles who chafed under the authority of the great lords. After his coronation at Mainz, Rudolf was obliged to retreat to Saxony, where he found his chief support. There both lay and ecclesiastical princes, with few exceptions, were on his side. Henry's strongest support

came from Franconia, the homeland of the Salian house, where all classes sided with him. The allegiance of Bavaria and Carinthia was assured by the clever distribution of confiscated lands and church patronage. He strengthened his position in Swabia by appointing as its duke the Swabian count of Staufen, Frederick, on whom he bestowed his daughter Agnes. Incidentally this was the beginning of the fortunes of the Hohenstaufen. The war dragged on; Henry was unable to dislodge Rudolf from Saxony and Thuringia, though the rest of Germany largely adhered to him. At the Diet of Forchheim the papal legates had decided for Rudolf, but Gregory refused to pronounce for either, a policy that exasperated the Saxons. By 1080 Germany had been devastated by civil war, the peasants had suffered great hardship, the trade of the towns had been handicapped, and all parties sighed for peace and order. To the majority it was becoming increasingly evident that the best hope of attaining this end would lie in the victory of Henry.

Henry now felt himself strong enough to demand that the Pope excommunicate Rudolf, and threatened him with the creation of an antipope if he refused. Forced to abandon his neutrality, Gregory decided for Rudolf and again deposed Henry (March, 1081). He gave as his excuse Henry's continued bestowal of investiture. But this time excommunication had little effect — indeed, perhaps it strengthened the king's position. The deposition of Henry offended many who saw in it a direct contradiction of Scripture. Pamphleteers arose who declared that the king held his position by divine right and that it was sacrilege for the Pope to touch the Lord's anointed. Besides, Gregorian ideas had as yet found little support in Germany.

The death of Rudolf in battle changed matters little, for Henry's enemies, especially the irreconcilable Saxons, shortly proceeded to elect his successor. But this new rival was unable to gain support outside Saxony. On the other hand, Henry's position in the rest of Germany was so secure that,

ignoring Saxony, he crossed the Alps to deal with the Pope. Gregory was declared deposed, and German and Italian bishops concurred in electing a counter pope, Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, as Clement III. "As the Pope harassed him by means of a rival king in Germany, so Henry now brought a rival Pope into the field."¹² His attempt to capture Rome was at first unsuccessful, as the Romans proved loyal to Gregory. But at length the city fell into his hands, and Henry entered in triumph with his antipope, who bestowed upon him the imperial crown. From the Castle of St. Angelo, in which he had taken refuge, Gregory was rescued by his Norman ally, Robert Guiscard. But the sack of Rome by the Normans, which "put in the shade the damage done the city in former days by Goths and Vandals," so infuriated the Romans that Gregory was obliged to take refuge with his rescuers in southern Italy. There he died at Salerno (May, 1085), while the antipope quietly occupied Rome.

On his return to Germany in 1084, flushed with his victory over the Pope, Henry found the country in confusion. The papal schism which he had created rent the German church, and in almost every diocese a Gregorian was set against an imperial bishop. Opposition to his rule, supported by some of the clergy, burst out once more, and the flame of a new rebellion spread in Saxony, kindled in part by Henry's failure to appreciate the Saxon temper and by his appointment of bishops to Saxon sees without the consent of the nobles. But again Henry triumphed over his foes. Ecclesiastical as well as feudal opposition was broken or died down, and once more he was universally recognized as king.

At this juncture Italian politics called for Henry's attention, and in 1090 for the last time he crossed the Alps. The Countess Matilda of Tuscany, a staunch supporter of the Pope, had married the son of Welf, the duke of Bavaria, Henry's bitter foe. This alliance, fostered by Pope Urban II, was a purely political one, — for the bride was forty and the bridegroom seventeen, — made for the purpose of driving Henry

from his throne. The conspirators had succeeded in corrupting Henry's eldest son, Conrad, whom he had appointed his lieutenant in Italy. Conrad's rebellion involved the disaffection of Lombard cities, cut off Henry's retreat to Germany, and prevented his obtaining reinforcements. While Conrad was crowned at Milan the despondent emperor meditated suicide at Verona. From this predicament Henry was relieved by the severance of the unnatural alliance between the Countess Matilda and the young Welf, and he was enabled to return to Germany.

Deposition of Henry IV. Yet once again Henry proved more than a match for his foes. In place of Conrad he had elected to the kingship as his successor his second son, Henry, whom he compelled to swear an oath of fealty. But the greatest disaster of his reign, the crowning tragedy of his career, now occurred, — the defection of this son, Henry V. The latter, fearing that his father's policy was leading to ruin, formed an alliance with Henry IV's enemies in order to depose him. Even the Pope, who hoped to find in the new monarch a less stanch champion of lay investiture, gave him support and freed him from his oath. Deserted by his troops, denied justice by the princes, imprisoned by his son, — "the most devilish deed in all German history," Hampe has called it, — Henry IV was induced to abdicate and bestow all his possessions upon his son, who, with the support of papal legates, was crowned at Mainz.

Henry V and the Investiture Question. If the papacy, by supporting the new monarch against his father, hoped to find a more amenable instrument, it was bitterly deceived. No sooner had Henry V become sole ruler than he showed himself disposed to contend for the same ends as Henry IV. When the papacy renewed the prohibition of lay investiture, the king stoutly insisted on his inherited imperial rights. But Paschal II (1099–1118), more inclined to compromise

than his predecessors and fearful of a new investiture war, consented to an agreement at Sutri (1111). By this agreement he stipulated that the church should renounce all its feudal territories and limit itself for support to income from freehold lands, tithes, and gifts of the faithful. In return the king should renounce all claims to investiture.

Such a radical solution was too far in advance of the age. It met with the bitter opposition of the Gregorians as well as of the German ecclesiastics, who were unwilling to renounce their temporal powers. Since Pope Paschal was unable to fulfill his part of the bargain, Henry V demanded the restoration of his right of investiture, and kept the Pope a prisoner until he yielded. "We concede to you," declared Paschal, "the right of investing the bishops and abbots of your kingdom with the ring and the staff, if their election has been conducted canonically and without simony or other illegality."¹³ This move, however, brought down upon the Pope the wrath of the Gregorians, who, at the councils of Vienne and the Lateran, condemned Paschal and excommunicated Henry. A new investiture war broke out, which, like that under Henry IV, was accompanied by the opposition of many German princes to the crown. For a decade the struggle dragged on, until finally Calixtus II, more of a statesman than his predecessors, perceived the necessity for compromise. The way toward peace was still further prepared by the work of French and Italian publicists who drew a sharp distinction between the spiritual and secular aspects of investiture, the bestowal of the ecclesiastical office and the investing with the fief. The ring and the staff should be reserved for the former, they declared, and the scepter introduced for the latter. At the same time the influence of the uncompromising Gregorians declined at the papal court, and the German princes were favorable to peace.

Concordat of Worms (1122). The negotiations that followed resulted in the signing of the *Concordat of Worms*.

Essentially a compromise, this treaty provided that the king renounce investiture with ring and staff, the symbols of ecclesiastical office. On the other hand, it permitted him to be present at the elections of bishops and abbots. This enabled the king to block the candidacy of anyone who was displeasing to him, and gave him the right of appointment in the event of a disputed election. Furthermore, he was granted the right to invest the ecclesiastic with the temporalities of his office by bestowing upon him the scepter and by exacting from him the oath of allegiance. This Concordat was confirmed at the Lateran synod of 1123, which celebrated the treaty as a victory for the papacy.

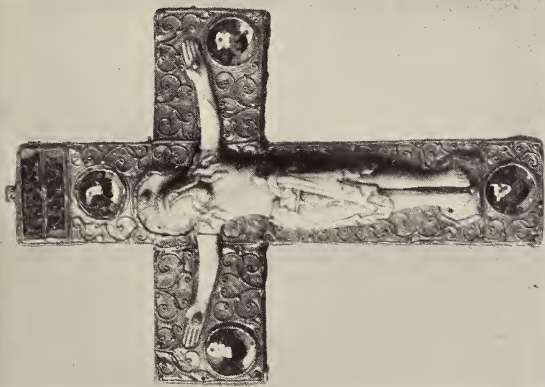
But with more justice the Concordat may be said to have been a victory for the emperor. The aims of Gregory VII — suzerainty over the emperor, complete independence of the German episcopate from secular power, and absolute control of ecclesiastical fiefs — had not been attained. Bishops still owed allegiance to the monarch. In reality the Concordat was a truce rather than a permanent peace, for the whole question of investiture continued throughout the century to be a matter of dispute between Pope and emperor.¹⁴

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Andrea Pisano's *Beheading of John the Baptist*.
Baptistry, Florence. (See page 567)



Crown © reserved. Victoria and Albert Museum
Christ on the Cross.
Eleventh-Century English Ivory



Metropolitan Museum of Art

Ivory Diptych. Scenes from Life of Christ and the Virgin.
 Fourteenth Century



Carved Miserere from Choir Stall. Amiens Cathedral. Fourteenth Century

CHAPTER XV

The Hohenstaufen, the Italian Communes, and the Papacy

ON THE death of Henry V without direct male heir there seemed little doubt that his successor would be the Hohenstaufen duke Frederick of Swabia. The son of that Frederick of Staufen, or Hohenstaufen, whom Henry IV had rewarded for his fidelity with the duchy of Swabia and the hand of his daughter Agnes, he seemed to be the logical heir of the Franconian, as Conrad II had been of the Saxon, house. But there were forces in Germany, survivals of the Saxon war and the investiture struggle, that proved too strong for him. The Gregorian party, which stood for ecclesiastical independence, was led by a bitter opponent of the Concordat, Adalbert, archbishop of Mainz, who by virtue of his office had the right of convoking the electoral conclave and presiding over it. He succeeded in swaying the election in favor of Lothaire of Supplinburg, duke of Saxony, the successor of the Billungs, who was known to favor greater independence in ecclesiastical elections. Besides, he was more acceptable to the Saxons, who had little cause to love the heir of the Franconians. Not only was the election of Lothaire the triumph of the ecclesiastical party, but it marked also the victory of the electoral over the hereditary principle. Moreover, Lothaire seems to have stood for federation, or the rights of the duchies, as opposed to the Franconian theory of absolute monarchy. Frederick of Hohenstaufen and his brother Conrad raised the standard of revolt; but they were defeated, and Lothaire was firmly seated on the throne. As Lothaire had no son, he sought to transmit the succession to his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria, of the house of Guelf (or Welf), upon whom he also bestowed Saxony.

But, in spite of the fact that before his death Lothaire sent the royal insignia to his son-in-law, the Guelfs failed to gain the crown. The Gregorians suspected the ecclesiastical power of Henry the Proud, and the secular princes feared the power that the possession of both Bavaria and Saxony gave him. The electors in 1138 therefore chose Conrad of Hohenstaufen as king. Thus was placed upon the throne the house that was to rule Germany until the middle of the thirteenth century. Opposed to them was the powerful house of Guelf, and the struggle between the two (Guelf, or Welf, against Ghibelline, or Waibling, the family name of the Hohenstaufen) was one of the discordant factors in German politics. Moreover, the Guelfs became identified with the propapal party, as the Ghibellines did with the antipapal and imperial party.

Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190). The true founder of Hohenstaufen policy and greatness, however, was not Conrad III but his nephew Frederick, whom the former designated as his successor and whom the princes elected with almost complete unanimity. Frederick's position was the stronger by virtue of his relation to the Guelfs (his mother was the sister of Henry the Proud); and it was hoped that he would reconcile the two houses.

The new monarch was in the prime of life, of medium height, and a fine type of German knight. His personal appearance was attractive, with his fine features, genial expression, and red curly hair and beard, whence his nickname Barbarossa (Redbeard) given him by the Italians. Resolute, brave, skilled in the use of arms, knowing when to flatter and when to command, Frederick was a skillful general and able leader. Endowed with a high sense of justice, he could at times be ruthlessly severe and even ferocious. His culture was not high; but though he could not speak Latin, he could understand it. The patron of Roman lawyers, he was himself a lawgiver of no mean ability, and his decrees bulk large among the enactments of medieval emperors. His ambitions

centered in ideas of Roman imperialism, and his fancy played around the idea of welding Germany and Italy, and perhaps the entire West, into one empire. The Hohenstaufen attempt to achieve this ambition was to prevent the creation of a united Germany. Furthermore, in his failure to realize the importance of the new economic forces of his age, the towns and commerce, Frederick was also singularly lacking in foresight.

The first tasks to which Frederick Barbarossa set himself were the restoration of order, in a land disorganized by the troubled reign of Conrad III, and the restitution of the damaged authority of the king. He proclaimed a general *Landfrieden*, and punished breaches of it with the severest penalties. It is instructive to note that selling wheat above a fixed price was a breach of the peace. Frederick also attempted to restrict the right of private warfare, certain types of which he condemned as a violation of the *Landfrieden*. Nobles as well as commoners were punished for infringements of these enactments; and we are told by one chronicler that "much blood was shed by King Frederick for securing peace, very many persons were hanged, many churches, towns and castles were destroyed by fire."¹ To strengthen his own authority it was necessary to reconcile the feudal princes to himself; for, as Lamprecht has said,² in the second half of the twelfth century it was only as "first among equals" that the king could hope to rule the princes and make them useful to himself. He consolidated Hohenstaufen power by bestowing the duchy of Swabia upon his cousin, the son of Conrad III, and by making his uncle Marquis of Tuscany and Duke of Spoleto. He won the powerful family of Zähringen with the promise of Burgundy and Provence, nominally a part of his kingdom. More important still was his conciliation of the Guelfs. He gave Bavaria to Henry the Lion, son of Henry the Proud, who had been deprived of the duchy by Conrad III. These wise measures so thoroughly established Frederick's authority in Germany that during his struggles with the

Pope and the Italian cities he was constantly able to obtain fresh troops and feudal levies.

Frederick's Policy toward the Church. The consolidation of Frederick's authority over the secular lords was accompanied by his recovery of the royal rights over the church which had been more or less relaxed under Lothaire and Conrad. Two months after his election he interfered in a disputed election to the see of Magdeburg and had his own candidate chosen. The Pope, Eugenius III, refused his sanction; but his successor, Anastasius IV, was more compliant and "granted the pallium to the archbishop of Frederick's choice." Elections to vacant sees or monasteries did not always take place in the royal presence, but by letter or representative Frederick insisted that his candidate be chosen. To the electors of the archbishopric of Cologne he wrote concerning Philip of Heinsberg, "Him only and no other we wish to be elected without delay."³ He regarded episcopal regalia* as fiefs which it was his right to confer, and he insisted on receiving the oath of allegiance from all his ecclesiastical vassals. Those who refused to perform their feudal duties he deprived of their regalia. He appropriated the revenues of all vacant sees and seized the movable property of deceased bishops. He sought to control the Italian as well as the German episcopate, and embroiled himself with the papacy by extending his right of nomination to papal territory. Moreover, Frederick employed the higher clergy as his officials, commanders of his armies, diplomats, and governors. Rainald of Dassel, archbishop of Cologne, was his chancellor and intimate adviser, and Christian of Mainz his viceroy in Italy. His bishops were consequently noted less for their spiritual than for their political or military virtues. Frederick gradually created a group of bishops who were staunch imperialists, and

* Regalia were rights of toll, mint, and market, control of offices, jurisdiction over towns, etc.

he could cross the Alps into Italy with the solid support of the German episcopate at his back.

Frederick and Italy. Frederick's imperialistic designs, colored by Carolingian and Ottonian ideas, extended to Italy as well as to Germany. There they brought him into conflict with two forces, the papacy and the Italian cities. It is evident that the Gregorian papacy, with its ideal of independence and world rule, could scarcely brook a return to the situation under Otto the Great, when the Pope was a subject of the emperor, and the emperor the real ruler of the Papal States. In order to understand Frederick's conflict with the Italian cities, it will be necessary to review the urban development in northern Italy during the previous century.

With the decline of urban life in Italy during the age of disorder the old Roman municipalities gradually fell under the rule of the bishop, who, invariably a resident within the town, was the one man strong enough to rebuild the fortifications and protect the populace. The rule of the bishop, encouraged by both the Carolingian and the Saxon emperors, gradually extended over the countryside as well as over the cities. Then the bishop began to grant fiefs outside the city walls to vassals (*capitani*), who frequently subinfeudated them to subvassals (*valvassori*, or vavasors). The bishop could thus command a large feudal force, but his power was less obnoxious to the imperial authority than that of the count, whose position was hereditary. Moreover, as yet no one had contested the right of the emperor to nominate and invest the bishop. By the middle of the tenth century the cities of Lombardy had almost all passed under the rule of the bishop. In Tuscany, however, the authority of the bishop seems not to have been so great, for many of the cities, such as Florence, remained under the immediate rule of the duke or margrave.

Rise of the Lombard Communes. By the close of the tenth century and the early part of the eleventh, however, these

cities, having grown rich and populous through the revival of commerce and industry, became restless under episcopal rule and gradually asserted their independence. Sometimes they secured this by peaceful and sometimes by violent means. The city government was then vested in the consuls, who, elected by the people, had judicial and administrative functions, such as making war, concluding treaties, enforcing law, and meting out justice. Besides, there was a council, often styled the senate, composed of about a hundred members. Its sanction was frequently necessary before the consuls could act on important matters. Finally, there was the *parlamento*, or assembly of the entire population in the city square. Summoned on occasions of moment, it did little more than signify approval or disapproval of a certain policy. The government of these cities, or communes as they are called, was far from democratic, for the rulers were chosen from the guilds and the upper classes. The nobles often allied themselves with the townsmen; frequently they moved into the cities, where they built fortified towers and formed a discordant element in urban life. The position of these communes has been admirably described by Otto of Freising in his life of Frederick Barbarossa.

Almost the whole country pertains to the cities, each of which forces the inhabitants of her territory to submit to her sway. One can hardly find, within a wide circuit, a man of rank or importance who does not recognize the authority of his city. . . . They surpass all other cities of the world in riches and power; and the long-continued absence of their ruler across the Alps has further contributed to their independence.⁴

During the struggle over investiture, these communes had been developing their power and sometimes, as in the case of Lucca, had received rights and privileges from the emperor, Henry IV. Judicial jurisdiction, military rights, rights of market, toll, and mint were all in the hands of the burghers. By the time of Frederick Barbarossa imperial rights had been

so long in abeyance that they were thought of as belonging entirely to a buried past. It was obvious that they could not be reclaimed without a struggle.

Such was the situation in 1154 when Frederick, determined to re-establish imperial authority, turned his attention to Italy. There he found not a solid opposition, but groups of cities disunited by jealousy of each other. The larger cities not only ruled over their environs but sought to subject the smaller cities near them. Pavia, Cremona, Como, and Lodi were loud in their denunciations of Milan. They even laid their complaints before Frederick, and brought down upon their heads the wrath of the Milanese for so doing. On the other hand Crema, Brescia, Piacenza, and Tortona defended the conduct of Milan.

Frederick was not long in discovering the contempt of Milan for his commands, and the disinclination of the Milanese to bow before his will; but the city was too well fortified, garrisoned, and provisioned to permit him to punish her then and there. Instead he contented himself with wreaking his vengeance upon one of her allies, Tortona. He captured the city, destroyed it, and dispersed its inhabitants. All Lombardy reverberated with the news of the deed. A struggle was inevitable, and was only postponed until Frederick could cross the Alps with an army sufficiently strong.

Diet of Roncaglia (1158). Again in 1158 Frederick entered Italy, accompanied by the flower of German chivalry, at the head of the largest army the peninsula had seen in centuries, and fired with the determination to stamp out all resistance to the imperial will. On the plain of Roncaglia, near Piacenza, he held a diet to ascertain the old imperial rights, long fallen into desuetude. For this purpose he summoned lawyers from Bologna, a city already famous for its legal studies. Trained in the law of Justinian, with its concepts of imperial absolutism, these Bolognese jurists decreed that the regalia, or crown rights, should be restored to Frederick.

When the emperor asked what these rights were, the decision was given that they were the right to appoint dukes, marquises, counts, and consuls [in the cities]; to coin money; to levy tolls; to collect the *fodrum* [a tax in provisions for the support of the emperor and his army when passing through the territory]; to collect customs and harbor dues; . . . to control mills, fishponds, bridges, and all the waterways, and to demand an annual tax not only from the land, but also from each person.⁵

Frederick, not daring to assert such vast claims, confirmed everybody in the possession of his rights, subject to an annual tax. But he did insist that his representative, the *podestà*, should be the supreme magistrate in each city.

After the close of the diet, the imperial chancellor, Rainald of Dassel, and Count Otto of Wittelsbach scoured Lombardy to install *podestàs*. Immediately they met with resistance; even the cities inclined to be favorable to Frederick received them coldly. When they attempted to introduce a *podestà* in Milan, the citizens rose in rebellion, and the imperial envoys were glad to make their escape in secret. Infuriated, Frederick pronounced the ban of the empire against the city and sent to Germany for reinforcements to crush it. Not until 1162, after a siege of two years and a heroic defense, did the city capitulate. Its citizens, compelled to take the oath of allegiance to Frederick, were dispersed, and the city itself was given over to the vengeance of its foes. Each separate enemy, Cremona, Lodi, and Pavia, was given an entire ward to destroy. Other cities likewise were compelled to accept Frederick's harsh conditions: to have their walls destroyed, to receive his officials, to give hostages, and to pay tribute. All Lombardy was subdued.

The Lombard League. But even the cities favorable to Frederick soon chafed under the oppressive rule of German princes. The *podestàs* "cruelly misused their authority; they increased contributions and imposts sixfold; they took two thirds of the crops from Milan and Crema."⁶ A contempo-

rary historian, prejudiced in favor of the emperor, admits "that there was no Lombard, who, remembering his ancient liberty, did not feel the shame of these exactions, and did not burn to avenge them." The annihilation of Milan aroused sympathy even among her enemies, as exiled Milanese, wandering from city to city, recounted their woes. A common misfortune soon effaced the old enmities as the cities realized that their loss of liberty was the fruit of disunion. Thus was born, in 1167, the Lombard League, the members of which pledged themselves to aid each other against anyone who should attack them or seek to exact more than had been customary before the advent of Frederick. Even cities formerly devoted to the imperial cause joined it. This league received the support of the Pope, who also was hostile to the emperor.

In order to understand the situation at this juncture, we shall have to glance at the relations between Pope and emperor.

Frederick and the Papacy. At the election of Frederick to the German throne the situation in the Papal States was such as to draw Pope and king together. Rome, like other Italian cities, had felt the force of the republican movement. In 1143 the Romans had risen in revolt against papal rule, proclaimed a republic, and revived the senate, as they called the council of burghers who directed affairs from the Capitol. Shortly afterwards the young republic fell under the spell of Arnold of Brescia, whom Giesbrecht has called "the most significant personality among the clergy of his day."

A zealot by nature and a man of brilliant mind, Arnold had been influenced by both his teacher Abélard and the Patarenes. A careful study of the Scriptures had convinced him that a vast gulf separated the poor communities of the Apostolic Age from the "worldly power and boundless wealth of the endowed church in which he lived." Accordingly he began to teach that the church should return to its original

state of poverty and renounce all worldly power. So great popularity did he win among the laity and lower clergy by his fiery denunciation of the worldly power and wealth of the church, and so keenly did he arouse the opposition of the higher clergy, that the bishop of Brescia, gaining the ear of the Pope, had him condemned and driven into exile. After wandering in France and Germany, where he aroused the ire of Bernard of Clairvaux, he attached himself to the following of a cardinal who took him back to Italy and Rome, where he secured papal forgiveness. But, unable to refrain from preaching his doctrine of evangelical poverty, and enthusiastic for the republican movement, Arnold became a source of strength to the young republic. He was given a voice in the councils of the senate and a large share in the administration of the city. At the same time, by his denunciation of the wealth and temporal power of the church, he inaugurated a movement that more fundamentally threatened the papacy than did the republic. The papal ban of excommunication was pronounced against him, but at first it had little effect. Indeed, the Pope himself was obliged to leave Rome. Arnold was at the height of his power; only by force of arms could he be driven out and Rome captured. This force the Pope did not possess; for he refused to make the concessions the old papal ally, the king of Sicily, otherwise willing to lend assistance, demanded, and the Emperor Conrad III was away on the Second Crusade.

Such was the situation at Rome that tended to draw Pope and German monarch together on the occasion of Frederick's first visit to Italy, in 1154. A new Pope, Hadrian IV (Nicholas Breakspear, 1154-1159), the only Englishman to wear the papal tiara, had recently been elected. A man of firm will and great ability, Hadrian believed that the victory of the church could be achieved only by a close adherence to the principles of Gregory VII — characteristics that boded ill for cordial relations with the emperor. Hadrian, however, desired Frederick's assistance against Arnold of Brescia and

the Roman senate. Frederick on his part was anxious to obtain the imperial crown at the hands of the Pope. Besides, his political ideas made him little sympathetic with the Roman republic and its bombastic claim that it alone had the right to confer the imperial title.

On the occasion of his first visit to Italy, Frederick readily obliged the Pope by seizing Arnold of Brescia and by surrendering him to the papal authorities.* He then proceeded to Sutri for his first interview with the Pope. But when they met, Hadrian and the cardinals were greatly perturbed by the failure of the emperor to come forward and act as squire when the Pope dismounted. Not until he had performed this service, after a day spent in wrangling over such a weighty matter, did Hadrian give him the kiss of peace. They then journeyed to Rome, where the emperor received the imperial crown from the Pope. When the Romans attempted to oppose the coronation, Frederick defeated them in a bloody battle that shook the power of the republic and enabled the Pope once more to rebuild his authority over the city.† The Pope also urged the emperor to invade southern Italy and attack the king of Naples. Frederick and some of his advisers would gladly have undertaken such an expedition; but the army feared the approach of summer with its fevers, which had already stricken some of its members, and clamored for a return to Germany.

The friendly terms on which Pope and emperor parted were, however, of short duration: their conceptions of office were too radically divergent for an enduring peace. In 1157 Hadrian addressed a letter to the emperor in which he protested against the ill-treatment in Burgundy of the arch-

* Condemned by an ecclesiastical tribunal, Arnold was handed over to the secular authorities and hanged. His body was then burned and his ashes cast into the Tiber, lest the Romans should preserve them as precious relics and motives for revenge.

† This restoration of papal authority, however, was completed only by Innocent III.

bishop of Lund (in Denmark). This letter caused great offense at the imperial court; for it reminded Frederick that the imperial power was conferred by the Pope, and employed the words *conferre* and *beneficium*, technical terms signifying the grant of a fief to a vassal. The empire was, then, a fief of the papacy, and Frederick was the Pope's vassal! Such was the construction that Frederick and his councilors put upon the Pope's words. So incensed was the feeling at the German court that the legates were commanded to leave by the shortest route. As Hadrian was not then prepared to enter upon a struggle with Frederick, he sought to explain away the offensive terminology. The emperor was still further incensed against the Pope by the treaty the latter had made with the king of Sicily; this treaty, Frederick asserted, was a violation of a previous agreement with him and an infringement of his rights over southern Italy. This treaty, however, settled the differences between the Norman king and the Pope. It was a return to the Gregorian policy and made Hadrian independent of imperial support.

On the other hand, Frederick's whole imperialistic policy in Italy ran counter to papal ideas. The emperor had seized the domains of the Countess Matilda in Tuscany, which Hadrian claimed had been bequeathed to the papacy. The regalian rights Frederick also, much to the annoyance of the Pope, exercised within the Papal States. In addition, Frederick insisted on his full investiture rights over the clergy. Besides, what remained of the idea of papal world rule if the Pope were in danger of becoming once more the subject of the emperor? As a means of defense against imperialistic pretensions Hadrian allied himself not only with the king of Sicily but also with the Lombard communes. The latter bound themselves to conclude no separate peace with the emperor; Hadrian promised to excommunicate him.

Relations between Pope and emperor were thus strained to the breaking point when Hadrian IV died. The majority of the cardinals immediately elected Orlando Bandinelli, the

papal chancellor and a staunch Gregorian, who took the title of Alexander III (1159–1181). But a dissentient minority who favored the imperialist cause elected Cardinal Octavian as Victor IV. Thus a schism was created which the emperor encouraged by his recognition of Victor at the Synod of Pavia (1160), and Alexander was obliged to flee from Rome. The kings of France, England, and Spain, on the other hand, recognized Alexander. Not only did Alexander have the support of all Christendom save Germany, but he played up the Lombard opposition to Frederick by joining the Lombard League. This alliance is shown by the name *Alessandria* which the Lombards gave to the new city they erected to defend the entrance to the Lombard plain.

In 1174 Frederick, determined to crush both Pope and Lombards, once more crossed the Alps. After a vain attempt to capture the new fortress of *Alessandria*, he suffered a crushing defeat at the battle of Legnano (May, 1176). Only a precipitous retreat with a mere remnant of his army to Pavia saved him from capture. Nothing was left for him to do but negotiate. Accordingly, feeling that he could obtain better terms from the Pope, Frederick opened negotiations and made peace with him at Anagni. He agreed to recognize Alexander, to abjure the antipope Victor, and to restore all regalia and other papal possessions which he had seized. He attempted to detach Alexander from his allies, but without success. At Venice the emperor made a preliminary peace with the Lombard cities and the king of Sicily, the provisions of which were afterwards incorporated in the definitive Treaty of Constance (1183).

Treaty of Constance. By this treaty Frederick recognized the regalian rights of the cities as they had been "accustomed to hold them," permitted them to elect their own consuls, make their own laws, and levy their own taxes, and recognized their right to retain membership in the Lombard League and to erect fortifications. On the other hand, the cities admitted

the high sovereignty of the empire, which indeed they had never questioned, and the obligations of the consuls to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor and to receive investiture at his hands or at the hands of his representatives. While abandoning the exorbitant demands of the Diet of Roncaglia, Frederick retained the lordship of northern Italy.

Frederick and Henry the Lion. After his defeat at Legnano, Frederick Barbarossa returned to Germany to enter into a contest with his most powerful vassal, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. Astute, aggressive, rapacious, and domineering, Henry the Lion, while Frederick was contending for his imperial rights in Lombardy, had been extending the power of Saxony over northeastern Germany. The Wendish lands beyond the Elbe, partly conquered in the tenth century by Hermann Billung, had never been completely subdued. From 1158 to 1164, with the aid of up-to-date methods of warfare learned in Italy, Henry ruthlessly conquered the Slavs. Their strongholds were destroyed, German fortresses erected, Flemish, Frisian, and German colonists invited in, and Cistercian monks introduced to push the work of Christianization. The chronicler Helmold enthusiastically praises this work :

All the region of the Slavs from the Eider . . . extending between the Baltic sea and the Elbe through long tracts of country to Schwerin, once bristling with snares and almost a desert, is now, thanks to God, become one united Saxon colony, and cities and towns are built there, churches and the number of Christ's servants are multiplied.⁷

Henry the Lion was one of the first German princes to realize the importance of the rising burgher class. He seized Lübeck, conferred upon it a charter, rights of mint, toll, and market, and by his patronage laid the foundation of its prosperous trade. Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, and Russians were given free trading privileges, and the Baltic was cleared

of pirates. He fostered industry as well as commerce, and encouraged artisans and artists to settle in his Saxon capital of Brunswick, which became, it has been said, a sort of "German Florence."⁸ In Bavaria as well as in Saxony he stimulated trade: he laid the foundation of the prosperity of Munich by building a bridge across the Isar and diverting through it the salt trade from the rich mines of Reichenhall.

Politically also the power of Henry the Lion was great. By his marriage with Matilda, the daughter of Henry II of England, he allied himself with the Plantagenets, and his own daughter was sought in marriage by the king of Denmark. At his court in Brunswick he ruled like a king and received envoys from foreign countries. Both the nobility and the clergy felt the weight of his hand, often oppressive. "He was a prince of the princes of the land," declared Helmold. "He crushed the necks of the rebels, and broke their fortresses, and made peace in the land, and had too great a heritage."

It is not surprising that ultimately Frederick Barbarossa came into conflict with so powerful a figure. His wealth, his harshness, his overweening egotism, and his constant readiness to attack the rights and property of others aroused the jealousy and hatred of many. The great Saxon nobles sought his ruin. But for long the support of Frederick saved the great Guelf from his foes. After the defeat of Legnano, however, relations between them cooled. Henry had declined to come to the emperor's aid and thus had helped to compass his defeat. The circumstances attending the fall of Henry the Lion are shrouded with a good deal of mystery; but in 1179 he was summoned before the emperor to answer certain charges that were made against him. When he refused to appear he was put under the ban of the empire. Defeated, he submitted to the emperor, was shorn of all his possessions save the cities of Brunswick and Lüneburg and banished. The fall of Henry the Lion profoundly altered the map of Germany, for it began the dismemberment of the great duch-

ies. Saxony was partitioned; and Bavaria, shorn of Styria and the Tyrol, was conferred upon Otto of Wittelsbach.

Henry VI (1190–1197). In 1189 Frederick Barbarossa, leaving the empire in the hands of his son Henry VI, set out on the Third Crusade, from which he never returned. Although Henry VI had none of the charm of manner and chivalrous appearance of his father, being gaunt, unprepossessing, cruel, and unrelenting, nevertheless he was learned, endowed with exceptional mental powers, and dominated by Hohenstaufen political ideas. His whole appearance, says Hampe, revealed the astuteness of the statesman rather than the might of the warrior. He had a grand design, with the realization of which he allowed no obstacles to interfere: "to make the empire still greater and mightier than under his predecessors."⁹ A few years before his accession he had married Constance, the daughter of Roger II of Sicily, and aunt of the reigning king, William. King William had died in the autumn of 1189, leaving his kingdom to King Henry through the right of Constance. But although the Neapolitan and Sicilian nobles had sworn to recognize Constance and Henry, they desired no German to rule over them, and had elected Tancred of Lecce, an illegitimate son of Constance's brother. Tancred was "small, misshapen, and horribly ugly" in appearance, but he was a distinguished soldier and a man of fine character. The papacy, fearing a Hohenstaufen on the throne of Naples, immediately supported him with its recognition.

Henry was too thoroughly a Hohenstaufen to permit such an opportunity of bringing southern Italy under imperial rule to escape. A first expedition, however, met with failure, defeated by the fever of an Italian summer. Not until 1194 were Henry's hands again free from internal dissension in Germany to turn his attention to the conquest of his Sicilian kingdom. Financed by English gold, the price of Richard the Lionhearted's ransom, and having secured the aid of the naval power of Genoa and Pisa, Henry crossed the Alps.

In the meantime Tancred had died, leaving an infant of three years as his heir. Within a few months southern Italy and Sicily were conquered, and on Christmas day (1194) Henry was crowned King of Sicily in the Cathedral of Palermo.

Henry was now at the zenith of his power. The day following his coronation Queen Constance gave birth to a son, the future illustrious Frederick II. His possession of the wealthy kingdom of Sicily made him independent of the German feudatories, which his father had never been. Even the Pope was helpless before him, and the papacy was threatened with the total collapse of its political power. Master of Sicily and Naples, Henry sought to subject the rest of the peninsula to his will. He made his brother, Philip of Swabia, Duke of Tuscany, the territory that the Popes claimed as the legacy of the Countess Matilda. The duchy of Spoleto, Ravenna, the Romagna, and the march of Ancona were all bestowed upon German favorites. Even the prefect of Rome received investiture from the emperor and swore fidelity to him. What was to become of papal independence with all Italy under the imperial heel? Against such a foe bulls of excommunication (1195 and 1196) were of no avail. It was Henry's object to Germanize Italy. But just as his triumph seemed complete he was struck down by death, September 28, 1197.

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CHAPTER XVI

Innocent III and the Fall of the Hohenstaufen

THE twelfth century produced no Pope of the caliber of Gregory VII, but it did witness the development of papal theory, and thus prepared the way for Innocent III, under whom the see of Rome may be said to have attained the zenith of its power.

One of the staunchest champions of papal prerogative during the twelfth century, though at the same time one of the freest critics of papal action, was Bernard, abbot of the monastery of Clairvaux. He boldly denounced the worldly entanglements of the papacy, declaring that the function of the Pope was pastoral, not princely. "Laws every day make a great clatter in the palace [of the Pope], but the laws of Justinian rather than the laws of the Lord." Christ alone is Lord; the Pope is his steward, whose duty is "to nourish, not to govern."¹ He disapproved of the Pope's employing military might to maintain his territorial interests, and pointed out that Christ commanded Peter to put up his sword when that ardent disciple sought to defend him. But Saint Bernard continued in a passage that became famous in later controversy :

The sword is yours and is to be unsheathed, perhaps with your assent, if not by your hand. Otherwise, if it in no way belonged to you, when the apostles said, "Behold here are two swords," the Lord would not have replied, "It is enough," but "It is too much." Both swords, therefore, belong to the church, to wit, the spiritual and the material; the latter [the material sword] is to be employed for the church, the former [the spiritual sword] by the church; the former by the hand of the priest, the latter by the hand of the soldier, but to be sure with the assent of the priest and at the command of the emperor.²

The same idea that it is the function of the political authority to perform the menial tasks essential to the maintenance and protection of the church is more baldly stated by John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres :

This sword, therefore, the prince obtains from the hand of the church, since she herself does not wield a sword of blood at all. Nevertheless she has it, but uses it through the hand of the prince, to whom she has delivered the power of punishing the body, having reserved to herself, in the persons of the pontiffs, spiritual authority. Therefore the prince is truly the assistant of the priesthood and performs that part of the sacred duties which seems unworthy of priestly hands. Although every duty imposed by the sacred laws is religious and holy, nevertheless that is inferior which involves the punishment of crimes and seems to call up, so to speak, the image of the hangman.³

Moreover, kings who, established by God, exercise their authority in dependence upon and for the good of the church are amenable to the sovereign pontiff who is able to depose them; "for it is an axiom in jurisprudence that he who is able to consent is also able to refuse, that he who can give can also take away." Accordingly if peoples are oppressed by their rulers, they should turn to the Pope for redress; and conversely, if the fault is on the side of the people, the Pope guarantees the stability of the throne.

Then from the theoretical point of view the position of the papacy was enhanced by the work of Gratian and the study of canon law. Rashdall has rightly said, "Wherever Canon Law was studied at all, it had henceforth to be studied in a work which placed the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs practically on a level in a point of authority with the Canons of General Councils or the consensus of the most venerable Fathers."⁴

Such was the theory that, early in the thirteenth century, came nearer to realization than ever before under the greatest Pope of the Middle Ages, Innocent III.

Innocent III. The conclave of 1198 resulted in the election of the young Cardinal Lottario de' Conti di Segni, a scion of an illustrious family that in all has given thirteen Popes to Rome. The new Pope, who assumed the title of Innocent III, was only thirty-seven, of fine features and appearance, a trained orator, a man of blameless character and frugal habits. He had studied both at Paris and at Bologna and, although a mediocre theologian, was a learned and subtle canonist and jurist. In his youth he had written a treatise, *De Contemptu Mundi*, in which he extolled the ascetic life; but his contempt for the world he showed not by retreating from it but by dominating it. A man of inflexible will, egotistical, impetuous, he was ambitious and fond of power. Like Gregory VII, he firmly believed that his cause was divine and that nothing could turn him aside from the path of right. Yet he was frequently actuated by his own preferences and aversions. Love of his own family sometimes warped his moral judgment; and he did not hesitate to make use of unworthy agents or to appeal to the baser instincts of man to gain his own ends. Even hypocrisy and deceit were not offensive to him if they served him well.⁵ Expediency was his governing maxim in politics.

Innocent was not slow in announcing his conception of office. His predecessors had been content to style themselves Vicars of Peter, but he assumed the title of "Vicar of Christ."

You see [he declared in his inaugural sermon] who is the servant whom the Lord has set over His household, to wit, the vicar of Jesus Christ, the successor of Peter, the Christ of the Lord, the God of Pharaoh, one set as an intermediary between God and man, . . . less than God, more than man, who has to judge all, but is himself judged by no man.⁶

In a letter which he wrote to the clergy of Tuscany he formulated his theory of papal supremacy more concisely.

As God, the creator of the universe, set two great lights in the firmament of heaven, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser

light to rule the night, so He set two great dignities in the firmament of the universal church, . . . the greater to rule the day, that is, souls, and the lesser to rule the night, that is, bodies. These dignities are the papal authority and the royal power. And just as the moon gets her light from the sun, and is inferior to the sun in quality, quantity, position, and effect, so the royal power gets the splendor of its dignity from the papal authority.⁷

The Pope was no longer primarily a priest, but a ruler to whom God has handed over the government of the world. He was the feudal overlord of Europe, and he alone possessed the right to make and unmake kings and emperors. More than any other Pope before or since, Innocent III was successful in realizing his dream of world rule.

Innocent III and the States of the Church. One of the first tasks to which Innocent III turned his attention was the strengthening of his rule within the Papal States. After a struggle he succeeded in bringing the chief executive of Rome, the podestà, under his appointment and inaugurating a period of greater tranquillity for the city. At the same time he endeavored to make his authority more real within the territories nominally subject to him. Eventually the duchy of Spoleto, the march of Ancona, and the Romagna, as well as the Patrimony of Saint Peter, acknowledged allegiance to him. His authority was doubtless greatest within the Patrimony of Saint Peter, but even here he was far from being a ruler in the modern sense of the term. His was essentially a feudal state, jurisdiction being held by barons, by churches, and by monasteries.

Innocent III and Philip Augustus. The marital troubles of Philip Augustus afforded Innocent an occasion for asserting his authority in France. Three years after the death of his first wife, Philip had requested the hand of Ingeburga, the sister of the Danish king, a beautiful girl of sixteen. The day following the marriage, during the coronation ceremo-

nies, it is said, Philip was observed to turn pale, to tremble and manifest a feeling of aversion for his new wife, which contemporaries explained as the result of sorcery or diabolic influence. Almost immediately courtiers began to talk of a divorce. Philip tried to send her back to Denmark; but the Danes refused to receive her, and Ingeburga, with some spirit, declared that she would not renounce her rights and rank in France. The king, however, found complaisant clergy who professed to have discovered an affinity between Ingeburga and his first wife, and they annulled the marriage as a violation of canon law. Ingeburga immediately appealed to the Pope (Celestine III), who, after an investigation, pronounced the marriage valid and the divorce illegal. Philip paid no heed to this decision and shortly afterwards married Agnes Meran, the daughter of a Bavarian noble.

Hardly was Innocent III seated on the pontifical throne when he took up the case of Ingeburga. "The Holy See," he declared, "cannot leave persecuted women defenseless."⁸ "However much you may trust in your power," he wrote Philip, "you cannot hold your ground against, I will not say my face, but against the face of God, whose place we, though unworthy, hold on earth."⁹ When the king paid no heed, France was laid under an interdict (1198), though the papal legate was unable to persuade many of the clergy to publish the sentence against him. Nevertheless, Philip was obliged to yield. "Is it true," he asked the archbishop of Reims, "that the divorce pronounced by you is not, as the Pope says, valid?" When assured that such was the case, he replied, "Then you are a fool . . . for having rendered such a decision."¹⁰ "Happy Saladin," exclaimed the king, "he has no Pope above him: I will turn Mohammedan!"¹¹ With this bitter jest he covered his defeat. But it was not until 1213 that Ingeburga was restored to her full rights as queen.

In a similar way Innocent compelled Alfonso IX of León to separate himself from a wife who stood within the prohibited degrees of relationship with him.

Innocent and John of England. A more triumphant victory for Innocent was the outcome of his struggle with John of England.

The Plantagenets had always pursued an independent policy toward the papacy: they nominated ecclesiastics and prevented the Pope from interfering in English affairs. No sooner had John ascended the throne than he sought still further to subject the church to the royal will. He exiled the archbishop of York because of his refusal to send a feudal levy to France, and he kept the sees of Winchester and Lincoln vacant in order that the royal exchequer might profit by their revenues. But for some years open rupture with the papacy was staved off. Innocent, requiring the support which John afforded Otto of Brunswick in Germany, was singularly indulgent, and John, needing the support of Innocent against the aggressions of Philip Augustus, was, except in the matter of benefices, conciliatory. It was the affair of the archbishop of Canterbury that led to strife.

On the death of the archbishop in 1205, the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, without waiting for royal permission or the suffrages of the bishops of the province, hastily and secretly elected their subprior, Reginald, and dispatched him to Rome to receive papal consecration. When the news leaked out through the indiscreet boasting of the archbishop-elect in Flanders, the king was angry and commanded the monks to elect John de Gray, bishop of Norwich; the bishops, feeling themselves slighted, sent a protest to Rome. When the affair came before Innocent, he quashed both elections and had the monks of Christ Church who had gone to Rome elect Stephen Langton, a learned and capable Englishman who was high in the favor of the church. Beside himself with rage, John not only refused to permit the new archbishop to land in England, but also threatened to forbid his subjects to go to Rome, as well as to cut off all English revenues from the papacy. When he persisted in his obstinacy and laid oppressive exactions upon the English church, Innocent

placed the country under an interdict, excommunicated the king, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. Finally the Pope declared John deposed from his kingdom and invited Philip Augustus to invade England and take possession of the vacant throne. Threatened with revolt at home and invasion from abroad, there was nothing for John to do but humble himself before the Pope. He withdrew all the oppressive measures he had issued against the church; he received Langton as archbishop of Canterbury; he permitted exiled ecclesiastics to return to their benefices; and, most humiliating of all, he resigned his crown to the papal legate, receiving it back as a fief from the papacy and pledging himself and his successors for all time to pay an annual tribute of one thousand pounds sterling to the Holy See.

But the greatest struggle in which Innocent engaged was with the empire.

Innocent and the Empire. The situation that arose north of the Alps following the premature death of Henry VI soon gave Innocent a welcome opportunity to interfere in German affairs. That untoward event was the signal for the breaking out of anarchy. Not a corner of Germany, declared Henry's brother Philip, was free from turmoil. "Each began to live in contempt of justice and the law, giving rein without restraint to all his caprices." The first need was to put an end to this disorder by the election of a new emperor. Henry VI, as we have already seen, left only an infant son in Sicily, under the care of his mother and the Pope, while Germany required the strong hand of an energetic ruler. The majority of the princes accordingly championed the cause of Philip of Swabia, the youngest brother of the deceased emperor, who was handsome, pleasing in manners, generous in disposition, but lacking in judgment, decision, and the power to command discipline in his followers.¹² He had much in his favor: the great possessions of his house, the prestige of the

two previous reigns, and the support of Philip Augustus of France. On the other hand, a minority, rallying all the opponents of the Hohenstaufen, gave their suffrages to a Guelph prince, Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. He had little wealth, lacked the personality of Philip, was haughty, stupid, and undiplomatic; but his partisans counted on the enmity of the papacy to the Hohenstaufen, and the financial support of his uncle Richard the Lionhearted and of the merchants of Cologne, who were commercially allied with England. The supporters of Otto had him crowned king at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne (July 12, 1198). Two months later Philip was crowned at Mainz (September 8). Not only was the coronation of Otto anterior to that of Philip, but it was held in the proper place, performed by the proper person and according to the proper form. Philip, on the other hand, had possession of the imperial regalia and the support of the greater number of princes.

While maintaining that it was his right to nominate the emperor in the event of a disputed election, Innocent delayed two years before announcing his choice. Then, in a lengthy document in which he discussed the pros and cons of each candidate, he pronounced in favor of Otto, for whom he had continually manifested an ill-disguised partiality.

It is the business of the pope [he declared] to look after the interests of the Roman empire, since the empire derives its origin and its final authority from the papacy; its origin, because it was originally transferred from Greece by and for the sake of the papacy [the reference is to the bestowal of the imperial crown upon Charlemagne], the popes making the transfer in order that the church might be better protected; its final authority, because the emperor is raised to his position by the pope who blesses him, crowns him, and invests him with the empire.¹³

The whole document is a fine bit of scholastic rationalization and reveals the true motives of Innocent. The young Frederick was set aside, for to appoint him would be to menace

the papacy by uniting Sicily to the empire. Philip was rejected because the Hohenstaufen policy for which he stood was hostile to papal interests.

But Otto of Brunswick was not granted papal support without paying a price. This was the Treaty, or Capitulation, of Neuss (June 8, 1201). It was the ratification of a previous promise by which Otto renounced the ancient claims to imperial power throughout the greater part of Italy and recognized the independence of the Papal States. Here for the first time were defined the boundaries of the States of the Church substantially as they remained down to the middle of the nineteenth century. In substance the agreement said, "Leave me Italy and I will give you Germany."¹⁴

Innocent's decision greatly irritated the patriotic party in Germany, who complained that the empire had suffered humiliation. Formerly emperors had appointed Popes, but now, they complained, Popes choose emperors. Papal nuncios, they asserted, threw Germany into confusion by dividing bishoprics and principalities and by absolving Philip's subjects from obedience to him. The civil war was intensified. At first Otto gained some successes, but they were only temporary. Public opinion soon turned in favor of Philip, who won the support of the princes of the lower Rhine and even that of the archbishop of Cologne, who crowned him at Aix-la-Chapelle. This time Philip was crowned in the right place and by the right man. So strong had he become that Innocent opened negotiations with him. The ban of excommunication was removed, and Innocent, realizing the impossibility of struggling longer against the unanimous sentiment of the German people, was preparing to transfer his support to him. Philip, on his part, had apparently made satisfactory concessions, but at this juncture he was struck down by the hand of an assassin, Otto of Wittelsbach, out of revenge for a personal wrong (1208).

To Innocent the assassination of Philip of Swabia was the judgment of heaven against the Hohenstaufen and a justifica-

tion of his support of Otto, whose champion he once more became. He wrote letters to the German princes urging them to accept this "judgment of God" and yield to Otto, who, in November, 1208, at the Diet of Frankfurt was accordingly elected king almost unanimously. To break down all Hohenstaufen opposition he betrothed and later married Beatrice, the daughter of his late rival. The following year he led an army over the Alps and received the imperial crown at the hands of the Pope, having first confirmed the promises that he had made in the Treaty of Neuss to guarantee the integrity of papal territories. But the triumphant Otto was a far different person from the suppliant Otto. Besides, Innocent's reconciliation with Philip of Swabia must have shown him the cold, calculating nature of the Pope and caused bitter resentment. Almost immediately Otto showed his true colors by violating his promises to the Pope. He seized Tuscany, the legacy of the Countess Matilda to the papacy; he established an imperial administration in Romagna, Ancona, and Spoleto; and he invaded the Sicilian kingdom, the dominion of Innocent's vassal and ward Frederick. His dream was to revive the universal rule of Henry VI, but in Guelf hands.

When Otto paid no attention to the Pope's rebukes and warnings, Innocent placed him and his partisans under excommunication. A new war between Pope and emperor was about to begin. In a passionate circular addressed to the German princes Innocent flayed the "insolence, wickedness, base ingratitude, and odious infidelity" of Otto and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance.¹⁵ He wrote Philip Augustus of France, acknowledging that he had erred in his judgment of Otto, and implored the French king's aid. Innocent had one more card to play, and that was the sending of his ward, the young Frederick II of Sicily, to Germany to take the crown that Otto had forfeited.

The intrigues of papal legates and of the French king, combined with the disaffection of the princes against Otto, who had never been popular, did their work. In September,

1211, at a diet of Nuremberg a group of princes elected Frederick of Hohenstaufen, and officials were dispatched to Italy to notify the Pope and the young prince of their action. When the news reached Otto, who had virtually conquered southern Italy and was preparing to invade Sicily, he was aghast at the treachery of the German princes and hurried back to Germany to retrieve his cause. But his foes were too strong for him. Frederick, sent into Germany with Innocent's benediction, representing the glorious traditions of the Hohenstaufen, was welcomed with much enthusiasm. In addition he received the aid of Philip Augustus. Otto, in spite of the subsidies of his uncle, John of England, met with decisive defeat at the battle of Bouvines, near Lille, July, 1214. With this one blow Frederick was triumphant over the Guelfs in Germany, and Philip Augustus over the Plantagenets in France.¹⁶

Frederick II. It is now time to ask ourselves what manner of man this was whom Innocent III, perhaps contrary to his better instincts, had assisted in raising to the imperial throne. Of all the great figures that the thirteenth century produced, Frederick II was one of the most remarkable, the "Wonder of the World" (*Stupor Mundi*) a contemporary, Matthew Paris, called him. Although of German lineage, he was Italo-Norman by birth and choice, preferring the warmth and culture of the South to the colder climate and the "dreary scenery" and ruder civilization of the North. He combined the ferocious cruelty of the Hohenstaufen — cutting off the thumb of a notary who misspelt his name — with a profound love of literature, poetry, and science. Tolerant of both Judaism and Mohammedanism to such a degree that he was accused of being a Mohammedan, he nevertheless bitterly persecuted Christian heretics. He had a keen sense of humor, was an affable companion and a great lover of sport. A patron of learning, he was no mean scholar himself. He wrote a treatise on the art of falconry, filled with informa-

tion on the habits of birds, and insisted on verifying information, no matter what the trouble or expense. His court was the home of poets and scientists. Whenever he traveled he took with him his menagerie, containing elephants, camels, leopards, apes, peacocks, a lion, and a giraffe, the first to be seen in medieval Europe and the gift of the Sultan. With his passion for inquiry, his skepticism, and his versatile mind, he resembled a prince of the Renaissance rather than a medieval monarch. In addition, Frederick was an able ruler and organized in Sicily a highly centralized government—the “first modern state” it has been aptly called.¹⁷ Yet with all his originality, his brilliance, his genius, he was destined to initiate nothing permanent. Under him, Freeman has said, “the empire and everything connected with it seems to crumble and decay.”¹⁸

Frederick II and the Empire. Although ruler of Germany, Frederick’s affection lay in Italy and Sicily. He had promised Innocent that on receiving the imperial crown he would resign Sicily to his son, a promise wrung from him through the papal fear of the consequences of a union of Sicily with Germany. But this promise he had no intention of keeping literally. It was his purpose to retain the Sicilian kingdom along with the imperial title, while appointing his son Henry his delegate in Germany. Thus the personal union of the two kingdoms would be avoided, though the power would be retained in his own hands. Accordingly in 1220, at the Diet of Frankfurt, owing to his unbounded popularity and the concessions that he made to the German clergy, he had the young Henry elected King of the Romans. By these concessions he renounced the right of spoils, giving the clergy the right to bequeath their personal property without molestation; he conceded them all rights of toll and mint; he placed all excommunicated persons beyond the pale of the courts; and he surrendered the right of erecting castles on church lands. On a previous occasion he had decreed that the elec-

tions of bishops should be "free and canonical" and that disputed elections might be settled at Rome. Nothing remained to the king but the bare formality of investiture with the regalia. Furthermore, at the time of his coronation at Rome as emperor he exempted the clergy, in both civil and criminal cases, from all secular jurisdiction. By these ruinous measures the crown was stripped of its control over the German clergy, and each ecclesiastical prince was made an almost independent power. The rights over the German clergy for which both Franconians and Hohenstaufen had fought were now renounced apparently without qualm. By concessions in Germany, Frederick endeavored to gain his own way in Italy.

When Frederick's son Henry came of age, he sought to oppose his father's policy by favoring and siding with the burgher class and the towns as a counterpoise to the power of the princes, whose prerogatives and independence he perceived were menacing the position of the crown. But he had neither the character nor the ability to carry through such a policy. The rights that he conferred upon the towns were opposed by the princes as well as by the emperor, who had no more sympathy with urban movements than Frederick Barbarossa had had. On the other hand, the princes wrung from the emperor the famous statute conferring upon them privileges similar to those previously bestowed upon the bishops. The prince was practically made sovereign within his own territory, to the exclusion of the rights of the crown. The rule of Frederick II thus marks the beginning of the decline of the imperial power. The possibility of creating a united Germany was destroyed until modern times. Such was the fruit of the Italian policy of the medieval emperors.

Frederick of Sicily. The decline of the power of the crown in Germany is in sharp contrast with the strong centralized government that Frederick, on the foundation laid by Roger II, built up in Naples and Sicily. The royal rights and lands, usurped during his minority and absence in Germany,

by nobles and prelates alike, he energetically sought to recover. He commanded that all baronial castles built since the death of William II in 1189 should be demolished; he forbade the erection of any fortified places on crown lands, declaring, "We believe that our own defenses will furnish sufficient protection to our subjects"; he prohibited the carrying of weapons and deprived the feudal lords of the privilege of settling their own quarrels, compelling them instead to bring them before the royal courts. "Any count, baron, knight or any other person who shall openly make war within the kingdom shall be punished with death and the confiscation of all his goods. He who shall undertake to make reprisals shall forfeit the half of his goods."¹⁹ Criminal jurisdiction was largely taken out of the hands of the barons and vested in the crown.

This necessitated the development of the law and the courts. The laws were reformed and issued in a new code after the model of Roman law, the revival of which was in full swing in Italy. Although this code, issued in 1231, was characterized by its recognition of absolutism and by its harsh penalties, yet it reflects the enlightened spirit of its formulator, often far in advance of his age. It abolished the ordeal and the strand laws; it recognized the female right of inheritance; it guaranteed personal liberty and protected foreigners; it forbade the ill-treatment of peasants and the seizure of their cattle for debt. Justice was vested in a Grand Justiciar, the "Mirror of Justice," and an imperial court, one branch of which sat at Capua, on the mainland. The Grand Justiciar supervised the local courts in the eleven provinces, each one of which had its own justiciary. Severe punishments were inflicted upon all who perverted justice: "We condemn to death those judges who have given unjust sentences from any motive," declared an edict of 1239.

Another modern aspect of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily under Frederick II was the destruction of feudal administration and the concentration of administration in the

hands of a hierarchy of salaried officials, skilled in law and chosen from the lower classes rather than from the nobility. Frederick sought to concentrate authority in a class dependent upon his own will, loyal to his interests, and opposed to both clergy and nobility. Besides the Grand Justiciar were the Grand Chancellor, who kept the seal and public documents; the Grand Constable and Admiral; the Grand Chamberlain, who supervised finances and the royal demesne; the Grand Seneschal, who had oversight of palaces, the royal household, and forests; and the Grand Protonotary, or Logothete, a sort of secretary of state. Under them were a host of lesser officials, all responsible to their superiors. At the bottom of the scale were the bailiffs, closely resembling the English sheriffs and the French bailiffs, who were "the fingers of the king's hand, reaching out into the remotest corners of the kingdom."²⁰

Frederick was not so dependent upon the resources of the royal domain as other medieval monarchs usually were. The royal domain was extensive, but Frederick had numerous other sources of revenue besides. Port dues and tariffs on imports and exports levied on the extensive commerce that flowed to and from Sicilian ports brought in vast sums. The income derived from the commerce of his capital, Palermo, alone was said to exceed that of the entire English kingdom. Besides, there were revenues from the courts, market tolls, and monopolies on salt, iron, steel, and silk. Finances were controlled by the *magna curia rationum*, a sort of exchequer that audited and approved all accounts.

Not only did this financial system enable Frederick to maintain a host of paid officials, but it also made possible the maintenance of a mercenary army and thus freed him from total dependence upon feudal levies. Much to the scandal of his clerical foes, Frederick did not hesitate to employ Saracen as well as Christian soldiers, and he maintained a permanent camp of twenty thousand at Lucera, ready to be used at a moment's notice against any enemy. They were bound by no



*Fourteenth-Century House. Birthplace of Jacques
Coeur, Bourges*



*Claus Sluter's Moses. From Fountain of Prophets.
Former Carthusian Monastery, Dijon
Fourteenth Century*



Cathedral, with Brunelleschi's Dome. Florence. (See page 774)



Davanzati Palace. Florence. Fourteenth Century

feudal convention and restrained by no religious scruple. Frederick was also one of the first medieval monarchs to create a permanent naval force for the protection of the sea-coast and the defense of commerce. He exempted coast towns from certain taxes if they contributed ships, supplies, and sailors to his new navy.

Although Frederick had the autocrat's hatred of popular urban movements, he fostered industry and commerce and even built new cities, such as Monteleone, Augusta, and Aquila. Merchants of every race and country were welcomed in Neapolitan and Sicilian cities and given protection. He lowered the export tax on grain, and suppressed internal customs that hampered the free flow of trade. On the other hand, he practiced a system of monopolies, and established state warehouses in which merchants were obliged to store their wares. He issued a new gold coin, the *augustal*, famous not only for its beauty of design but also for its purity and stability, to replace the local currencies of Naples and Sicily. And he negotiated trade agreements with the sultan of Egypt and the ruler of Tunis.

Agriculture was not neglected. Model farms were created; he fostered the cultivation of cotton and sugar cane, introduced the indigo plant, and encouraged the planting of vineyards and the date palm. Finding that Syria had a superior method of manufacturing sugar from the cane, he sought to have workmen sent to Palermo to introduce the improved methods.

But the most permanent part of Frederick's work was his contribution to culture; for while his political reforms were merely ephemeral, the science and learning of his court became part of that great stream of Italian culture which welled to high tide in the Renaissance. So Nicholas of Jam-silla tells us:

In Sicily he opened schools wherein the liberal arts and all kinds of knowledge were pursued. . . . He gathered his professors from afar, and not merely paid them, but, in order that no one should

be prevented from study by reason of indigence, he supported the poorest scholars from his own private purse.²¹

Its strategic position, as well as Frederick's toleration, made his court at Palermo the meeting place of Greek, Arabic, Jewish, and Latin learning, as indeed it had been under Roger II in the twelfth century. The central figure in this learning, as well as its patron, was Frederick himself. He knew several languages, — German, Italian, French, Arabic, Greek, and Latin. He wrote not only in Latin but also in Italian, and Dante praises him as one of the forerunners of Italian poetry. He had an insatiable thirst for knowledge and dabbled in medicine, surgery, zoology, and astrology. His treatise on falconry, Haskins has said, gives the impression of having been based on personal observation rather than on secondary authorities. Besides attracting scholars to his court, he corresponded with Arabic savants in Egypt, Spain, and Africa, discussing weighty problems with them. In 1224 he founded the University of Naples, that those who craved learning might not be forced to go abroad "to beg knowledge" from the foreigner. "We keep the students within view of their parents," he declared; "we save them many toils and long foreign journeys; we protect them from robbers; they used to be pillaged while traveling abroad; they may now study with small cost and short wayfaring."²² The medical school of Salerno enjoyed his patronage, and in 1231 he decreed that no one could practice medicine or surgery within the kingdom without having obtained its degree.

Among the scholars at Frederick's court possibly the most famous was Michael Scot, — "the supreme philosopher of the imperial court" he was called. He translated into Latin Aristotle's *History of Animals* as well as several Arabic writings. Frederick relied on him for an explanation of the mysteries of the universe and was accustomed to propound to him difficult questions, such as, "Where are hell, purgatory, and the heavenly paradise?" "Whether the earth has empty spaces or is a solid body like a living stone?" "How is it that

the soul of a living man which has passed away to another life than ours cannot be induced to return by first love or even by hate?"²³ Michael Scot boasted of his ability to answer all questions, but we do not know how successful he was in satisfying his master's exacting demands. He also dabbled in astrology. Contemporaries spoke of him as Frederick's astrologer and recounted various stories of his skill in prophesying. Another famous scholar at Frederick's court was the mathematician Leonard of Pisa, who introduced algebra and Arabic numerals into Christian countries. Mention should also be made of Pietro della Vigna, Frederick's intimate adviser, judge, and secretary, renowned for his Latin style, which he made dominant in the Sicilian chancery.

Frederick and the Sicilian Church. The Sicilian church as well as the feudal nobility was made to bow before Frederick's absolutism. Not only did he seek to recover the lands and rights of the crown that had been seized or usurped by ecclesiastics during his minority, but he subjected the church to his rule. The powers of the ecclesiastical courts were restricted to religious matters and to the clergy, laymen being completely exempt except in cases of adultery. The landed property of the church was taxed, although the spiritualities (income from tithes and offerings) were exempted; and laws of mortmain were issued forbidding religious orders to inherit property that would be withdrawn from taxation. Furthermore, Frederick insisted on his right to appoint bishops, and he protested against the "ever-growing practice" of taking appeals to Rome.²⁴ Ecclesiastics who refused to obey were dispossessed or exiled. Yet Frederick was not actuated by any hostility toward the church as such; for he sometimes employed ecclesiastics as officials, and he was often warmly supported by the bishops even against the papacy.

Frederick's policy toward the Sicilian church embroiled him with the papacy, and his skepticism and friendliness toward Moslems caused the Popes to regard him with suspi-

cion; but there were more fundamental causes of hostility between Pope and emperor, and to them we must now turn.

Frederick and the Papacy. One of these fundamental sources of dispute was the question of Sicily, which Frederick, just before the death of Innocent III, had promised to renounce in favor of his son Henry. As we have seen, he had other intentions. The new Pope, Honorius III, who had been Frederick's tutor, felt disturbed at Frederick's failure to fulfill his promise; but when Frederick issued a manifesto declaring that Sicily should be completely independent of the empire, with an administration of its own, the Pope, who was of a mild and compromising nature, was satisfied and bestowed upon him the imperial crown. The emperor still further appeased him by renewing his vow to go on a crusade, the subject dearest to the Pope's heart, and promising to embark in the following August (1220).

Frederick was too busily engaged in the reorganization of Sicily to fulfill his vow. At a meeting with the Pope he obtained a respite until 1225, when he promised on oath to embark. Elaborate preparations were, indeed, made in both Germany and Sicily; he married Yolande, the heiress of Jerusalem, and assumed the title of "King of Jerusalem." But again he delayed and begged Honorius's consent to postpone embarkation two years longer (1227). In the meantime the "mild Honorius" had been succeeded by the "stern and unbending Gregory IX." The crusade actually embarked; but when Frederick returned because of illness, Gregory would not listen to his excuses and launched against him a bull of excommunication for breach of his vow. The following year Frederick again set sail, whereupon Gregory renewed the excommunication and threatened to deprive him of his kingdom of Sicily because he had not obtained absolution and reconciled himself with the Pope.

Frederick's conception of a crusade was radically different from that of his age. Instead of making war on the Saracen

princes, he negotiated with them and secured the cession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. In March, 1229, he entered Jerusalem in triumph and was crowned in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The treaty was denounced by Gregory as an "execrable pact"; it was another proof of Frederick's apostasy and infidelity.

On his return to Italy, Frederick drove out the papal troops which during his absence had invaded his dominions, and made peace with the Pope by the Treaty of San Germano (1230). The emperor restored some church lands that he had seized and renounced some of his claims over the Sicilian church, namely, the right of interference in episcopal elections, taxation of the clergy, and subjection of the clergy to secular courts. In return the Pope freed him from the ban of excommunication and even recognized his simultaneous reign in the empire and Sicily. How friendly the relations became between Pope and emperor, Gregory reveals in a letter to a friend describing the making of peace.

After dinner we talked and laughed about all sorts of matters, and we discovered that he was quite ready to obey our wishes in all respects, in regard both to religious matters and to the Patrimony of Saint Peter. By this we were greatly comforted in the Lord, and we thought that we ought to let you, first of all, share in our comfort and joy.²⁵

But their aims were too radically divergent to permit any enduring peace between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen. Frederick had repressed rebellion in Germany, crushed opposition in Sicily, and was on the point of triumph in upper Italy, where he sought to subject the Lombard communes to his rule. Saracen troops were constantly passing and re-passing to and fro through the Papal States, and the Pope felt himself menaced. The States of the Church were threatened with absorption in an all-embracing empire. Gregory IX accordingly reverted to the policy of alliance with the Guelf cities of Lombardy, and gained the support of Venice

and Genoa, to whom he represented the commercial menace of Sicily under Frederick. In 1239 he fulminated another bull of excommunication against the emperor and precipitated a new struggle between Guelf and Ghibelline, "one of the most savage and prolonged wars in civilized history."²⁶ Each party tried to outdo the other in atrocities. The successor of Gregory, Innocent IV, continued the struggle with even more bitterness and vindictiveness, and swore that he would never make peace with the "brood of vipers," as he called the Hohenstaufen. At the Council of Lyon (1245) he hurled a new ban at the emperor and declared him deposed.

The Extinction of the Hohenstaufen. This war between Pope and Hohenstaufen outlived Frederick II and led to the extinction of his house. On his death in 1250 he was succeeded by his son Conrad, who had already been acting as his lieutenant in Germany. Conrad left Italy in charge of his half-brother, the natural son of Frederick, Manfred, a lovable personality, generous and tolerant, who had felt the influences of the cosmopolitan civilization of the South. When Conrad died in 1254, Manfred continued to rule in Sicily. At first the Pope sought peace and offered him investiture; but the terms were such that he could not accept. For a time, however, he held his throne, supported by Venice and Genoa, and by the Ghibelline cities of Lombardy, Tuscany, and Romagna. He had himself crowned at Palermo and married his daughter to the king of Aragon. On his refusal to take the oath of fealty to the Pope for his possessions, the Pope (Urban IV) offered the crown to Charles of Anjou, the brother of the French king, Louis IX. With the aid of a French army, Charles of Anjou defeated and slew Manfred in battle and occupied the Sicilian throne. Two years later the young Conradin, the son of Conrad, called by the Ghibellines, crossed the Alps to avenge his uncle. But he too was defeated by Charles of Anjou on the fatal field of Tagliacozzo. Attempting to escape, he was captured by a traitor to the

Ghibelline cause and handed over to Charles of Anjou, by whom he was beheaded at Naples, the Pope consenting by his silence. Papal vengeance was complete: the Hohenstaufen race was extinct.

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CHAPTER XVII

The Development of France

THE decline of the Carolingian dynasty accompanied the dismemberment of the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century. In 888, after the decease of the incapable Charles the Fat, the West Frankish bishops and lords met to choose a new king. Passing over the nearest Carolingian heir, whom they regarded as too young to rule in such disturbed times, — for he was only ten years of age, — they chose Odo, count of Paris, whose distinguished conduct in repelling the Normans from his capital shortly before seemed to indicate him as the man most capable of defending the kingdom. But Odo was far from receiving the support of all the West Franks; many regarded him as a usurper and thought a member of the royal race of Charlemagne alone worthy of ruling. Accordingly, on the death of Odo in 898, a Carolingian was once more made king, as Charles the Simple. This sentiment of loyalty to the house of Charlemagne persisted throughout the greater part of the tenth century, although now and again a descendant of Odo succeeded in having himself chosen. But finally, in 987, unable to find a suitable scion of the Carolingian house, the clergy and nobles elected Hugh Capet, a descendant of Count Odo. Hugh had gained the support of Archbishop Adalberon of Reims and of his secretary Gerbert (the future Pope Sylvester II), who perceived that the Carolingians had declined in popular favor. Moreover, the Carolingians had squandered all their lands, and a landless monarch was not to be thought of in a nascent feudal society. So important were the Capetians to become in the formation of France that later ages looked back on their accession as a revolution.

The Royal Domain. But at the close of the tenth, and even down to the twelfth, century the role of the Capetians was not of very great importance. What we know as France was a group of feudal states, many of the rulers of which were more powerful princes than Hugh Capet, whose dominions were restricted to the *Ile de France*, a narrow strip of territory stretching between the valleys of the Seine and the Loire and including the cities of Paris and Orleans. The royal domain was so hedged in on every side by great duchies and counties that the king of France could not travel many miles from Paris or Orleans without entering territory over which he had little or no authority.

Feudal France. The feudal duchies and counties that France comprised in the Middle Ages were divided into two groups by the river Loire. In the north was the land of the *langue d'oïl*, ruder, less influenced by survivals of Roman civilization, and more under the domination of feudalism and the church. In the south was the land of the *langue d'oc*, where chivalry, romance, and toleration predominated and where feudalism was less influenced by the aristocratic and military spirit.

North of the royal domain, lying between the Canche and Scheldt rivers, was the county of Flanders, one of the most compact of the feudal states. It was ruled by an energetic house that sought to extend its power to the south and aspired to complete independence. Its fertility of soil, its enterprising population, and its strategic location between France, Germany, and England destined it not only to occupy an important political position but also to become the leading center of industry during the Middle Ages.

On the east and southwest the royal domain was enveloped by the counties of Champagne and Blois, sometimes ruled by different branches of the same family and sometimes united. The ruling count or counts occupied a position of primary importance in the feudal world of France, and dur-



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ing the eleventh and twelfth centuries they were to remain the almost constant foes of the royal power.

South of Champagne was the duchy of Burgundy, which occupied the valleys of the upper Seine and the Saône. In the middle of the eleventh century it was bestowed upon a younger son of the Capetian house, who founded a dynasty that ruled until 1361. It was a land of richly endowed bishoprics that owed allegiance only to the king and of wealthy

monasteries dependent only upon the Pope; and this prevented the duke from being powerful or wealthy. The duke's power was still further restricted by turbulent vassals, the counts of the important lands of Nevers, Sens, Auxerre, Chalon, and Mâcon. Not until the close of the Middle Ages was the duke of Burgundy to become a great prince.

Even more important were the feudal states that lay on the west of the royal domain. The greatest of these was the duchy of Normandy, founded in 911 when the Carolingian Charles the Simple ceded the territory at the mouth of the Seine to the Viking pirate Rollo. By the close of the tenth century the Normans had adopted the French language and civilization, become Christian, and established the most orderly state within feudal France. The dukes had been careful to retain an extensive domain in their own hands; they had restricted the power of their vassals and kept the ecclesiastics in subjection. Throughout the eleventh century the duchy was ruled by a number of able dukes whose power was greatly enhanced by the conquest of England.

To the south of Normandy lay the counties of Maine and Anjou, both of which in the eleventh century were united under the rule of the house of Fulk Nerra, or Fulk the Red, the founder of the Angevin state. It was a descendant of Fulk, Geoffrey Plantagenet, who married Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England and widow of Henry V of Germany, and thus laid the foundation of Angevin rule in Normandy and in England.

The most remote from the royal domain of all the northern feudal states was Brittany. Differing in race, in language, and in civilization from the rest of feudal France, the Bretons were slow to accept papal domination and stoutly resisted, though not always with success, the attempts of Angevins and Normans to rule them. Brittany was virtually a separate nation and was to retain its uniqueness until the close of the Middle Ages.

South of the Loire was the most extensive state of feudal

France, Aquitaine, occupying the central and southwestern parts of the country. Partly owing to geographical and linguistic differences, the duchy was split up into numerous principalities, such as the counties of Poitou, Berry, La Marche, Saintonge, Auvergne, Périgord, and Limousin. But by a skillful policy the dukes succeeded in retaining the allegiance of all these vassal counties. Indeed, the dynasty of Williams that ruled during the eleventh century were virtually the sovereigns of central France. Their coronations, which took place at Limoges, were regal in splendor; they felt themselves to be equal to the king of France, and maintained direct relations with foreign rulers. So powerful were the dukes of Aquitaine that in the eleventh century they gained possession of the duchy of Gascony, south of the Garonne. Their dominions thus extended from the Loire to the Pyrenees and comprised about a third of modern France.

In the southeast of France was the county of Toulouse. Under the rule of the house of Saint Gilles it not only successfully resisted the encroachments of the dukes of Aquitaine but by the twelfth century dominated all the territory between the Garonne and the Rhône and the Mediterranean. It was the land of troubadour and Albigensian heretic, with a civilization more akin to that of Italy than to that of the north.

The wonder is that with the development of these feudal states the crown was not allowed to fall into abeyance altogether. But, strangely enough, neither the clergy nor the barons in 987 thought of leaving the throne vacant or even of postponing the election of a new king. Both regarded the king as a social necessity, the apex of the feudal edifice. Nevertheless, the authority of the monarch over his great vassals was merely nominal. They came to do homage, to seek confirmation of their rights, and to fulfill their feudal obligations, such as attendance at court and military aid, only when it pleased them. As a rule the more remote duchies and counties were the least faithful in their allegiance. The

dukes of Brittany seldom and the counts of Toulouse never attended the Capetian court. But even north of the Loire, where royal authority was stronger, the king was often at war with one or another of his vassals. Thus during the first two centuries of the Capetians their position was a precarious one. Not only were the great vassals frequently hostile, but the royal domain bristled with castles from which petty barons hurled defiance at their suzerain who styled himself "King of France." Except for certain pretensions, such as that he was the Lord's anointed or the successor of Charlemagne, the king was scarcely to be distinguished from many another feudal lord.

Less powerful than certain of his great vassals [says Luchaire], the king, like them, lived from the produce of his farms and tolls, from the dues of his peasants, from the labor of his serfs, from the contributions, disguised under the form of "voluntary" gifts, which he levied on the abbots and bishops of the country. His granaries at Gonesse, Janville, Mantes, and Étampes furnished him with wheat; his cellars at Orleans and Argenteuil, with wine; his forests of Boulogne, St. Germain, Fontainebleau, Iveline, and Compiègne, with venison. He passed his time in hunting, either for pleasure or to supply his table, and constantly traveled from manor to manor, from monastery to monastery, obliged to exploit his right of *droit de gîte*, but frequently to change his abode lest he exhaust the resources of his subjects.¹

Several factors seem to have saved the monarchy from collapsing under the feudal system: (1) The virility of the house of Capet, which for three centuries never lacked a male heir to the throne. (2) The transformation of the monarchy from an elective to a hereditary one. The early Capetians took care to have an heir accepted and crowned before their death. They thus introduced the hereditary principle stealthily, almost before the feudal lords were aware of it. (3) The support of the church and the clergy, who felt that their interests were best served by the monarchy. (4) The Capetians' conception of themselves as the

heirs of Charlemagne, whose persons, anointed with the holy chrism, were sacred and inviolable. Theirs was a divine right that destined them to rule over the entire kingdom. (5) The fact that successive monarchs persistently kept before themselves this Capetian ambition. (6) A number of brilliant rulers who skillfully exploited circumstances to serve their own ends. It is no exaggeration to say that the creation of the kingdom of France was the work of the house of Capet.

Louis VI (1108-1137). Nevertheless, the immediate successors of Hugh Capet achieved little that foreshadowed the high destiny of the dynasty. "Their sole great political victory in the eleventh century," says Petit-Dutaillis, was the establishment of the hereditary principle.² The first to lay the foundation of the greatness of his house was Louis VI, "the Fat" (1108-1137), whose reign marks the real beginning of the power of the monarchy as an important political factor. Louis was a great lover of the chase and so prodigious an eater that at the age of forty-six he became too stout to mount his horse unaided. He married Adelaide of Savoy, niece of Pope Calixtus II, an extremely homely woman, who bore him nine children, of whom six were sons, and thus assured the future of his dynasty. A man of amiable character, easily influenced by his favorites, Louis was a capable soldier and, in spite of his tendency toward obesity, energetic. In the early part of his reign he was surrounded by unscrupulous advisers; but, fortunately for himself and the monarchy, he later came under the influence of Suger, the abbot of St. Denis. Of peasant extraction and an emaciated ascetic, Suger had attained distinction by his capable administration of monastic estates, and in 1122 became head of the royal abbey and shortly afterwards Louis's chief counselor. Until his death, in 1151, he was the real ruler.

The great achievement of Louis VI was the suppression of the power of the lords, whose fortresses menaced the peace and security of the royal domain. From their castles these

lords sallied forth to pillage the churches, sack the monasteries, plunder the merchant and pilgrim, and harry the peasant. One of the most notorious of these robber barons was Hugh du Puiset, a "handsome but ill-conditioned" knight, whose castle stood in the rich plain of Beauce, near Chartres. "His castle," says Orderic Vitalis, "was the special retreat of freebooters and outlaws, where unheard-of crimes were committed; and their evil deeds were restrained neither by royal threats and indignation nor by episcopal censures."³ Three times the royal troops laid siege to his castle, captured and burned it; but each time Du Puiset, on regaining his freedom, rebuilt his donjon, allied himself with the king's enemies, and continued his depredations. Finally, stripped of his possessions, he went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to expiate his sins, and never returned. By the close of his reign Louis had destroyed the power of the barons of the royal domain and had made himself master in his own house.

In his policy outside the royal domain Louis met with less success. Perceiving the danger of the Anglo-Norman union that resulted from the Conquest, he waged almost ceaseless war with Henry I in the hope of detaching Normandy from England, but without result. More successful was his alliance with the duke of Aquitaine. For William X expressed the wish that, on his death, his daughter and heiress, Eleanor, should be married to the heir of the French crown.

Louis VII (1137-1180). Thus it was that when he became king, in 1137, Louis VII added to the royal domain the entire duchy of Aquitaine. Louis was kind, tolerant toward the Jews, simple in his tastes, deeply religious, but naïve and easily deceived. He was democratic, mingling freely and conversing with all classes, and his palace, it has been said, "had the simplicity of a bourgeois residence."⁴ Leaving his domain under the regency of Suger, Louis participated in the disastrous Second Crusade. Not only was his army de-



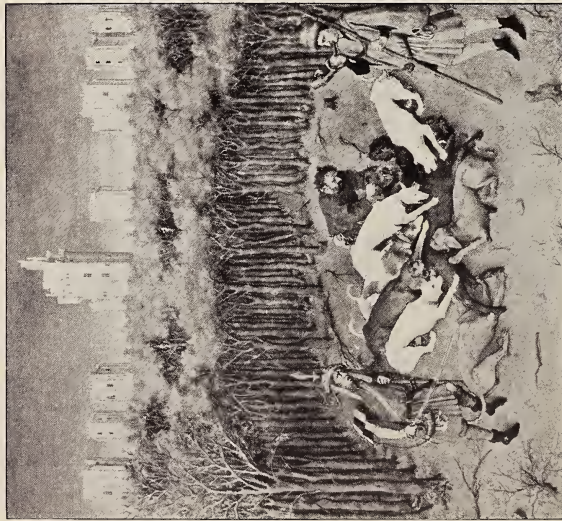
Church of Jesus, Cortona

Fra Angelico's *Annunciation*



St. Mark's, Florence

Fra Angelico's *Infant Christ*.
(See page 574)



Condée Museum

Pol de Limbourg's *Hunting Scene*. Duke de Berry's Book of Hours. Fifteenth Century



Metropolitan Museum of Art

Lady and Knights.
Flemish Tapestry. Fifteenth Century

stroyed, but he and Queen Eleanor, during their sojourn at Antioch, indulged in a violent quarrel that later led to their separation. The open break was staved off as long as Suger lived, but immediately after his death the marriage was dissolved. The ostensible ground was consanguinity, but in reality Louis's piety was offended at the queen's easy manners that had shocked him while in Syria. Besides, after fifteen years of married life, she had borne him no male heir. Eleanor wasted no time in lamenting the broken union, but almost immediately married Henry Plantagenet, the heir of Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, who was shortly to become king of England as well. The addition of Aquitaine to these extensive domains made the Plantagenets a serious menace to the position of the Capets. Louis thus bequeathed to his son, Philip II, a veritable struggle for existence. Yet if Louis's reign had brought no territorial expansion of the royal domain, his relations with the great vassals had given the monarchy a certain moral prestige. He began a policy, developed by his successors, of seeking support from the rising bourgeoisie. Moreover, the royal power over the lords of the royal domain was consolidated, as the numerous citations to the king's court bear witness.

Philip Augustus (1180-1223). All the energy and ambition of the Capets seemed to be concentrated in Philip, surnamed Augustus from his birthday in August. Philip was of nervous temperament, "subject to unhealthy fears and hallucinations,"⁵ was lacking in education, being unable to read Latin, but had an acute and active mind, a strong will, and an unscrupulousness that allowed neither sentiment nor piety to stand in the way of political achievement. "I desire," he declared, "that at the end of my reign the monarchy shall be as powerful as in the time of Charlemagne."⁶ To a surprising degree he was to realize this ambition.

The subordination of everything to this one end is shown by his marriage, chiefly for political reasons, with Elizabeth

of Hainaut, a niece of the powerful count of Flanders. Her dowry added to the royal domain the whole province of Artois. No sooner was Philip Augustus seated on the throne than a coalition of powerful feudatories, in whom his youth and inexperience had aroused a covetous spirit, was formed against him. The counts of Flanders, Blois, and Champagne, the duke of Burgundy, and even his own father-in-law, the count of Hainaut, prepared to attack the royal domain. But the young king was more than a match for his opponents. Defeating them one by one, he turned his victories to good account. By the Treaty of Boves, in 1185, the count of Flanders recognized Philip's right to Artois and ceded him a large part of Vermandois, which included sixty-five castles and the important city of Amiens. This added to the royal domain the rich valleys of the Oise and Somme and extended it to the English Channel.

The Struggle with the Plantagenets. The greatest struggle of his reign, however, was with the Plantagenets, the most powerful of the feudal lords, whose Continental empire he determined to despoil. He intrigued with the vassals of Henry II and encouraged his sons, Geoffrey, Richard, and John, to rebel against him. By thus fomenting domestic strife among the Plantagenets he hoped to create an opportunity to snatch some of their possessions. But on the death of Henry, who died broken-hearted in 1189 on hearing of the faithlessness of his favorite son, John, Philip Augustus restored his conquests, made peace with Richard, and agreed to accompany him on the Third Crusade.

This accord between the two monarchs was short-lived. "Richard was pompous, haughty, and arrogant; Philip was reserved, suspicious, and egotistical."⁷ After the capture of Acre, Philip, pleading illness, but in reality to make good his claim to Artois and Vermandois as the heir of the count of Flanders, who had just died, announced his intention of returning home. Before his departure Richard obliged him to

take oath on the Gospels that he would do nothing detrimental to the king of England's Continental possessions; but it was an oath Philip had no intention of keeping. His perfidy was still further shown by the secret instructions he left to restrict the assistance that the French troops should give Richard in the further prosecution of the crusade.

On his return to France, Philip Augustus circulated disparaging rumors against Richard, intrigued with John, and, when Richard fell into the hands of the emperor, Henry VI, bribed the latter either to hold Richard captive or else to surrender Richard to him. He then invaded Normandy and seized Gisors and the Vexin, a territory long in dispute between the two monarchs, but failed to capture Rouen. The release of Richard alone saved Normandy from falling into his possession. Philip was defeated and obliged to surrender all his gains save Gisors and the Vexin. Richard then erected the famous Castle Gaillard, to guard against further invasion of Normandy. Not until after the sudden death of Richard, while laying siege to the castle of a rebellious vassal, and the accession of his brother John, did Philip Augustus obtain the coveted opportunity to seize the Angevin domains.

The king of France was not long in finding an excuse to begin aggression against John's possessions. The king of England, by a series of acts, had aroused the dissatisfaction of his vassals in Aquitaine. Chief of these was his marriage with Isabella of Angoulême, the promised bride of the son of the count de la Marche. Betrothal, in the Middle Ages, was considered almost as binding as marriage, and the count de la Marche was angered by the loss of the prospective inheritance of Angoulême. Complaints were sent to Philip, who, as John's suzerain, summoned him to Paris to answer for his conduct. When John paid no heed, Philip declared his fiefs held of the French crown forfeit, and prepared to carry out the decree. John still further gave excuse for rebellion against him by the murder of his nephew, Arthur of Brittany (the son of John's elder brother Geoffrey), regarded by some

as the rightful heir of the Angevin dominions. Normandy was invaded and speedily fell into the possession of Philip; even Castle Gaillard, considered impregnable, surrendered. The rapid success of the French was due not only to the inertia of John and to his unpopularity with his vassals, but also to the dissatisfaction of the bourgeoisie with the exploitation of Normandy by the Plantagenets. The duchy had been exhausted by the numerous calls for money, especially to finance Richard's crusade and to pay the enormous ransom Henry VI had demanded for his liberation.

While Normandy was falling into the possession of Philip Augustus, French forces had been active also in Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, which were thus also lost to John. By 1204 nothing remained of the Plantagenet empire save Aquitaine, and even that Philip was now preparing to seize. Within a year he had overrun Poitou and Saintonge, with less opposition than he had met in Normandy. Guienne, to the north of the Garonne, and Gascony, to the south, were all that was left of the once great Angevin dominions.

But John would not relinquish his Continental dominions without a struggle. He won over many of the lords of Poitou and Saintonge, and caused dissatisfaction against Philip in Normandy by confiscating the goods of Norman merchants who were in England and then by closing English ports to them. He allied himself with Flanders, the commercial relations of which were with England rather than with France, and whose count feared the rising power of Philip Augustus. John also obtained the support of his nephew, Otto of Brunswick, by English gold and through Otto's enmity to the French king. With the aid of the count of Champagne and of the duke of Burgundy, Philip met this powerful coalition at Bouvines, on the marshy plains between Lille and Tournai, and inflicted on it a decisive defeat (July, 1214). This victory was the ruin at once of Otto's cause in Germany and of John's in France. Philip, now in possession of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Auvergne, and part of Poitou, was the

greatest feudal lord of northern France. A truce was signed at Chinon (September, 1214), but it was not until the Treaty of Paris, in 1259, that the English king recognized the loss of these territories.

Meanwhile, events in the south of France were preparing the way for the extension of royal power there. The crusade of Simon de Montfort⁸ against the Albigenian heretics of Toulouse, in undermining the rule of the house of Saint Gilles, furthered the work of the French king. Philip refused to participate in the crusade himself, but, after the conquest of Toulouse and the death of Simon de Montfort, he allowed his son, the future Louis VIII, to intervene to safeguard royal interests. The result was the annexation in 1226 (recognized by treaty in 1229) of the eastern part of the great county of Toulouse, frequently called Languedoc, to the crown of France.

Louis VIII (1223-1226). Louis VIII, who succeeded his father in 1223, thus acquired territory in the south of France. He also continued the aggression against the Angevin dominions in the west. He completed the conquest of Poitou, and added the counties of Saintonge, Périgord, and Limousin to the royal domain. By the time of his death, in 1226, the Angevin dominions were confined to Bordeaux and a broad strip of lowland territory along the coast, north and south of the Garonne.

The Appanages. Before his death Louis VIII inaugurated a policy that ran counter to the centralizing tendency of Philip Augustus. This was the granting of appanages, or fiefs, out of the royal territory to younger sons. Artois, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, and Auvergne were bestowed upon his three younger sons and thus alienated from the royal administration. A new feudal nobility was created which, though related to the royal family, caused serious embarrassment to the king. This system of appanages was fre-

quently a source of dissension, and it retarded the achievement of territorial unity in the kingdom.

Regency of Blanche of Castile. The premature death of Louis VIII, leaving as heir a boy of twelve, Louis IX, under the regency of his mother, Blanche of Castile, a haughty and imperious foreigner, was a signal for a revolt of the feudatories against the system of Philip Augustus. All who had a wrong to avenge or an ambition to satisfy conspired against the new ruler. The king of England and the count of Toulouse saw their opportunity to regain their lost territory, and the feudal lords their chance to annihilate the rising power of the Capets. Owing, however, to the ability of the regent and the inability of the coalition to combine forces, the government won, as much by diplomacy and decision as by force. Henry III of England withdrew without having regained his lost provinces, and the count of Toulouse was subjected to a humiliating peace. The latter's daughter and heiress was married to a younger son of Louis VIII, Alphonse de Poitiers, who thus inherited the county of Toulouse. Eventually, on the death of Alphonse without heirs in 1270, it was added to the royal domain. By the time the young king attained his majority the crisis had passed and his throne was secure.

Saint Louis (1226-1270). Louis IX, better known as Saint Louis, stands out as one of the most striking figures in Capetian history. Tall, well-built, knightly in bearing, with blond hair and a high color, — a true "Nordic," — he had, said the Italian friar, Salimbene, "the face of an angel, and a mien full of grace."⁹ Deeply pious, he would permit neither blasphemous language nor frivolous songs at court. With his abstinences, his hair shirt, his simple dress and homely fare, he seemed to many more like a monk than a king. Kind and gentle, he could also be harsh and cruel, as his law condemning blasphemers to have their tongues pierced with a hot iron and his establishment of the Inquisition in France show. Yet

he was no cloistered saint, but a man of action who was fond of the chase and a capable ruler. He had a sense of humor and was accustomed to say, "There is no book so good after eating as a few jokes."¹⁰ A devout son of the church, he nevertheless ruled the clergy with a firm hand and assumed an independent attitude toward the Pope. Although a mediocre general, he was a daring and chivalrous soldier. His love of justice was the characteristic that, next to his piety, most impressed his contemporaries. Joinville's picture of him sitting under the oak at Vincennes is famous; but let us hear Joinville himself:

Many times it happened in the summer that he [the King] went to sit in the Wood of Vincennes, after hearing Mass, and leaned against an oak and made us sit around him, and all those who had affairs to attend to came to speak to him without disturbance of an usher or any one else. And then he asked: "Is there no one who has a plea?" And those who had rose, and then he said: "Keep quiet, all of you, and judgment will be dealt to you in turn." And then he summoned my lord Perron de Fontenines [the famous lawyer] and my lord Geoffrey de Villette [*bailli* of Tours in 1261-1262], and said to one of them: "Judge this case for me." And when he saw anything to correct in the words of those who spoke for him or those speaking for any one else, he himself made the amendment with his own lips.¹¹

Under Saint Louis, France assumed the leading role in Europe, especially after the decline of the empire during the Interregnum that followed the extinction of the Hohenstaufen. The Crusades in which he engaged, against Damietta and Tunis, were fruitless, and the latter cost him his life. More successful was his European policy, which was uniformly one of peace. During the struggle between Frederick II and the papacy, which he deplored, Louis maintained neutrality. But after the fall of the Hohenstaufen he permitted his brother, Charles of Anjou, to become king of the Two Sicilies, and this gave the French an important position in Italy. He was asked to arbitrate

in the quarrel between the English barons and Henry III. He made concessions to the king of Aragon and negotiated a peaceful settlement of the dispute between England and France. The attempt of Henry III to reconquer the lost Continental dominions had ended in complete failure in 1242. The truce of the following year was made a definitive peace in 1259 at the Treaty of Paris. Louis IX ceded to the English Périgord, Limousin, and Quercy, and promised them Agenais and a part of Saintonge should Alphonse de Poitiers die without heirs. In return Henry III renounced absolutely all claim to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou, and did homage for his French possessions. When reproached for having given away territory to the English, Louis replied :

I am certain that the predecessors of the King of England rightly lost the conquest which I hold. The land I am giving him, I do not give because I am bound to him or his heirs, but for the sake of the great love existing between my children and his, who are first cousins. And it seems to me that what I give I employ well, for he was not my man and now he has done me homage.¹²

Philip III (1270–1285). Under the successors of Saint Louis the policy of expansion of the royal domain was continued. During the early part of the reign of Philip III, owing to the death of Alphonse de Poitiers and his wife Jeanne de Toulouse without heirs, their possessions, the counties of Poitou and Toulouse, were added to the crown. The king of England claimed that some of the lands of Alphonse belonged to him according to the Treaty of Paris. The dispute was settled by the Treaty of Amiens (1279), which gave Agenais to Edward I.

Philip (IV) the Fair (1285–1314). With the accession of Philip the Fair (who added Champagne to the royal domain by his marriage with Joan of Navarre), in 1285, Edward I repaired to Paris and there did homage for the lands which he held of the French crown. But peace between the two rulers

was short-lived. In Gascony and Guienne there were many partisans of the French king who appealed to Paris against their ruler. These appeals were encouraged by Philip the Fair, who sent French officials into English territories to mete out justice. This led to conflicts between English and French officials, and the execution of some of the latter. Edward I was cited to appear before the parlement of Paris; and when he neglected to do so he was declared contumacious, and Gascony and Guienne were forfeited to the French crown. His dominions were invaded and annexed, but later restored. During the early part of the fourteenth century, strife between the two countries had become chronic, and this led to the Hundred Years' War. There could be no enduring peace as long as the English king had a foothold in France.

Besides his aggression against the Angevin possessions, Philip the Fair sought to expand his dominions eastward at the expense of the empire, which was weakened by the struggle between Guelfs and Hohenstaufen and by the Interregnum. As a result, the Lyonnais was permanently added to the French crown. Further French expansion would doubtless have been made at the expense of the decrepit empire had it not been for the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War.

Consolidation of Royal Power. In the thirteenth century, especially under Louis IX, the crown undertook to consolidate its power over the royal domain, which now extended from the English Channel to the Mediterranean. Particularly important was this in the territories recently acquired. In order to prevent an alliance between the barons of the conquered lands and the king of England, fortresses were built and entrusted to faithful castellans. Norman barons were obliged to give up their domains in England, and English barons their domains in Normandy. A new nobility, whose fidelity to the king was assured, was created, and enriched with the lands of the dispossessed.¹³

Louis IX favored the bourgeoisie less than his predecessors had done. He exploited the wealthy middle class by laying heavy imposts upon them and sought to prevent them from oppressing the dependent classes. While the bourgeoisie thus lost some of its independence, royal protection was extended to the lower urban classes. Prosperity was more diffused. The peasants likewise were affected by the expansion of the royal authority. The repression of baronial brigandage gave greater security to the peasants and improved their condition. Manumissions of serfs were common, and Louis IX was the first French king who practiced collective emancipation of whole villages. This, however, was partly a fiscal measure and profited the treasury.¹⁴

By the close of the thirteenth century the great feudatories, with the exception of the duke of Aquitaine (the king of England), were no longer a serious menace. The monarchy was respected by all classes.

The extension of the royal domain and of royal authority was accompanied by a development of the machinery of government, which under the early Capets and even under Philip Augustus had been rather rudimentary. The greatest steps in this development were made during the reigns of Louis IX and Philip the Fair, when the foundation was laid for the political institutions of France.

The Curia Regis. One of the most important of these institutions was the *curia regis*, or king's court. From an early period there had been a *curia regis*, consisting of a group of nobles, ecclesiastics, and domestics that surrounded the king's person; but the term had a vague meaning, and the institution was unorganized. It was during the reign of Louis IX (about 1247) that the *curia regis* came to have a more definite meaning, and possibly its organization was one of the precautions that monarch took to provide for the administration of his realm while he was away on crusades. The *curia* was divided into various committees or bureaus, appointed for

different purposes, such as judicial, financial, and advisory or administrative, each one composed of a group of clergy and nobles under the presidency of a great lord or prelate.

Parlement. The judicial committee of the *curia regis* was called the *parlement*, or assembly. At first it met four times a year; but by 1292 there was generally only one session a year, usually at Paris and in the king's palace. Because experience and legal knowledge were essential, membership became fairly constant. *Parlement* itself was composed of several courts. The first, and most important, was the Court of Pleas, before which cases were ordinarily brought. A little later came the Court of Requests, which dealt with suits voluntarily submitted to the crown for settlement. The third was the Court of Inquiry, created as an aid to the Court of Pleas to investigate evidence. The king was, of course, the supreme judge and might pronounce judgment himself, though ordinarily he delegated his judicial power to subordinates. The development of the courts gave rise to a host of professional pleaders, or advocates, who made it their business to defend clients. Cases were brought before *parlement* from all parts of France, and the institution was one of the important factors in strengthening the position of the monarch. No noble or official was so highly placed as to escape its jurisdiction. During the reign of Philip the Fair *parlement* was housed in a palatial building, adjoining the royal palace, on the Ile de la Cité in Paris, which has ever since remained the site of the French law courts.

Court of Accounts. Another branch of the *curia regis* was the Court of Accounts, which supervised the revenues and expenditures of the monarch. Like the *parlement*, it was presided over by a great prelate, noble, or official, and sometimes the king attended its sessions as he did those of *parlement*. On such occasions matters other than financial might be discussed. The Court of Accounts met three times a year

in the Temple (the seat of the Templars), where the treasure and documents were kept. Ordinarily its meetings were short, most of the work being done by subordinates. By the fourteenth century a regular group of officials existed, consisting of masters and clerks, who constantly watched over the king's financial interests.

Advisory Council. At an early period the monarch surrounded himself with a group of advisers who assisted him in the daily dispatch of royal business. They traveled around with him, and the personnel of the group was constantly changing. At first they were scarcely to be distinguished from the judicial and financial councils; but by the time of Louis IX the king's advisers had become a distinct group, variously designated as the Privy Council, Small Council, or Secret Council. These councilors, with whom the king became intimate, were not infrequently persons of obscure birth who had risen by their ability or the favor of the king, but who on this account often aroused the jealousy of the great nobles or members of the royal family. The career of Pierre de la Broce, a councilor of Philip III who fell a prey to the plots of court and nobility, is a good instance of this. Frequently these councilors were lawyers, such as Pierre Flote and William of Nogaret, advisers of Philip the Fair, who had studied in the schools of the day.

The Domestic Offices. From an early period the kings of France had been surrounded by a group of officials whose titles indicate that their functions were originally domestic. The most important were these: the seneschal, or mayor of the palace, who directed the royal household and the young nobles who were brought up there; the chancellor, who kept the royal seal and supervised the preparation of official documents; the chamberlain, who looked after the royal wardrobe, the crown jewels, the palace furniture, and the treasure; the butler, who superintended the royal cuisine; and the

constable, who was in charge of the royal stables. Usually they were great nobles or ecclesiastics. With the growth of the royal power, however, these offices tended to disappear, to become purely honorary, or to evolve into offices of state. The office of seneschal was suppressed, that of chancellor was kept vacant for years on end, that of chamberlain became purely honorary. On the other hand, the constable rose to be head of the army; and the butler, superintendent of finances and president of the Court of Accounts.

The States-General. It was an old custom of the French monarchs to summon from time to time representatives of nobles, clergy, and even bourgeoisie for consultation or approval of some royal act. Such assemblies did not meet regularly, and they had no well-defined rights; but they were composed of numerous representatives from all parts of the royal domain. Originally the term *parlement*, before its use was restricted to the judicial body described above, was applied to such assemblies, which were numerous under Louis IX and Philip III. Louis IX often summoned leading citizens from the larger towns to consult them on financial matters. A great impetus was given to the custom of consulting the people by the struggle of Philip the Fair with Pope Boniface VIII, and the assemblies of 1302 and following years were summoned to support the king in his conflict with the papacy.¹⁵ The members of the two privileged orders, clergy and nobility, received each an individual summons by letter; the representatives of the third estate were elected by electoral colleges chosen by a suffrage almost universal, in which even women sometimes participated. Occasionally the nobility sent lawyers or bourgeoisie and the cities clergy to represent them. Deputies ordinarily received no stipend, although villages sometimes paid the expenses of their representatives.

This national assembly (the States-General) had no regular time of meeting, but was convoked by the monarch at

will. Nor did it possess any effective voice in the government once it was convoked. The deputies had the right neither of initiating legislation, nor of deliberation, nor of free discussion. The monarch merely demanded of them a ratification of measures he had already taken or was about to take. Participation in the States-General was regarded as an onerous duty rather than as a political right. Nor was the control of the States-General over finances any more effective than over the legislation of the realm. When in 1314 Philip the Fair asked them for financial aid, it was a bare request for their consent, and they were not asked to discuss the amount or the nature of the contribution. The king had a right to the services of his subjects, which he might demand in the form of financial aid. Slight as it was, the precedent established was regarded as dangerous, and the successors of Philip the Fair perceived that frequent summoning of the States-General might endanger their power. Its failure to obtain any effective control over the purse strings of the realm was the main reason why the States-General never attained the important place in national life that the English Parliament did.

Provincial Administration. Until the close of the twelfth century the king was represented throughout the royal domain by officials known as provosts, usually nobles who held office by hereditary right, under the supervision of the seneschal. Finding this system an obstacle to the centralization of the royal power, Philip Augustus abolished the office of seneschal and supplanted the provosts, who were too independent, by bailiffs. The royal domain was divided into bailiwicks, over each of which was placed a bailiff. He was not a feudal lord, but an official from the lower classes, appointed, paid, closely supervised, and removed at pleasure by the king. As the king's representative his jurisdiction was universal. He received the royal decrees, published them, and enforced them. In him were combined the offices of police and

judge. He maintained a court which tried not only criminal cases but also those suits which the direct vassals of the king might bring. The bailiff also supervised the collecting of the revenue and the convoking of the army. He summoned the vassals and subvassals to fulfill their military duties and punished those who refused.

The multifarious duties of the bailiff necessitated the delegation of many of them to subordinates, whose number became legion and whose oppression occasioned vehement protests in the literature of the thirteenth century. "It is easy," declared a popular preacher, "to find good workmen, masons, smiths and even good clerks, but never good justices. There are few men who love justice."¹⁶ Such complaints led Saint Louis to institute the *enquesteurs*, inspectors-general, to visit the provinces, investigate complaints against officials, and punish the culpable.

The Monarchy and the Church. Any account of the development of the French monarchy would be incomplete without mention of the church.

The relations between the Capets and the clergy had always been intimate. Within the ranks of the clergy the kings often sought their agents, their officials, and their advisers. The clergy, in the interests of unity and centralization, supported the monarchy in the long struggle against the feudatories; and the kings protected the clergy against the oppression of the barons. It was from ecclesiastical domains that the kings drew many of their feudal levies and a large part of their revenue.¹⁷ All the monarchs insisted that the clergy should perform their feudal and financial obligations to the crown.

During the early period of Capetian history the royal control of the clergy within the royal domain was complete. The king imposed his candidates upon monasteries and bishoprics alike, he ruled as master over their temporalities, and he invested bishops with ring and staff. Worse still, he

did not scruple to practice simony. When an ecclesiastic came to Philip I (1060–1108) to obtain a certain bishopric that had been promised him, the king said: "Wait until I have had my profit out of him [your rival]; then you can have him deposed [as simoniacal] and I will do as you wish."¹⁸

Consequently the investiture decrees of Pope Gregory VII struck at the king of France as well as at the emperor of Germany. Philip I, however, throughout the pontificate of Gregory, maintained his simoniacal practices and never altogether gave up lay investiture; but now and again he pretended to submit, and Gregory never excommunicated him. Indeed, Gregory's policy toward France was conciliatory. It may be summed up in the words of a letter he wrote: "It is the custom of the Roman Church to tolerate certain things and to pretend to take no notice of others, and that is why we believe we should temper the rigor of the canons by the mildness of discretion."¹⁹ The papacy judged it better to obtain in France a support against Germany and Italy than to raise up another enemy. Consequently, early in the twelfth century, an arrangement had been tacitly worked out acceptable to both monarch and Pope. "The king allowed the chapter of the cathedral to elect the bishop; he ceased to 'bestow the bishopric' by the ring and the staff, and invested the bishop-elect with the regalia in demanding from him only the oath of allegiance."²⁰ But the chapters had to ask the king for permission to elect, and frequently they chose the royal candidate.

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CHAPTER XVIII

England

AFTER the brief reign of Canute's two sons, the English nobles, led by Godwin, earl of Wessex, restored the Anglo-Saxon dynasty in the person of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), the son of Ethelred the Unready and Emma of Normandy. The new king suffered from ill-health, was easily led, and was of mediocre ability and feeble character. From early childhood he had lived at the court of his uncle the Norman duke. When he became king of England, he brought with him his friends and favorites from Normandy and bestowed upon them lands and offices. This favoritism shown to foreigners soon caused resentment among the Anglo-Saxons, led by Godwin, the most powerful nobleman at court, whose daughter Edward had married. In the ensuing strife between Anglo-Saxon and Norman, Godwin was banished and Norman influence became supreme. Duke William of Normandy visited the English court, and it is possible that Edward, who was childless, promised him the English crown. But the next year Godwin and his sons returned, drove out the foreigners, and had their estates restored to them. "And then," said the English Chronicler, "they outlawed all the Frenchmen who had judged unjust judgments and had given ill counsel, save only such as they agreed upon whom the king liked to have with him and [who] were true to his people."¹ On Godwin's death his son Harold succeeded to his earldom and to his place of influence at court. So influential was he that, on the death of Edward the Confessor, he was chosen king by the Witan and crowned by the archbishop of York. But William of Normandy claimed that he was the rightful ruler, and made preparations to invade England. Harold he denounced as a

perjurer; for he maintained that Harold, on one occasion when the latter was in his power in Normandy, had sworn to aid him in becoming king of England. Before discussing the Norman Conquest, however, we shall glance briefly at Anglo-Saxon institutions.

Anglo-Saxon England. With the unification of England the splendor, if not the power, of the king had been greatly enhanced. Anointed and crowned in the French fashion, the king was regarded as a superior being, obedience to whom was a religious duty. In government he was assisted by his intimate advisers and by his council, the Witan. The Witan was neither an elective assembly nor a representative body. Its members were probably appointed by the king from the nobles and clergy to give advice, to administer justice as the highest court in the land, and to assist in making laws, which meant chiefly interpreting customs. If the king misruled, the Witan might depose him and elect another. Although the hereditary principle was ordinarily followed, the Witan might choose between members of the royal line and select the most suitable candidate.

The growth of great earldoms — Wessex, Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia — tended to set up a series of rivals to the crown. England on the eve of the Conquest was in danger of breaking up, like France, into a number of semi-independent feudal principalities.

Rural England in Anglo-Saxon times still had large numbers of free tenants and small freeholders, subject only to the justice of the king or of his delegates. The manorial system was rudimentary. Yet there was a tendency, furthered by the disorder and insecurity attendant upon the Danish invasions, for the small landowner, as in the Carolingian empire, to seek protection by commending himself to the great.² Consequently a powerful landed class of thegns was rising that had large armies of retainers at their disposal. The relation of these retainers to their lord was purely a per-

sonal one. If they were given land at all, no military service was attached to it. "There is nowhere any suggestion," says Stenton, "that a thegn's military service was due in respect of an estate which the king or any other lord [had] given him."³ The soil was prepared for feudalism; but feudalism, if we mean by that the military fief, had not been established. That was the work of the Conquest.

The Norman Conquest. On learning of Edward the Confessor's death, Duke William immediately began building ships and raising an army for the invasion of England. As the scope of such an expedition transcended the ordinary feudal obligations, William called for volunteers and enlisted the services of knights prompted by love of adventure and the prospect of obtaining fiefs. The largest number of volunteers came from Brittany, but many came also from Flanders, Poitou, and even from Spain and Sicily. The greatest difficulty was the creation of a fleet. Here the Norman nobility came to his aid, and especially his kinsmen, who contributed the bulk of the ships. By negotiation William obtained the sanction or the neutrality of various European rulers. The Emperor Henry IV promised support if needed, and the Pope sent his blessing and a banner "as an earnest of his kingdom."⁴ The papacy was the more ready to support the enterprise as the English Church needed reformation, and Stigand, then archbishop of Canterbury, was a schismatic and usurper, who had the distinction of having been excommunicated by five successive Popes. At the moment the French crown was under the influence of Count Baldwin of Flanders, William's father-in-law, and a war of succession distracted Anjou, so that there was no fear of opposition from these quarters.

By the end of August, William's preparations were completed, and an army of some five thousand men was prepared to set sail from Saint-Valery, at the mouth of the Somme. Landing at Pevensey Beach late in September, they marched

to Hastings, where they were met by King Harold, who, after repelling an invasion of his brother Tostig, the banished earl of Northumbria, and the Norwegian king, Harold Hardraada, had hastened south to meet this new menace. The battle was a complete victory for William; the English were utterly routed, thanks to a feigned retreat of the Norman knights, and Harold was left dead upon the field.

From Hastings, William proceeded to Dover, the surrender of which secured his communications with Normandy, and thence along the old Roman road to London, receiving the submission of the Anglo-Saxons as he went. The lack of concerted resistance shows that England was as yet not a thoroughly united country and had developed no national feeling. As he approached London many clergy, prominent citizens, and nobles came to meet him, proffered their submission, and surrendered the city. There, on Christmas Day, 1066, he was crowned King of England by the archbishop of York.

The coronation of William by no means meant the end of opposition to his succession. The two brothers-in-law of Harold, earls Edwin and Morcar, raised the standard of revolt, and there were various uprisings in the north, assisted by a new invasion from Denmark. But the Danes shortly afterwards retreated, and the rebel leaders speedily submitted. To prevent a recurrence of this insurrection, William gave orders for the systematic devastation of the country between the Tyne and the Humber.

Numbers of the insurgents fell beneath his vengeful sword [said the chronicler Orderic Vitalis], he levelled their places of shelter to the ground, wasted their lands, and burnt their dwellings with all they contained. . . . In the fulness of his wrath he ordered the corn and cattle, with the implements of husbandry and every sort of provisions, to be collected in heaps and set on fire till the whole was consumed, and thus destroyed at once all that could serve for the support of life in the whole country lying beyond the Humber.⁵

The last resistance to William was in the fen country surrounding Ely, which he reached, we are told, by building a bridge two miles long across the fens. By the close of 1071 William was master of the entire country.

Establishment of Feudalism. To secure England against revolt William erected castles in the Norman style at strategic points throughout the country. (Orderic Vitalis tells us that the lack of castles in England was one of the reasons why the Anglo-Saxons did not offer a stronger resistance.⁶) The native nobles and thegns, especially after the revolts, were almost universally dispossessed and their lands given as rewards to William's followers. Little is known about this great confiscation beyond the fact that within two decades after the battle of Hastings a Norman aristocracy had supplanted the Anglo-Saxon. But William granted fiefs only on condition of homage and military service; each vassal was obliged to provide a specified number of knights for the host when summoned.

Equally unfortunate was the plight of numerous small freeholders whose land was added to the domains of Norman lords and who themselves were depressed into a state of serfdom. Out of nine hundred freemen in Cambridgeshire seven hundred lost their liberty. A typical entry in *Domesday Book* that tells its own story is the following: "A free man held this land and could sell it, but Waleran father of John has added him to this manor."⁷ After the Conquest the manorial system became universal.

Restrictions on Feudalism. William the Conqueror was thus responsible for the establishment of feudalism in England; but he took care to introduce modifications of the system which made the king of England more powerful than the king of France or the emperor of Germany. First of all, he exacted an oath of homage from all landowners, regardless of whether they were his own immediate vassals or not.

There were thus no holders of fiefs withdrawn from the royal allegiance, as in Continental feudalism. In addition, no knight was under obligation to follow his lord's banner in any cause but the king's. English feudal law never recognized that a vassal was bound to fight in his lord's quarrel; and private warfare, far from being legal, was a "great breach" of the peace. Besides the feudal levies, the old shire militia, the Anglo-Saxon *fyrð*, was retained.

Every man [says Maitland] is bound to have arms suitable to his degree, down to the man who need but have bow and arrows. In this organization of the common folk under royal officers, there is all along a counterpoise to the military system of feudalism, and it serves the king well. The great families of the Conquest are at length pulverized between the hammer of the king and the anvil of the people.⁸

Then taxation was not feudalized. It was the king's right to levy taxes, and lords might not tax their tenants without his consent. Nor was justice feudalized. Feudal courts were strictly limited in their jurisdiction, and they did not possess criminal jurisdiction except by royal permission, which was sparingly granted. It was to the king's courts, therefore, that men were to look for justice.* These limitations of feudalism laid the basis of a strong monarchical government and reveal the Norman genius for political organization.

In the administration of government there was a good deal of continuity with Anglo-Saxon England. The government was carried on by the king, assisted by his household officials and council, which was composed of nobles and clergy. The common council, as its name implies, was an advisory body and as such played the role the Witan did in Anglo-Saxon administration. William's officials and advisers constituted, as in France, the *curia regis*.

* This was the theory. But it was a long time before all justice was concentrated in the king's courts, as it was a long time before all private warfare was abolished.

Local Administration. The local administration remained similar to that of Anglo-Saxon England. The shires, or counties, and the hundreds were retained as the administrative districts. The royal representative and executive officer in the county was the sheriff (shire-reeve), often a nobleman, who presided over the county court, received the royal writs, summoned tenants-in-chief to perform their military duties, and collected taxes. "The sheriff," says Maitland, "had in truth become a provincial viceroy; all the affairs of the shire—fiscal, military, governmental, its justice and police—were under his control, and he was president of the county court."⁹

The one great tax William levied on the whole of England was the *Danegeld*, for the more equitable distribution of which he instituted the Domesday survey (1085–1086).

He sent his men over all England [said the Peterborough chronicler], into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides [a hide was about 120 acres] were in the shire, or what land the king himself had, and cattle within the land, or what dues he ought to have, in twelve months, from the shire. Also he caused to be written how much land his archbishops had, and his suffragan bishops, and his abbots, and his earls; and . . . what or how much each man had who was a landholder in England, in land, or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out, that there was not one single hide, nor one yard of land, nor even . . . an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine, left that was not set down in his writ.¹⁰

The result was called the *Domesday Book*, a later writer explained, because it had the finality of the sentences of the Day of Judgment.

William and the Church. The Church of England in the eleventh century had never recovered from the Danish invasions and wars; it was out of touch with the Continental church, and sadly in need of reform. William, who had been noted for his reforms in the Norman church, as soon as his hands were free (1070), undertook sweeping ecclesiastical

reforms in England. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed as a schismatic and pluralist, and along with him, for reasons not well known, three other bishops. The see of Canterbury was given to William's friend and trusted adviser, the celebrated Italian scholar and theologian Lanfranc, formerly of the monastery of Bec, who ably seconded the work of reform. Church councils, which had fallen into abeyance, were held; the boundaries of dioceses were more carefully drawn; episcopal seats were transferred from villages to towns; and the relations between the archiepiscopal sees of Canterbury and York, which were a matter of dispute, were defined, and the primacy was given to Canterbury. Most of the Anglo-Saxon bishops were not disturbed, but as their sees fell vacant they were entrusted to carefully selected foreigners. One change, which later led to strife, was the establishment of ecclesiastical courts for dealing with ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical matters. Monastic discipline was improved, study and learning were encouraged, and canons of cathedrals were obliged to obey the rule of celibacy.

William and the Papacy. A notable aspect of the Conqueror's ecclesiastical policy was his relations with the papacy. His reign coincided with the pontificate of Gregory VII, who sought to extend papal control over England. As Archdeacon Hildebrand, Gregory had sanctioned the English expedition, and in 1080 he called upon William to do fealty as the Pope's vassal. This William, in no uncertain terms, declined to do. "I refused to do fealty," he declared, "nor will I, because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors did it to your predecessors."¹¹ But William's independent attitude toward the papacy carried him farther still. Throughout his reign he continued not only to nominate bishops and abbots but also to invest them with their spiritualities as well as with their temporalities. No Pope should be recognized without his leave; no papal bull might be published in England

without his sanction — a decree which kept the investiture decrees out of England; no synod could pass an act and no baron might be excommunicated without his approval; and no ecclesiastic might go to Rome without his consent. Gregory fumed and stormed: "No king, not even a pagan king, has presumed to act against the apostolic see in the way that William unblushingly has acted; no one has been so irreverent and insolent as to prevent bishops and archbishops from coming to the threshold of the apostles."¹² But the Pope did not have the same ground for waging war against William as against Henry IV. For, owing to his zeal for reform, William did not expose himself to attack. On the other hand, he had little use for Gregorian innovations and stoutly resisted them.

Results of the Norman Conquest. The Norman Conquest was undoubtedly one of the most momentous events in English history. Primarily it meant the exclusion of Anglo-Saxons from the government and its domination by the Normans, who fortunately had a genius for political organization. England, geographically belonging to the outlying countries of Europe, such as Scandinavia, had tended to remain in the backwater of Continental civilization; but by the Conquest it was brought into the main stream. With the Normans came the establishment of feudalism, but a feudalism in which the baron was weak and the king strong. The English Church felt the influence of Continental reform movements. French language, French literature, and French art also came with the Normans. Before the eleventh century was out, there were begun the magnificent Norman Romanesque cathedrals that are still one of the glories of England. Socially and economically England became part of Continental civilization.

William Rufus (1087-1100). William the Conqueror, on his deathbed, bequeathed the English crown to his second son, William, surnamed Rufus (the Red), and left Normandy to

the eldest, Robert, who was less capable of ruling. Before his father's death, William crossed the Channel, made his way to Winchester, seized the royal treasure, and was crowned king at Westminster by Lanfranc. Endowed with the same strong will and insistence on obedience to the royal authority as the Conqueror, he lacked his sense of justice, and was tyrannical and oppressive. He pushed his feudal rights to excess, especially in their financial aspects, and his treasurer, Ranulf Flambard, is said to have trebled taxation. Episcopal sees were left vacant that the crown might profit by their revenues. The see of Canterbury, after the death of Lanfranc, was one of those so treated. But finally, seized with a fit of repentance and remorse during a serious illness, William consented to fill the see and appointed Anselm, the saintly Italian scholar of Bec. Anselm was loath to accept the offer and almost immediately quarreled with the king, who retained much of the property of the archbishopric, made heavy demands upon the see for aids, and refused to allow the holding of synods or the carrying out of reforms. A violent quarrel broke out over Anselm's request for permission to visit Rome and receive the pallium from Urban II, for the king wished to recognize neither Urban nor the rival Pope. He could prevent Anselm's visit to Rome only by allowing a legate of Urban to come to England with the pallium. Anselm, however, soon saw that he could do little good in England, and asked permission to go abroad, where he remained until after the king's death. For these reasons there was little sorrow when the king fell, shot by an arrow from an unknown hand, while hunting in the New Forest.

Henry I (1100-1135). The royal treasure was immediately seized by William's younger brother, Henry, who with little opposition was crowned by the bishop of London. In order to strengthen his insecure hold upon the crown, he curried favor by issuing a charter remedying the abuses of the previous reign. Then he banished Flambard, the evil genius of

William II; he married Edith, of the royal house of Wessex; and he recalled Anselm from exile. He still further strengthened his position by seizing Normandy from his brother Robert, who spent the remainder of his life in confinement.

Henry, having established his hold on the crown, showed himself a no less staunch upholder of the monarch's prerogatives than his predecessors. On his return to England, Anselm was thoroughly imbued with Gregorian ideas derived from his visit to Rome, and brought with him the latest papal bulls against investiture (1099). It was a shock to the king when Anselm refused to do him homage or to consecrate the bishops Henry had invested. The archbishop remained firm in his adherence to the position of the Gregorians, and Henry quite as staunchly upheld his prerogatives. "The dignities and customs of the realm of England," he declared, "shall not be diminished in my lifetime. And even if I should subject myself to this humiliation, which may God forbid! my barons and the people of England would not permit it."¹³ The dispute was prolonged for several years until Henry suggested that Anselm go to Rome to arrange a compromise if possible. Pope Paschal, however, remained adamant; and Anselm, realizing the futility of returning to England, remained in exile, while Henry appropriated the revenues of the see. But finally, in 1107, the Pope agreed to a compromise. Bishops were to be elected by cathedral chapters and were no longer to receive lay investiture at the hands of the king; but elections were to take place in the royal presence, and bishops and abbots were to do homage, as did the nobles, for their temporalities. In practice the royal power over the clergy remained undiminished, for usually the royal nominee was elected. On the other hand, the way was opened for appeals to Rome and for papal interference in England, which William I and William II had sought to prevent.

Like his predecessors, Henry I endeavored to strengthen the position of the monarchy by greater centralization. To this end he developed the exchequer, the royal courts, and

the system of itinerant justices, which it will be more convenient to describe in their more mature form under Henry II. He began the practice of demanding *scutage* from his barons, that is, a money payment *in lieu* of military service. He exploited his feudal rights, such as reliefs, escheats, wardship, and forest laws, to such a degree that it is doubtful if his rule was regarded as much less oppressive than that of William II. The power of the monarch was still further extended at the expense of the baronage by his interference between the baron and his tenants.

In 1120 the drowning of his son William by the sinking of the "White Ship" through the folly of a drunken pilot while crossing the Channel, left Henry without legitimate male heir. His daughter Matilda was the wife of the Emperor Henry V of Germany, and this seemed to preclude making her his heiress. But to Henry's relief this obstacle was removed through the death of the emperor, in 1125. Matilda was brought back to England and the barons were made to swear that they would accept her as their ruler. Then a marriage was arranged for her with Geoffrey, the heir of the count of Anjou and Maine. This alliance not only would unite Anjou and Maine to Normandy but would also lead to Geoffrey's becoming king of England, and so was acceptable to both king and count. The marriage, however, was popular neither in Normandy nor in England, and the barons of both countries disliked the idea of being ruled over by a woman. The birth of a young prince, the future Henry II, seemed to solve the problem of succession.

Stephen (1135-1154). Shortly after the death of Henry, in 1135, it became apparent that his settlement of the succession was unsatisfactory. There was no precedent for the rule of a woman, Matilda was disliked for her haughtiness and arrogance, and her husband was hated as an Angevin. It is not surprising, therefore, that when a suitable rival presented himself he should be accepted. This was Stephen of Blois,

a grandson of William the Conqueror, who determined to make a bid for the crown. He was a brave, chivalrous, and affable prince; he was a favorite with the Londoners and had married a lady descended from the English kings. The citizens of London, fearful of an interregnum, at once declared for him and urged him to hasten to Winchester, win over the officials of the exchequer, and seize the royal treasure. Most of the nobles and clergy, disregarding their oath to Matilda, gave him their support; and he was crowned at Westminster by the archbishop of Canterbury.

Stephen soon showed that he did not possess the force and determination of character to maintain the centralized administration of Henry I. He was unable to resist the ambition of the barons to win back the custody of royal castles, the royal offices, and the power in the shires of which Henry I had deprived them. Then Matilda, disinclined to be set aside in this fashion, crossed to England (1139) with a band of knights and received the support of some of the barons. Civil war thus began and afflicted parts of England, especially the valley of the upper Thames and the fen country, intermittently for fifteen years. In 1149 the young Prince Henry landed in England to maintain the Angevin claims. Stephen lost heart in the struggle after the death of his heir; and in the Treaty of Wallingford (1153) it was agreed that he should rule until his death, when the crown should go to Henry. As Stephen died the following year, Henry did not have long to wait for his English inheritance.

Henry II (1154-1189). When Henry II became king of England on the death of Stephen, he was already the ruler of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and, by marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII of France, of the entire duchy of Aquitaine. His dominions now extended from the Tweed to the Pyrenees and constituted a veritable empire, of which Normandy was the center, — the Angevin



THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE

empire. The territory of Frederick Barbarossa might actually cover more territory, but the authority of the Angevin ruler, whether in the army or in justice or finance, was greater. He had the stronger army, the more highly centralized government, and the larger revenue.

In appearance Henry "Curtmantle," as he was called from the short Angevin cape he habitually wore, with his florid, freckled face, his short stout figure, his bull neck, his bow legs, and his harsh, cracked voice, was far from prepossessing. His contemporaries were impressed with his excessive energy, which found outlet in violent physical exercise, prevented his sitting still (even at Mass), and wore out his court by the excessive demands he made on them. He possessed the political wisdom and sense of a strong, orderly government of the Normans, and the sagacity, courage, endurance, and craft of the Angevins. Well educated for a prince of his time, he was able to hold his own in converse with ecclesiastics at his court; but his inclinations were practical rather than speculative, and it was his achievement to have created the "most highly organized and effective government of its time in western Europe."¹⁴

The great task to which Henry immediately set himself was the restoration of order after the anarchy of Stephen's reign, the recovery of royal authority usurped by the nobles, and the reorganization of the government along the lines begun by Henry I. Foreign mercenaries that had caused disorder during Stephen's reign were dismissed, unauthorized castles were ordered dismantled, and royal grants of land and offices were revoked.

In the early years of his reign Henry was ably assisted by his chancellor, Thomas Becket, the son of a wealthy London merchant, who had been educated at Paris and Bologna. Recommended to the king by the archbishop of Canterbury, Becket, who was an archdeacon, soon became the king's confidential adviser, intimate companion, and trusted agent. "As chancellor," says Brooke, "he was the perfect king's

servant, a splendid companion as well as a splendid servant, subordinating everything to the king's will, indispensable to his master; and withal leading a perfectly moral life." ¹⁵ Thinking to rebuild the royal authority over the church and to set up once more the barrier against the papacy broken down during the reign of Stephen, Henry in 1162 appointed Becket archbishop of Canterbury. Much to the king's dismay, Becket shortly afterwards resigned the chancellorship, renounced his luxurious mode of life, threw himself wholeheartedly into his ecclesiastical activities, and even opposed Henry's ecclesiastical policy.

Constitutions of Clarendon. The quarrel between archbishop and king came to a head over the Constitutions of Clarendon. Complaints had been brought to Henry that clerks who were guilty of enormous crimes had been let off by ecclesiastical courts with light punishments. Henry thereupon sought to have criminous clerks, who were found guilty in an ecclesiastical court, degraded and then handed over to the secular courts for punishment. For the sake of good order he wanted to see them subjected to the same punishments as the laity. To this Becket was opposed, and insisted that they were subject only to the spiritual courts. In addition, Henry sought to uphold the traditions of his predecessors, namely, that no ecclesiastics should leave the country without royal license, no appeals should be sent to Rome without the king's consent, no tenants-in-chief should be excommunicated without royal permission; finally, that the king's rights in the election of bishops and abbots should be maintained and that they should perform homage before consecration. These claims, which Henry maintained simply upheld the customs of the realm, were embodied in the *Constitutions of Clarendon* and laid before the Council of Clarendon in 1164. Becket at first gave but afterwards withdrew his consent and refused to be bound by its provisions. After some months of opposition he fled to France, to escape the

king's anger. Reconciliation was eventually effected, and Becket returned to England ; but, owing to the archbishop's intransigence, the reconciliation did not last long. Hearing that Becket had excommunicated some of the clergy who had supported the king, Henry in his rage cursed his followers for not ridding him of such a "lowborn clerk." Taking him at his word, they crossed the Channel and murdered Becket within his own cathedral at Canterbury.

The news of Becket's murder caused Henry deep remorse. On his return to England he did public penance at the archbishop's tomb and cleared himself before the papal legates of all complicity in the crime. But he was obliged to abrogate the offensive canons against criminous clerks and appeals to Rome. Becket, by his martyrdom, won a striking victory for the freedom of the church. Henceforth the old barriers between England and the papacy, so carefully set up by the Conqueror, were broken down.

The Curia Regis. Like the kings of France, the English monarchs were surrounded by a group of officials and counsellors, known comprehensively as the *curia regis*. As in the French court also, the functions of these royal officials were originally not divided. But gradually the *curia regis* was split up into various distinct courts or committees, each with a definite function.

The Exchequer. First of all was the Exchequer, so-called from the table resembling a chess board on which money was counted. It controlled the finances of the king and was presided over by the treasurer. Another important official was the chancellor's clerk, who in the thirteenth century acquired the title of "Chancellor of the Exchequer." In course of time he became "the principal, and finally the sole, minister of the crown in the financial department."¹⁶ The taxes were collected in the shires by the sheriffs, who twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas, were obliged to visit the Exchequer

and render their accounts to the king's officials. As a receipt they received a tally, or notched stick, split down the middle, so that the half kept at the Exchequer and the half retained by the sheriff exactly tallied. These payments were recorded on a great roll, "called the pipe roll from the pipes, or skins of parchment sewed end to end, of which it was made up."¹⁷ A complete set of these rolls exists for England from the second year of Henry II's reign.

The Chancery. A second department of the *curia regis* was the Chancery. At the head of this bureau was the Chancellor, the keeper of the king's great seal. He supervised the clerks and officials who prepared the royal documents, issued the royal writs, and carried on the royal correspondence. The high organization of this department of government under Henry II is attested by its rules and practices regularly observed, by its clear and precise documents, and by the accuracy and finished style of its scribes.

The documents issued in the name of Henry II during his long reign of thirty-five years, says Delisle, "both for his English and his continental possessions, are all drawn up on the same plan in identical formulae and expressed with irreproachable precision in a simple, clear, and correct style, which is also remarkably uniform save for a small number of pieces which show the hand of others than the royal officers."¹⁸

The King's Bench. A third department of the *curia regis* dealt with the administration of justice. The king was the fountain of justice, and from an early time suits had been brought before him. But it was difficult to take a suit before the king, for he was constantly traveling from place to place. We read of one suitor who traveled in the king's wake for five years in order to obtain judgment. Then, as early as the time of Henry I, the king had sent judges on circuit into the counties. Before the time of Henry II, however, the judicial development of the *curia regis* was inchoate. That monarch,

who had a fondness for judicial questions and was anxious that justice should be meted out impartially, instituted a permanent court of professional judges (1166–1179). Besides sitting at Westminster, Winchester, or wherever the king happened to be, its members went on circuit throughout the shires and made royal justice available for all. These justices soon obtained a reputation for fairness and impartiality, and hence trial by them was preferred to that by the local courts, whether public or private, shire or manorial. This court was known as the “Bench” or “justices residing at the Bench.” One branch, the Court of Common Pleas, for dealing with suits between subject and subject, became fixed at Westminster. From the fourteenth century it became unusual for the king to sit in court in person.

Origin of the Jury System. Before the king’s justices visited a shire, a royal writ was sent to the sheriff commanding him to summon the local court, twelve knights from each hundred in the shire and four men from each manor, to meet them. These men were then obliged to reveal on oath the names of all who, to their knowledge, had committed robbery, theft, murder, or other crimes in their neighborhood. They thus constituted a jury of accusation. This system had its origin in Frankish custom and came into England through the Normans. Henry II, discovering that many crimes went unpunished, instituted it at the Assize of Clarendon in 1166. Persons so indicted were ordinarily obliged either to undergo the ordeal or to appeal to compurgation. But, instead, the accused might submit to the judgment of twelve neighbors summoned by the judge to decide whether or not he was guilty. These jurors, ultimately called the petty jury, differed from compurgators in that they were summoned by the public authority rather than by the accused. Gradually, after the church condemned ordeals in 1215, this became the accepted method of determining guilt; it was the origin of the modern jury system.

The Common Law. The judicial reforms of Henry II, with the central court sitting at Westminster and itinerant justices visiting the shires and holding assizes, gave rise to the common law. Under the Anglo-Saxons (and the system was continued by the Normans) every shire had its own court, governed by local customs which differed somewhat from county to county, although these local laws were not as diverse as might be expected. When the royal justices visited the shires and held court, they were guided not by local laws or customs but by the customs of the king's court. Hence *common law* was primarily the general law of the whole land established by the king's justices. Common law was thus opposed to the particular law or custom of each shire. Then common law was case law, that is, it was based on precedent. Every decision was recorded on the court roll and became the basis of future decisions. Thus the influence of the king's judges and their decisions began to be felt immediately on the growth of law. Soon there was one law common to all England.

Glanvill and Bracton. An important legal monument from the reign of Henry II was the *Treatise on the Laws and Customs of England*, written between 1187 and 1189 and attributed to Ranulf Glanvill, a judge and official high in the king's favor. This book shows us the beginning of the work of the itinerant justices and their establishment of the customs of the king's court throughout England. As yet there were few precedents to cite, but Glanvill's book soon became popular as a practical treatise on the procedure of the king's court, and was widely used by lawyers, who, as professional pleaders, were more and more important to laymen in their litigation.

More important than Glanvill's book was Bracton's treatise on the laws and customs of England, which has been called "the crown and flower of English medieval jurisprudence."¹⁹ Like his predecessor, Bracton was a justice on

the King's Bench, who for twenty years (1248-1268) held assizes in the southwestern counties of England. "The main matter of his treatise," says Maitland, "is genuine English law laboriously collected out of the plea rolls of the king's court,"²⁰ and he cites no less than five hundred cases. Bracton's purpose was to state the best and most approved practice of the royal courts. His book became a popular manual of law and case book, and the basis of the legal literature in England in the later Middle Ages.

Richard I (1189-1199). Henry II had laid the basis of a strong, highly centralized monarchy to which his system of royal justice had contributed not a little. On his death in 1189 he was succeeded by his oldest surviving son, Richard, a reckless, happy-go-lucky dare-devil, who cared little about England. He visited it only twice, for a few months during a reign of ten years, and then chiefly for the purpose of raising money to finance his Continental projects—the Third Crusade and later the struggle against Philip Augustus of France. It speaks volumes for the organization of government Henry II had developed that it could function for ten years without the king's presence. During most of this time the administration was in the hands of Hubert Walter, the chief justiciar, who acted as the king's lieutenant.

Yet the reign of Richard marks the beginning of a change. Public opposition was voiced on several occasions. The burden of taxation, which had caused much grumbling during the latter years of Henry's reign, became more oppressive, and the general dissatisfaction with Richard's ministers created a bond of sympathy between the barons and the lower classes.²¹ This bond of sympathy, lacking in the previous reign, marked the beginning of opposition to the royal authority. If the twelfth century witnessed the building up of a strong, highly centralized monarchy, the thirteenth saw the curtailment of royal power and the foundation of parliamentary government.

John (1199-1216). On the death of Richard his younger brother John succeeded to the throne, and under him the threatening storm burst. Treacherous, unscrupulous, cruel, and profoundly superstitious, John had all the vices of the Angevins with few of their virtues. Not only did he have no ethical standards of his own, but he could seldom appreciate the ethical point of view of others. Given to bursts of energy, he was unable to pursue a consistent policy for long. Yet he was a capable soldier and a skillful strategist, and he endeavored to maintain the prerogatives and power of the crown established by his father.

We have already described the loss of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, as well as the quarrel with Innocent III that led to John's becoming a vassal of the Pope. It remains to speak of his relations with his subjects. His excessive cruelty, his perversion of justice, and, above all, his oppressive taxation lost him the sympathy of peasant, burgher, and baron alike. When, therefore, Philip Augustus, at the request of Innocent III, made preparations to invade England to enforce the papal will, John, fearing that at sight of the invaders his barons would desert him, came to terms with the Pope. Then the French war, with the increased scutages that John imposed, still further aroused the anger of the barons, who entered into a conspiracy to obtain reform of the government. After the king's return to England, following the disastrous campaign that ended at Bouvines, they appeared at court early in January, 1215, to announce their ultimatum. John asked for delay until Easter, promising to give satisfaction to their demands. The interval he spent in a fruitless attempt to gain support among the clergy and commoners against the nobles. At Easter the nobles mustered in force and marched on London, where they received the support of magistrates and citizens. When confronted with their demands, the king, in an outburst of anger and with a furious oath, exclaimed, "Why do they not ask my kingdom?" and swore he would never become the slave of his subjects. But

he soon realized that resistance was useless, and, meeting the barons at Runnymede, he affixed his seal to the Great Charter.

Magna Charta (1215). In this famous document John promised redress of the abuses of which barons and clergy complained. Of its sixty-one articles, fourteen related to the execution of the charter, two concerned the clergy, ten dealt with the exercise of royal justice, and twenty-four guaranteed the barons against the violation of their feudal rights.²² Freedom of elections was assured the English Church, and her clergy were permitted to leave or return to England without royal authorization. The king renounced his illegal use of reliefs and wardship and decreed that no scutage or aid, except those authorized in feudal law, should be imposed "save by the common council of our kingdom." Knights were protected against arbitrary exactions, and free peasants against appropriations of their carts or horses "for transport duty" without their consent. London was assured her "ancient liberties and free customs," and a vague general clause included "all other cities, boroughs and towns" in this privilege. Uniformity of weights and measures was promised — a clause that was calculated to safeguard the consumer against fraud. Merchants were to have right of entry into and exit from England without molestation.

The most important clauses in the charter dealt with the administration of law and justice. Article thirty-nine declared, "No freeman shall be arrested, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way molested; nor will we set forth against him, nor send against him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land." And article forty decreed, "To no one will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice." Moreover, the king promised that the Court of Common Pleas should be fixed at a definite place.

In wringing these concessions from the king, the barons were actuated by their own interests, and often, as Petit-Dutaillis has shown, when they seemed to be furthering the interests of others, it was indirectly for their own advantage.²³ They had no interest in the rights of the mass of the serfs. Besides, we must refrain from reading into the clause "save by the common council of our kingdom" any idea of constitutional or parliamentary government. Nor did "trial by the lawful judgment of his peers" mean trial by jury, which came into common use only later. But these provisions of the charter did mean that even the king was subject to the law, and that there were some things he could not do without the sanction of the courts. In general the charter, with its highly suggestive phrases, was an "arsenal" whence opponents of oppressive government drew their weapons.²⁴ Later ages read into it much that its original framers never intended, and hence it became an instrument for the constitutional development of England.

Henry III (1216-1272). The death of King John in 1216 placed on the throne his son Henry III, a boy of nine years, during whose minority the government was in the hands of regents. Shortly after attaining his majority Henry inaugurated a period of personal rule. He filled the important offices of state with persons of low rank or left them vacant and had their functions performed by clerks. He thus excluded the great barons from influence at court. Extensive authority was vested in the officials of the royal household and especially in the keeper of the wardrobe. But Henry was ill-fitted to conduct such a government successfully, although historians have not always recognized his real merits. A man of keen intelligence, of finely educated tastes, a connoisseur in art and jewelry, and a great builder, he constructed a large part of Westminster Abbey, which he adorned with the Shrine of Edward the Confessor; he erected the beautiful chapter house; he rebuilt the palace; he transformed Windsor

Castle and made alterations in some 75 per cent of the royal manor houses throughout the kingdom.²⁵ All this he did to his own impoverishment, but to the artistic gain of England. His intellectual ability was artistic rather than political, and he seemed incapable of distinguishing between a wise and a foolish policy. He had all the impracticability of the artist. Of a mild and genial disposition and exceedingly religious, he was weak-willed and easily dominated by any stronger personality with whom he came in contact.

It was not long before there were complaints against the king's misrule. His expenditure on building was criticized, and he was forced to adopt new expedients for raising money; his piety and devotion to the Pope led him to connive at the new papal methods of finance, and to do little toward stemming the flow of gold to Rome; and his partiality for foreigners, upon whom he bestowed offices and favors, aroused the jealousy of the barons. A futile attempt to recover the lost Continental possessions, and a chimerical scheme to place his second son, Edmund, on the throne of Sicily, showed his lack of practical political sense.

The complaints against Henry's misrule culminated (1258) in the baronial revolt which brought to an end the king's personal government. By the Provisions of Oxford the administration of the realm was taken out of his hands and vested in the royal council and a permanent council of fifteen barons, to whom all officials were made responsible. The unpopular foreigners were forced to leave the kingdom, and Henry could do nothing without the consent of the barons. But the new government was no more successful than the old. A factional and selfish spirit actuated many of the barons and led to a split within their ranks that enabled the king once more to assert himself. The outcome was civil war, in which the barons, led by Simon de Montfort, the son of the crusader against the Albigenses, were at first successful. But under the leadership of Prince Edward, the king's eldest son, the barons were later defeated and their cause was lost. The

solution of the difficulty was the gradual introduction of constitutional changes under Edward I, who had learned much from the conflict — in short, the rise of parliamentary government.

Edward I (1272-1307). Edward I, who, unlike his father, was a capable ruler, was a vigorous personality and a statesman of high order. His reign is noteworthy for the establishment of the representative system in Parliament, for its legislation, and for reform. He sent commissioners throughout the country to inquire into the injustices, malpractice, or oppression of officials, and then enacted legislation to provide a remedy. So prolific a legislator was he that he has been called the "English Justinian." Some laws deprived feudal magnates of privileges that impaired royal authority or infringed the rights of tenants; others, the most extensive of all, dealt with the relations between subjects, criminal law, and procedure in civil and criminal trials. Edward's legislation dealing with property, contracts, theft, and murder was so complete that it remained virtually as he left it until the eighteenth century. Statute law took a place in the courts it had not held before. Besides, he strengthened the position of the royal courts and curtailed almost all the private courts except those for the trial of serfs. Then Edward effected a reform of the administration and created what was really a civil service. The wardrobe, consisting of a staff of clerks attached to the royal household, had supervision over "everything from a penny-worth of pepper bought by the king's cook up to a continental war."²⁶ Trained to efficiency in the lower offices, civil servants were frequently promoted to higher posts. This both improved the quality of the administration and enabled Edward to be more independent of the barons. A paid militia, recruited by the sheriffs in the counties, gradually produced a competent fighting force. It took the place of the mercenaries hired by his predecessors and made him independent of the tenants-in-chief.

Rise of Parliamentary Government. But the most important aspect of Edward's reign was the rise of parliamentary government.

Under the Anglo-Saxons the king had had his assembly, or Witan, and the Normans and Angevins, as occasion arose, summoned the great barons and clergy to give counsel or their assent to all extraordinary aids. This was the more necessary after the Great Charter made the levying of all but certain well-defined aids illegal. In the thirteenth century two new elements were occasionally added to the great council: knights from the shires and burgesses from the towns. For instance, in the Parliament called in 1265, during the struggle with the king, Simon de Montfort summoned, in addition to the nobles and clergy, two knights from each county and two of the "more discreet, lawful, and worthy burgesses" from each of the towns. Edward I made a practice of summoning knights and burgesses to his council in order to obtain their assistance in collecting aids and in dealing with petitions. (Eventually such petitions, when presented by the representatives of the people, became parliamentary bills, and, when given royal assent, statutes.) But attendance was a duty which Edward imposed on the representatives of the shires and towns rather than a right which they demanded. His purpose was to strengthen, not to restrict, royal authority.

✓ By the year 1300 the Great Council of the realm was called Parliament. The term in the thirteenth century had a twofold meaning: (1) a parley or discussion, and (2) a court for the hearing of petitions and the settlement of disputes. Parliament might mean, in the language of the chroniclers of the time, a large and more or less tumultuous gathering of barons, clergy, knights, and burgesses, or else, in the language of the clerks, a regular meeting of the royal court, consisting of judges and clerks, to dispense justice. It was the achievement of Edward I to fuse these two institutions, these two ideas of Parliament. In this is found his chief

significance as the creator of the "model" English Parliament.²⁷ Parliament became at once a legal court before which complaints or petitions were laid and suits settled and a council that gave assent to new taxes or to the promulgation of new laws. For a long time the judicial aspect of Parliament overshadowed its legislative aspect; but in the course of time the latter became the more important, although the judicial aspect of Parliament has persisted until the present day, for the House of Lords has remained the highest court in the land.

While it is a matter of dispute whether lords and commons sat separately from the first, certainly they did so by the middle of the fourteenth century. The lords met in the Parliament chamber of the palace, the commons usually in the refectory or the chapter house of Westminster Abbey. Originally Parliaments met very frequently (two or three times a year), and each session involved a new election; but in the later Middle Ages they tended to be held less often. Statutes of the reign of Edward III ordained annual Parliaments, though these statutes were not always observed. The lords were summoned by royal writ; the knights were chosen by the assembly of the county court; and the burgesses were elected by the aldermen and representatives of the wards of the towns. The commons were paid salaries by their constituents, knights receiving four, burgesses two shillings a day. By the fourteenth century Parliament had established a pretty complete control over taxation. Neither direct imposts nor indirect taxes, such as duties on wool, could be levied without Parliament's consent. "There were," said Maitland, "at least no obvious ways in which the king could tax the community without breaking the law."²⁸ Then, in the fifteenth century, the assent of the commons became necessary to give the legislative act the quality of a statute. Thus during the Middle Ages was laid the foundation of the power of Parliament over both finance and legislation.

The reign of Edward I was also important for the conquest of Wales and the attempt to subject Scotland.

Conquest of Wales. Although William I had nominally conquered Wales, he had not succeeded in subduing the great Welsh lords, who remained as fiercely Celtic as ever. Many Norman adventurers, however, had crossed the border and carved out principalities for themselves at the expense of the Welsh. Overrunning the southern part of the country, these Norman lords erected castles to hold the land they had conquered, and were known as the Lords Marchers. They ruled their small feudal states almost independently of the English monarch, to whom they gave a bare allegiance. Only in the north, around Snowdon, did the Welsh maintain their independence. Henry II had attempted to subdue the Welsh chieftains, but he was repeatedly repulsed from the impregnable fortresses where the Lords of Snowdon held sway. Although they as well as the Lords Marchers paid nominal allegiance to the English monarch, they dreamed of expelling the Normans and establishing their rule over all Wales. This aspiration came to the fore in the thirteenth century under the leadership of Llewelyn, at whose court bards prophesied the defeat of the foreigner. Taking advantage of the civil war in England under Henry III, Llewelyn had defeated one Lord Marcher after another and captured their castles. Peace was concluded at Shrewsbury in 1267, and Llewelyn was recognized as Prince of Wales and overlord of all but one of the barons.

But this peace was of short duration. Llewelyn, goaded on by the prophecy of bards who foretold the expulsion of the Saxon, dreamed of a much wider authority. Upon the accession of Edward I he stopped paying tribute to the English crown and refused to do homage to the new monarch. Repeated summons to the recalcitrant vassal were unheeded. Losing patience, Edward laid the matter before his council and decided to proceed against the Welsh leader as a disturber of the peace. Shut up in the Snowdon country and faced with starvation, Llewelyn submitted and was reduced to the position of a petty north-Welsh chieftain.

This peace was no more enduring than the former one had been. The Welsh bitterly resented the imposition of the foreign yoke and the attempt of Edward to subject them to English law. In 1282 the clans, under Llewelyn's leadership, again rose in rebellion. The outcome was a complete triumph for the English, even Llewelyn himself perishing in the struggle. Wales now became a part of the king's dominion instead of a feudal principality. It was in part divided into counties, and the English system of local government was set up, though Edward left some Welsh laws in force. Fortresses, especially around Snowdon, were built to maintain the new possession. In 1301 the title "Prince of Wales" was conferred upon the king's eldest son.

Edward I and Scotland. In 1290 the line of Scottish kings descended from William the Lion (1165-1214) became extinct, and a dispute arose over the succession. Those who had the strongest claims to the throne were John Balliol, Lord of Galloway, and Robert Bruce of Annandale. Since there was no authority in Scotland strong enough to decide between the rival claimants, Edward I asserted his right to intervene on the ground that Scotland was a vassal state. Although this claim was of doubtful validity, the rival candidates were obliged to recognize the English king as overlord. A commission was appointed to examine the claims of each, and, pending its decision, Edward took over the royal castles and the administration of the government. After much delay the decision was given in favor of John Balliol. Edward accordingly surrendered to him the government of Scotland. Balliol was crowned at Scone, did homage to the English monarch, and recognized him as his suzerain.

But this settlement was short-lived. Resenting King John's submission to Edward, and in particular legal appeals to the English court, the Scotch barons deposed him. Edward invaded Scotland, received the abdication of Balliol, and conquered the country in five months. The Scots,

however, were ill-disposed to brook this foreign domination and rebelled, in 1297, under the leadership of Robert Bruce and William Wallace. The heroism and ability of Wallace led to the temporary triumph of the Scottish cause. A new campaign by Edward in 1305 ended with Wallace's defeat and execution. Thereupon Scotland was treated as Wales had been, although with a legal and administrative system separate from that of England. Another rebellion broke out in 1306 under the leadership of Robert Bruce, the grandson of the former of that name, and he was crowned king of Scotland. Inasmuch as Edward I died in the following year, the settlement of the Scottish question was left for his successor, Edward II, who had little heart for the struggle. His defeat at Bannockburn, in 1314, left Scotland with her independence and a bitter hatred of everything English.

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CHAPTER XIX

Spain, the Byzantine Empire, and the Crusades

IN THE eleventh century Christian Europe began a series of attacks on the Mohammedan world, known as the Crusades, that wrested the Mediterranean from the control of Islam and made it a Christian lake. This offensive began in Spain, with the attempt of the Christian states there to destroy Moslem rule in the peninsula. Before the century was out, the crusading movement, stimulated by the situation in the eastern Mediterranean, had become much more ambitious and sought to rescue the East — especially Syria — from Mohammedan domination. We shall look first of all at the situation in Spain and then turn to the Orient.

I. SPAIN

The Iberian Peninsula under Mohammedan rule was by no means unified or well governed. For two centuries after the conquest the prevailing condition was little better than anarchy. The emirs, often weak and incapable, were unable to weld into a unified state the various groups and races, with their conflicting interests and creeds. The invaders, Arabs and Berbers, were in the minority and were not seldom opposed to each other. The Jews were an important group, whose legal status had improved under Arab rule. The bulk of the population was made up of the old Spanish and Gothic races; but even among them Mohammedanism had introduced divisions.

First there were the Mozarabs, the Spanish or Goths who remained Christian under Arab rule, although frequently they adopted the Arabic language and customs. So completely Arabized were many of them that their scriptures and

church canons had to be translated into Arabic. They retained their own administration and often rose to high position under the Arab rulers. Then there were the *Muladies*, mainly descendants of Visigothic serfs who had secured freedom by the profession of Islam. They were regarded as apostates by the Christians and looked upon with suspicion by Moslems of long standing. There was a good deal of intermarriage between Christians and Moslems, and many of the most distinguished Moslems were of Gothic or Roman descent. Indeed, those of pure Arab descent tended to disappear.

Linguistic as well as racial unity was lacking. Classical Arabic was the language of men of letters, even of many Mozarabs; colloquial Arabic, that of government and administration. The latter was frequently spoken by Christians. The prevailing language, however, was a Romance dialect derived from low Latin, the earliest form of Spanish. In Córdoba it was used by all classes, in the law courts, and even in the palace. Ecclesiastical Latin was of course also used, for ritual purposes in the Catholic Church.

In spite of the inability of the Arab rulers to weld these heterogeneous groups into a unified state, in spite of strife between Arabs and Berbers or revolts of the Arab or Christian aristocracy, there was great advance of civilization in Spain. The greatest period of Moorish civilization was during the Caliphate of Córdoba. In 929 Abd-er-Rahman III (912-961), the greatest of the Spanish Caliphs, repudiated all connection with Baghdad and himself assumed the title of Caliph, establishing an independent Caliphate, with its capital at Córdoba, that lasted until 1031. Although almost constantly struggling against a rebellious aristocracy at home or foes abroad, Abd-er-Rahman established the most orderly government that Moslem Spain experienced. During his reign and that of his successors, his son Hakam II (961-976) and Al-Mansur, the all-powerful minister of the Caliphs from 981 to 1002, Moslem civilization in Spain reached its apogee.

Economic Prosperity. A great efflorescence of economic prosperity in the tenth century gave Spain as important a place in the Mediterranean as she had occupied under the Roman Empire. The Spanish peasants, virtually serfs under their Visigothic lords, had experienced an appreciable amelioration of their condition with the coming of the Moslems. Many of them became peasant proprietors. Grain was the staple agricultural product, for which certain regions (such as the environs of Toledo) were especially famous; and the peninsula became practically self-sufficing in cereals. Mills driven by wind or, along the streams, by water power were numerous, and the trade in grain or flour was an important item of internal commerce. The meadows along the streams and, in the south, the slopes of the mountains furnished abundance of pasture for cattle, sheep, and goats.¹

But Arabic geographers describe Moslem Spain especially as a garden, a country devoted to horticulture. Even among city dwellers there was a great fondness for gardens and for the country. Poets of the tenth century praise the beauty of the roses, myrtles, violets, jonquils, and narcissi found in the gardens of Córdoba.² As in Roman times, the culture of the olive was common. The mountainous districts near Córdoba, as well as the hills north of Seville, were particularly famed for their oil. Not only did the peninsula supply its own needs but it also produced a surplus for export. In the valleys fruit trees were cultivated with the aid of a system of irrigation which the Arabs had improved. The entire littoral from Lisbon to the Balearics, if we can believe Arab geographers, was covered with fruit trees of every description. Apples, figs, pomegranates, almonds, oranges, and bananas were common. Viticulture was universal, and the consumption of wine, in spite of the Mohammedan prohibition, was common among all classes of Moslem society. Exotic products, such as rice and sugar cane, were grown in the Mediterranean valleys.³

The cultivation of aromatic and textile plants occupied a scarcely less important place in Spanish agriculture. Saffron

and flax were extensively cultivated. Cotton, produced solely around Seville, was exported to North Africa. Silk culture was also practiced in districts where the mulberry flourished.⁴

Another element in the economic prosperity of Spain in the tenth century was the development of her mineral resources. Gold was panned in the sands of the rivers, notably of the Tagus, silver was mined in the regions of Murcia, Alhama, and Córdoba, iron was found north of the valley of the Guadalquivir, mercury north of Córdoba, tin in Algarve, lead near Cabra, and rock salt at Saragossa.⁵

Agricultural and mineral wealth gave rise to numerous industries. The woolen industry occupied many artisans, and Saragossa was famed for its linens. Silk was a source of wealth for several cities, notably Córdoba and Almería, and geographers describe the luxurious cloths and tapestries that came from Spanish workshops. The arts of glass-making and pottery-making were highly developed, and it was a Cordovan who discovered a process of making crystal. In gold and silver work and in precious stones Spain rivaled Byzantium. Córdoba specialized not only in chased jewelry, in ivory, in jet, and in copperware, but also in leather goods (whence the term "cordovan"). Toledo was already renowned for its arms.⁶

Spanish Civilization. Economic prosperity was accompanied by a great cultural development, and Córdoba under the Caliphs was famous for its art and learning. If it is impossible to believe, as formerly, that Córdoba possessed half a million inhabitants, three thousand mosques, a hundred and thirteen thousand houses, and three hundred public baths, it is by no means incredible that in size and magnificence it eclipsed all other European cities of the West. Its celebrated mosque, injured by an earthquake, was rebuilt on a grander scale. Palaces and gardens abounded, both in the city and in its suburbs. With its library of four hundred thousand volumes, its observatory, its schools thronged with

poets, scholars, and philosophers, Córdoba was one of the important intellectual centers of the world. Scarcely less renowned were Seville and Toledo. Spanish art and workmanship as well as Spanish learning profoundly influenced the rest of Europe.

The brilliant civilization of medieval Spain was formerly attributed to the Arabic element and influence. Indeed, the contrast between the civilization of Spain under the Moors and that of the Christians of feudal Europe was striking. But present-day historians are inclined to deny that this was purely the work of the Arabs and to give much of the credit for it to the Romano-Goths, always the dominant element in the population.⁷ The contacts which Arab rule opened with the great centers of civilization in the Orient doubtless did much to stimulate the development of Hispano-Moorish culture. Possibly the mingling of races, as in ancient Greece, may have done something to create this brilliant civilization.

Fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba. The political power of the Caliphate of Córdoba rested upon a slender foundation. Christian and Berber opposition was an almost constant factor. Much depended upon the character and ability of the Caliphs, who at the close of the tenth century were lacking in the able qualities of Abd-er-Rahman III. This led to the rise of usurpers whom palace revolutions placed in power. More than ten Caliphs were set up or deposed in the early part of the eleventh century. A final revolution in 1031 abolished the Caliphate. The provinces thereupon declared their independence of Córdoba and established themselves as independent kingdoms, under prominent leaders of the army or aristocracy. There were twenty-three of these kingdoms, the rulers of which were ambitious to restore the unity of the Caliphate under them and were constantly fighting with each other. The fall of the Caliphate and the disunion of Moslem Spain gave an opportunity to the Christian kingdoms in the north to begin a war of reconquest.

Christian Kingdoms in Spain. With the subjugation of Gothic Spain by the Mohammedans in the eighth century, only the mountaineers of the north and a few refugees who found shelter among them remained independent of Moslem rule. The Moslems had too much contempt for these moun-



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taineers, strong in their fortresses, to attempt to subdue them. "Would to God," exclaimed an Arab historian later, "that the Moslems had then extinguished at once the sparks of a fire which was destined to consume the whole dominions of Islam in those parts!"⁸ Gradually a series of small kingdoms appeared astride the Pyrenees. In the northwest there arose, early in the eighth century, the little kingdom of Asturias, which, its rulers taking advantage of Moslem dis-

sensions, expanded to form the kingdom of León. Early in the tenth century the rulers of León extended their conquests eastward into the upper valley of the Ebro. To secure this country they erected many strong castles; whence the name "Castile." Farther east, at the head of the Bay of Biscay, arose the kingdom of Navarre, a territory rich in forests and in mountain pastures suitable for stock-raising. Out of the old Spanish March created by Charlemagne were formed Aragon and the county of Barcelona, later a part of the principality of Catalonia. Of these kingdoms León was the most important. In the ninth century its kings assumed the title of "Emperor," and by 910 its frontier was extended to the river Douro. Strife with the Moslems was almost constant and one of the gravest menaces to the Mohammedan state.

The contrast was great, in economic and cultural life, between the Christian kingdoms of the north and the Caliphate of Córdoba. Both the agriculture and the industry of the north lagged far behind those of the south. The Moslems kept a devastated area, a sort of no-man's land, between them, and made regular raids into the northern states, during which they laid waste villages, fortified places, churches, and monasteries, destroyed crops, and cut down trees. The ruthless sterilization of parts of Spain, it is said, is one of the chief causes of the deforestation from which the peninsula still suffers. This perpetual warfare bred within the Christian states nationalism and a crusading spirit which spread to other parts of Europe through pilgrimages to the shrine of Saint James at Compostela. By the close of the ninth century the shrine of the Apostle James at Compostela, in Galicia (northwestern Spain), was becoming famous, and soon pilgrims flocked thither from all parts of Europe. By the eleventh century the "Way of Compostela" was one of the most traveled roads in Europe, and the shrine rivaled those of Rome and Jerusalem as a place of pilgrimage. The saint was represented as a celestial knight leading the hosts of

Christianity against those of Islam, and his shrine was endowed with vast treasure, the gifts of pilgrims or the spoils captured from the Moslems.

Beginnings of Reconquest. Until 1034 the Mohammedans had taken the lead in the political and social life of Spain; but after that the leadership passed to the Christian states, which began an expansion that ended with the fall of Granada in 1492. The leadership in this advance was taken by Castile, which under Ferdinand I (1033-1065) was united with León and assumed the supremacy over it. Ferdinand captured territory south of the Douro in what is now Portugal, including the city of Coimbra, and compelled several of the Moslem kings to become tributary to him. After his death his son Alfonso VI (1065-1109) took up the struggle with new vigor and fierceness. In 1085 he captured Toledo, the old capital of the Visigothic kings, and promptly occupied all the country between the Douro and the Tagus. These successes led the Moslem kings, in alarm, to appeal to the Berber Almoravides of North Africa for aid. With such reinforcements the Moslems stayed the tide of advance by inflicting on the Christians a decisive defeat at Zalaca, October, 1086.

This struggle with the Moslems soon assumed the proportions and appearance of a crusade, supported by the Pope and assisted by the chivalry of France. From the early part of the century it had been fashionable for the French nobility, incited by love of adventure and plunder as well as by hostility toward the infidel, to cross the Pyrenees; and their assistance did not a little to ensure the Spanish victories. The French did not always limit themselves to fighting in the Christian armies, however; for often, in the fashion of *condottieri*, they entered the service of Moslems against Moslems, believing that even in this way they were serving the Christian cause. Burgundy especially, at the close of the eleventh century, became a great center of enthusiasm for

the Spanish crusade. Recruited by the monastery of Cluny, crowds of Burgundian knights, almost every year between 1075 and 1095, flocked across the mountains. The most celebrated of the Spanish crusading knights was Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar, a Castilian better known as the Cid Campeador, whose career captivated the imagination of Europe and who has become enshrined in Spanish literature as its most popular hero.

Foundation of Portugal. The kingdom of Portugal dates from this first period of conquest. In 1095 Alfonso VI of Castile married his natural daughter Theresa to Henry of Burgundy, one of the adventurous Burgundian knights who assisted him against the Moslems, and still further rewarded him by bestowing upon him as a fief the county of Portugal, the southwestern portion of the kingdom of León, between the Minho and the Tagus. In the twelfth century the ambition of its rulers, combined with Spanish particularism and the weakness of the central power in Castile and León, enabled Portugal to obtain its independence. There was no geographical reason for its separate existence. "That another nation held the greater part of the western coast of the Iberian Peninsula," says Merriman, "retarded the process of Spanish expansion in the Atlantic, and, when it finally came, probably altered its direction." ⁹

Completion of the Conquest. The conquest of the Moorish states, halted by the Almoravides from North Africa, was still further delayed by dissensions among the Christians themselves. In the first half of the twelfth century there was not only strife between Castile and Aragon and Navarre, but also internal strife within Castile that amounted virtually to anarchy. During the twelfth century Castile did little more than hold the conquests she had made in the eleventh. The chief expansion in this period was made by Aragon, especially during the reign of Alfonso I, the Warrior (1104-1134). In

1118 he captured Saragossa and extended his dominions south of the river Ebro. The union (1137) with the county of Barcelona greatly strengthened the position of Aragon by giving her the Mediterranean seacoast. Aided by the sea power of Barcelona, Aragon pushed the Moslems completely out of Catalonia and south of the Ebro.

The decline of the Almoravide power in Spain was compensated for at this juncture by the coming of a new power from North Africa, the Almohades, religious reformers who had founded a new empire in Africa and crossed into Spain in the middle of the century (1146). Thus strengthened, the Moslems renewed their aggression against the Christian states. A severe defeat inflicted upon Castile, combined with papal exhortations, led the Christians to sink their differences and join forces against the common enemy. The result was the utter defeat of the Almohades at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), the greatest of the victories in the long struggle of reconquest, which may be said to have dealt a deathblow to Mohammedan domination in the peninsula. In the thirteenth century the Moslems were accordingly pushed to the south, and Mohammedan rule was confined to the kingdom of Granada. Córdoba fell in 1236, and Seville in 1248; and with their capitulation the conquest of southwestern Spain was virtually complete. Somewhat later the southeast (Murcia) was also added to Castile, which had permanently absorbed León (1230). Aragon likewise expanded and annexed Valencia, but was shut out of the south by Castile.

II. THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND THE CRUSADES

The first period of Christian expansion in Spain (1034-1086) was but the prelude to a much vaster crusade against Islam in the Orient. In order to understand this movement, a survey of the situation in the eastern Mediterranean is essential.

The Byzantine Empire. The Emperor Leo III (the Isaurian) (717–740) had saved Constantinople from capture by the Arabs,¹⁰ turned back the tide of Moslem conquest in Asia Minor, and consolidated the defenses of the Byzantine Empire, which thus constituted the eastern bulwark of Europe against the Mohammedan world. In spite of internal conflicts and rebellions within the empire during the succeeding period, the Asiatic frontier, from the Taurus Mountains to the eastern end of the Black Sea, was maintained. Then, in the middle of the ninth century, there came to power the Macedonian dynasty (867–1057), during the rule of which the Byzantine Empire undertook a policy of expansion and reached the zenith of its medieval power and glory. In the middle of the tenth century the Byzantine fleet recaptured Crete and Cyprus, while in Asia Minor the emperor pushed back the frontier to the Euphrates, occupied Cilicia and part of Syria (including the city of Antioch), and dreamed of reclaiming Palestine and Jerusalem. In the West, Byzantine authority was extended in southern Italy, but attempts to regain Sicily failed. Under Basil II (963–1025) war was conducted against the Bulgars, and the first Bulgarian kingdom was overthrown (1018) and made into a Byzantine province.¹¹ Most of the Balkan Peninsula was once more incorporated in the empire and leavened with Byzantine culture.¹²

The Macedonian epoch was also one of commercial prosperity. Merchandise was still imported from the Far East, largely through Arabic channels, as the Arabs had captured the entire trade of the Indian Ocean. Trebizond, on the Black Sea, was a great port, chiefly because it was a terminus for the Far Eastern trade. Then an important commerce was carried on with Russia, whose merchants were accorded trading privileges in Constantinople. The Russians brought furs, slaves, honey, and wax, and obtained in exchange silk (though the emperors limited the quantity they might carry away), cloths of Byzantine manufacture, wine, jewels, and Oriental products, especially spices. Some trade was

also conducted between Constantinople and Italy, at first largely in Greek ships. Soon Amalfi, Naples, Genoa, and, above all, Venice began to rival the Greeks. Early in the eleventh century many Italian merchants had their quarters in Constantinople.¹³

Constantinople, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, vied with Córdoba as the center of the highest European culture. The spoken language was, of course, Greek, knowledge of Latin having died out, though later it was revived. The Greek classics were the basis of education, and the authors studied covered the entire range of Greek literature. Psellus, a philosopher, historian, and politician of the eleventh century, knew the Iliad by heart when he was fourteen.¹⁴ The philosophical writings of the ancient Greeks were widely studied, though Byzantine philosophers made few original contributions to the history of thought. Mathematics, astronomy, mechanics, and medicine were all studied, but in none of these fields did the Byzantines go much beyond the knowledge of the ancient Greeks. "In no other place in the medieval world," says Diehl, "had the classical tradition been retained so completely as in Byzantium, in no other place had direct contact with Hellenism been so well maintained."¹⁵ Medical practice was far in advance of anything to be found elsewhere in Europe. Hospitals, with their staffs of doctors (some of whom were women) and nurses, were not uncommon.

In art no less than in learning, Byzantium, during the Macedonian period, was unexcelled. Domed buildings, especially churches, in which Greek and Oriental traditions mingled, were erected not only within Byzantine territories but also in Russia, in Sicily, and in Venice. One of the finest examples of Byzantine art was St. Mark's at Venice, "a reproduction of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople." With its five domes, its rich mosaics, its metal work, its gold and purple, it offers, says Diehl, "the most exact picture of Byzantium as she was in the days of the Mace-

donian renaissance.”¹⁶ In the execution of mosaics, illuminated manuscripts, carved ivory, cloisonné enamel, and finely wrought jewels Byzantine artists and workmen were unrivaled. Products of Byzantine artists carried to Italy undoubtedly influenced the development of art in western Europe, and Byzantine models formed the inspiration of much in Romanesque architecture and decoration.

The close of the Macedonian epoch saw the final split within Christendom, between the Greek Orthodox East and the Roman Catholic West. In spite of sporadic friction in the past, relations with Rome had been excellent until in 1053 the domineering and haughty patriarch, Michael Cerularius, ambitious to play the role of a pope in the East, goaded the Roman legates into excommunicating him. The patriarch retaliated by anathematizing Rome, and the schism was accomplished (1054).

Byzantine culture continued to flourish throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but after the end of the Macedonian dynasty in 1057 the Byzantine Empire underwent political decline. A “time of troubles” began that lasted for twenty-five years (1056–1081), during which, for the most part, the throne was occupied by incapable emperors, some of whom had little interest in the army and in military affairs.¹⁷ During this period the last Byzantine possession in the West, southern Italy, was seized by the Normans.¹⁸ But more serious was the fact that the “time of troubles” coincided with the rise of a new power in the East, the Seljuk Turks.

The Seljuk Turks. The Seljuk Turks were a Ural-Altaic race. Like their predecessors, the Huns, they were dislodged from central Asia by tribal movements and, at the close of the tenth century, were driven westward. The effete Abbasid dynasty was unable to withstand their invasion, and by 1055 they had taken possession of Baghdad, where the Turkish leader installed himself under the new title of Sultan.

Embracing Islam, the Turks added religious fanaticism to their military ardor and prepared to attack not only the Fatimite possessions in Syria and Egypt but the Byzantine Empire as well. By 1059 they had begun raiding the eastern frontiers of the empire. Almost every year for a decade witnessed further aggression. Finally the Emperor Romanus Diogenes, in 1071, mustered a huge army to repel them, but he was completely defeated at the battle of Manzikert (north of Lake Van, in Armenia) and his army almost totally destroyed. Asia Minor, the source of much of the empire's economic and military strength,¹⁹ was now defenseless. By 1075 the Turks had conquered Syria, Palestine, and most of Asia Minor, and had installed themselves on the eastern shores of the Bosphorus, whence they threatened Constantinople. In 1073 the Emperor Michael VII conceived the idea of calling western Europe to his aid; he sent an appeal to Gregory VII and held out to him the prospect of a reunion of the Greek Church with the papacy.

Pilgrimages. Western Europe could not remain indifferent to the Turkish occupation of the East, not only because Constantinople, the bulwark of Europe, was threatened but because pilgrim rights were menaced. From an early period in Christian history Palestine had been regarded with veneration. Pilgrims journeyed thither from all parts of the Christian world to visit the places hallowed by incidents in the life of Christ or of the Apostles. Jerusalem had become the Holy City of Christendom, and there the munificence of the Byzantine emperors and the devotion of pilgrims had erected some three hundred monasteries, churches, and hospices for the care of pilgrims. A pilgrimage to the Holy Land was the surest way of gaining merit, and it was frequently imposed upon penitents to atone for grievous sins. Bathing in the river Jordan was a sort of second baptism, and the shirt the pilgrim had worn while visiting the holy places was cherished to enshroud him at death and assure him paradise. Then

Palestine was the chief source of the relics that were so important in medieval Christianity. Many a cleric undertook the arduous journey from the West in order to obtain these precious treasures to enrich his church.

Except for new taxes levied upon pilgrims, and an occasional persecution, the conquest of Syria by the Moham-medans did not seriously affect pilgrimages. In the main the Arabs were tolerant of Christians, and Charlemagne carried on negotiations with Harun al-Raschid that assured the Christians access to the holy places. Indeed, during the ninth and tenth centuries the number of pilgrimages seems greatly to have increased. A monk, Bernard of Brittany, who made a pilgrimage about 870, shows that travel was secure in the East, but tells us that passports were necessary.²⁰ As a rule pilgrims went singly or in groups of two or three, though by the eleventh century leaders were conducting large parties. In 1065 the bishop of Bamberg is said to have led a party of some thousands of pilgrims. Guidebooks, describing the holy places to be visited and the relics to be venerated, were prepared for pilgrim use. The conversion of King Stephen of Hungary, early in the eleventh century, opened up the land route through the valley of the Danube, and wealthy persons established hospices along the way to give asylum to pilgrims. Not only did these pilgrimages familiarize the West with the route to Palestine but they kindled an enthusiasm for the Holy Land and the cult of the Holy Sepulcher. At the close of the tenth century, however, the occupation of Palestine by the Seljuks menaced pilgrims and their rights in the holy places.

The appeal of the Byzantine emperor accordingly met with a sympathetic hearing in the West, where the crusading spirit had been created by the wars in Spain and where the idea of a holy war against Islam, as the *Song of Roland* shows, had already been born.²¹ Gregory VII eagerly took up the project and issued a call to Christendom to undertake a crusade, though apparently more for the purpose of defend-



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Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini and his Wife*. (See page 778)



Ghiberti's *Creation of Adam and Eve and Jacob and Esau*.
Bronze Doors, Baptistry. Florence. (See page 775)

ing Constantinople than of conquering the Holy Sepulcher. But several things prevented. Gregory was about to engage in his struggle with Henry IV, and his allies, the Normans of southern Italy, were enemies of the Byzantine emperor. Besides, the new emperor, Alexius Comnenus, showed himself hostile to the reunion of the churches, the chief incentive to Gregory. Nevertheless, the idea of a crusade was not abandoned, owing to the enthusiasm for the Holy Land created by two centuries of pilgrimages and to the Spanish crusades. It was reserved for Pope Urban II to stir this emotion into action. In the last analysis the Crusades can be explained only on the basis of crowd psychology. To arouse the emotions of the masses on behalf of what they believe a high ideal is to call forth a ready response, as both the World War and the Crusades showed.

Council of Clermont. The final inspiration of the First Crusade came from the Council of Clermont. Crossing the Alps in the summer of 1095, Pope Urban II in November called a council to meet at Clermont-Ferrand. On the plain outside the city walls he addressed a crowd of clergy and knights, many of whom were from central and southern France. He vividly depicted the plight of the Christians in the East; he called upon his hearers to lay aside their disgraceful private warfare; and he urged them to undertake this holy war for the rescue of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of the infidel. He decreed that the families and property of the crusaders would be taken under the protection of the church, their sins remitted, and they themselves guaranteed paradise. "Let those who go," he urged, "not put off the journey, but rent their lands and collect money for their expenses; and as soon as winter is over and spring comes, let them eagerly set out on the way with God as their guide."²² Urban's speech aroused an enthusiastic response on the part of the crowd. "God wills it," they cried. Knights knelt before the Pope to receive his blessing and sewed on

their shoulders a red cross as a sign that they engaged to do his bidding. With Urban's consent popular preachers, such as Peter the Hermit, scoured the country, arousing the excitement to fever pitch and stirring up hatred of the Turk.

The purpose of Urban was to initiate a disciplined expedition of knights; but the enthusiasm of the moment produced a far more popular movement. Social unrest, created by crop failures, led peasants, and even old men, women, and children, to enlist under the banners of popular leaders such as Walter the Penniless and Peter the Hermit.

Nothing was more pathetic [said Guibert of Nogent] than to see these poor crusaders yoking their oxen like horses to a two-wheeled cart on which they placed their meager luggage and their little children. At every castle and town they saw on the way the latter pointed their hands and asked if it were not Jerusalem.²³

Most of these crusaders perished at the hands of the Turks in Asia Minor or died of hunger and thirst.

The First Crusade. The First Crusade was quite a different expedition: it consisted of the chivalry of Europe and was ready only in the summer of 1096. Four armies, taking different routes, all converged on Constantinople. Count Raymond of Toulouse led an army from southern France and Italy through Lombardy, around the head of the Adriatic, and through Dalmatia; Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, and his brother Baldwin, with an army from Germany and northern France, followed the route of the Danube; Stephen of Blois and Robert of Normandy journeyed through Italy, and crossed from Bari to Durazzo in Macedonia; Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, and his nephew Tancred crossed the Adriatic to Epirus and Thrace. Foucher of Chartres estimated these armies at one hundred thousand men at arms besides hangers-on, but this was probably an exaggeration. Not all these crusaders, it may be assumed, were actuated by the highest motives. Many were

prompted by love of adventure or by the prospect of carving out for themselves fiefs in the Orient. With the increase in population in the West, many of the younger sons were without inheritance, and to them an enterprise such as the Crusades was alluring.

Godfrey of Bouillon and his contingent were the first to reach Constantinople, in December, 1096, the others arriving in the following spring. The presence of such a large army in the vicinity of the capital was embarrassing to the Emperor Alexius, who sought to induce the crusaders to take an oath of allegiance to himself, which all but Raymond of Toulouse and Tancred eventually consented to do. The crusaders, on the other hand, obtained a bad impression of the good faith of the emperor, whose chief object seems to have been to gain their assistance against the Turks, and some of them even meditated an attack on Constantinople. Finally an alliance was concluded between them, and the crusaders consented to assist in an attack on the fortress of Nicaea, in Asia Minor, in return for which Alexius, glad to be relieved of their presence, transported them across the Bosphorus. After a siege of a month the emperor secretly negotiated with the inhabitants, took possession of the city, and refused entrance to the crusaders, whom he invited to pass on.

In spite of the decisive defeat the crusaders inflicted on the Turks at Dorylaeum (July, 1097), their passage through Asia Minor was a difficult one. Not only did the enemy continue to harass them, but their thick leather tunics, covered with plates of iron or brass, were totally unsuited to the burning plains of Asia Minor, and they suffered from lack of water. "They had no other resource to alleviate their sufferings," said Guibert of Nogent, "than some cloves of garlic with which they rubbed their lips."²⁴ Both men and horses died in large numbers.

You would have laughed, or wept perhaps [wrote Foucher of Chartres], to see some of our men, for want of horses, put their possessions in packages on the backs of sheep, goats, pigs, and dogs —

clothes, food, or other necessities of the journey. The backs of the poor beasts were rasped by the friction of the packages. And knights-at-arms were seen riding on oxen.²⁵

Part of the crusaders, under Baldwin of Flanders and Tancred, crossed the Taurus Mountains and seized Tarsus and Cilicia. Then Baldwin, summoned by the Armenians, crossed the Euphrates and occupied Edessa. He married an Armenian princess and founded the first Latin principality in the Orient, the county of Edessa. In the meantime the bulk of the crusaders arrived before Antioch, which they captured after a siege of seven months (June, 1098). They, in turn, were beleaguered by the Turks, and only in the following spring (April, 1099) were they free to press on toward Jerusalem, leaving Bohemond as Prince of Antioch. En route to the Holy City, Raymond of Toulouse marked out (and later conquered) a principality for himself at Tripoli. Finally, in June, 1099, the crusaders began the siege of Jerusalem. Within a few weeks they captured the city and put its inhabitants to the sword. With extreme brutality they spared neither men, women, nor children. The streets were piled with mangled corpses, and in the Mosque of Omar, on the site of Solomon's Temple, it was said blood was a foot deep. The goal of the crusaders had been obtained; it remained to organize their conquests.

Organization of the Crusading States. The ecclesiastics who had accompanied the expedition intended to make the Holy Land a colony of the church, and sought to appoint the Patriarch of Jerusalem viceroy for the Pope. There should be no king where Christ had proclaimed the Gospel and founded the church, they declared. But not so thought the barons, who finally elected Godfrey of Bouillon as ruler, with the title of "Defender of the Holy Sepulcher." The story that he chose this title, rather than that of king, out of humility is probably legendary. In reality it was forced upon him by the crusaders, who did not want to create a mon-

archy. On his death a year later, however, so great was his prestige that they elected his brother Baldwin, count of Edessa, who succeeded in assuming the royal title.²⁶ Four



THE STATES OF THE CRUSADES

principalities, feudal in character,—the county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripoli, and the kingdom of Jerusalem,—were thus founded. In theory the first three were subordinate to the last, the ruler of which was their high suzerain. Politically they were a bit of feudal

Europe, or rather of feudal France, transplanted to the Orient; for they were dominated by French feudal customs, which were later reduced to writing as the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, and the French element was and remained predominant. Almost all the knights were French, the ruling houses were French, and French became the language of all the Occidentals in the Orient.

With the capture of Jerusalem the position of the crusaders was by no means secure. Many of the seaport towns were still in the hands of the Turks; wandering bands of Bedouins pillaged and controlled the coast country, making communications between Jerusalem and Jaffa insecure; and on the east and south the Turkish power was still dominant. Extension of the Christian domination was therefore necessary. Accordingly the crusaders extended their sway over the country districts. Each of the four principalities was divided up into a number of fiefs, the lords of which were the immediate vassals of the prince. For instance, the kingdom of Jerusalem comprised four baronies, which in turn were parceled out among a dozen subvassals. The king had as his personal domain only Jerusalem and its immediate environs. With the assistance of the commercial cities of Pisa, Venice, and Genoa, the seaports, such as Arsuf, Caesarea, Acre, Tyre, and Sidon, were captured one by one. But the crusaders never succeeded in gaining possession of what is now Transjordan and of the hinterland, where lay the dominions of the Atabegs, with their capitals at Aleppo and Hama, and the emirate of Damascus. The existence of these Mohammedan states, as well as the Caliphate of Cairo, constituted a constant menace to the Christian principalities.

The European element never formed more than a small fraction of the population in these states. Many of the crusaders returned home; and while there was a constant influx of Europeans, most of them were pilgrims, who did not permanently settle. The rural and even the urban population remained largely what it had been before — Syrian, Arme-

nian, Greek, Arab, and Jewish. The Frankish nobles simply supplanted the Mohammedan emirs, erected their feudal castles over the land, and ruled a peasant population that was partly Syrian Christian and partly Arab.

Syria was undoubtedly more productive then than today. The vine, the olive, the mulberry (on which silkworms fed), oranges, figs, almonds, sugar cane, and cotton were extensively cultivated. Under Frankish rule the cities seemed to take on a new lease of life. To the original population were now added Italian merchants, from Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, who, for their assistance in the work of conquest, were given special concessions. In every city they had their own quarter, with market, church, bath, and mill; they had their own government; and they were given special rights of landing and selling merchandise.²⁷

Syrian industry as well as commerce and agriculture flourished under Frankish rule. Tripoli, Antioch, and Tarsus were centers of the silk manufacture; Tyre, Jaffa, and Beirut, of glass and pottery; Tripoli, Hebron, and Jerusalem, of dyestuffs. Sugar was refined at Tyre, soap was produced at Tortosa and Antioch, salt was obtained from the Dead Sea and the coast.²⁸ A high standard of quality was maintained by the *Assizes*, which required inspection of manufactured articles as did the guilds in the West.

Under the influence of their new environment Europeans discarded their native dress and adopted the long, soft robe, the turban, and the pointed shoes of the Orient. They soon acquired a taste for Eastern luxury: they adorned their persons with silks and jewels; they ornamented their castles with mosaic, fine tapestries, furniture, silks, glass, and pottery; they spread their tables with Oriental products — fruits, spices, and sugar. In contact with Greeks, Syrians, and Arabs the crusader lost his fanaticism, became tolerant, and even acquired a taste for Oriental art, science, and philosophy. Synagogues, Greek temples, and Arab schools remained open beside churches where Mass was celebrated

according to the Latin rite. Jerusalem had its school where rabbis taught the Talmud, and Tripoli continued to be a center of the study of the Koran, in the mysteries of which even the Franks initiated themselves. Most of the seigneurs learned Arabic and carried on friendly relations with the neighboring states and princes. Some even married Saracens. On the other hand, the West was not without its influence. The political organization, as already pointed out, was feudal. Castles and churches were usually Romanesque or Gothic, although frequently with Oriental details and with luxurious interiors quite foreign to the West.

With the crusaders came the Roman Church. The important part that Pope and ecclesiastics played in the First Crusade made their influence inevitable within these new states, although they did not succeed in controlling them. Monks and clergy flocked from Europe to the Holy Land, where they erected monasteries and churches. Two patriarchates were established, that of Jerusalem and that of Antioch, each of which was divided into four archbishoprics, which in turn were divided into numerous bishoprics. Churches and monasteries were richly endowed and became the greatest of the landed proprietors.

The Crusading Orders. The Crusades created several new orders, in which the ideals of the knight and the monk were combined. The oldest of these orders of religious chivalry was the Knights Hospitalers, or Knights of Saint John. Organized before the First Crusade by charitable French nobles to care for pilgrims, its members devoted themselves especially to the poor and the sick. Their hospital at Jerusalem could accommodate, it is said, two thousand patients. In 1113 the order was reorganized on a military basis, for the purpose of defending the Christian states and making war on the infidel. The ruling princes permitted the knights to erect castles throughout the country and strong houses in the towns. Their chief fortresses were in the principality of

Antioch, in the county of Tripoli, on the shores of Lake Tiberias, and on the borders of Egypt. Their castle of Markab, erected in 1186, occupied the entire summit of a plateau, contained a village and a church, and possessed a garrison of a thousand men, with a store of provisions for five years. The habit of the order was a black mantle with a white cross.

No less important was the Order of the Temple, or Knights Templars. In 1118 a small group of knights formed themselves into another order, and before the Patriarch of Jerusalem took the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. King Baldwin gave them lodgings in his palace near the site of the Temple, whence their name. At the head of the order was a grand master, Hughes de Payns, and beneath him were knights (who had to be of noble rank), foot soldiers, or squires, and clergy who served as chaplains. Their habit was a white mantle adorned with a red cross. They made it their special duty to escort pilgrims to the Holy Land and to defend them against the infidel. Like the Hospitalers, the Templars erected castles (eighteen in number) at strategic points for the defense of the Holy Land. The most important were Safed, Tortosa, and Castle Pilgrim.

The popularity that Hospitalers and Templars soon enjoyed, in Europe as well as in Syria, brought them many recruits and great wealth. The church bestowed favors upon them, and the faithful gave them landed possessions both in Europe and in Syria. The Hospitalers are said to have possessed nineteen thousand manors in Europe, and the Templars ten thousand.

Privileges and immunities were showered upon them; they were exempted from tolls and tithes and taxes of all kinds; their churches and houses were endowed with the right of asylum; their persons enjoyed the inviolability accorded to ecclesiastics; they were released from all feudal obligations and allegiance; they were justiciable only by Rome; bishops were forbidden to excommunicate them, and were even ordered to refer to the Roman curia all the infinite questions which arose in local quarrels.²⁹

Their wealth and privileges enabled the Templars in the thirteenth century to enter the field of finance. In every country they had houses which became banking centers, as, for instance, the Temple in Paris and in London; they accepted money on deposit, made loans, sold bills of exchange, and financed kings and ecclesiastics.

Somewhat later several minor orders were established, the most important of which was that of the Teutonic Knights. Founded by some citizens of Bremen and Lübeck in 1190, during the Third Crusade, for hospital service, it was later raised to the rank of a military order. It was composed of German knights who engaged to care for the sick and to combat the infidel. During the thirteenth century its seat was Acre. The knights wore a white mantle with a black cross.

The Second Crusade. The position of the Christian states in Syria was, as we have seen, a precarious one. The Turkish power in Egypt and on the Euphrates was a constant menace. In 1144 the Atabeg of Mosul, Imad-ed-Din, having conquered several of the Mohammedan principalities in Syria, determined to destroy the Christian states. His capture of Edessa, which caused consternation throughout Christendom, called forth the Second Crusade. The initiative in this new movement was taken by Louis VII of France. At an assembly at Vézelay in March, 1146, Bernard of Clairvaux succeeded in stirring up an enthusiasm that was second only to that of Clermont. Louis VII and Queen Eleanor immediately took the cross, along with a multitude of knights and ladies who raised an army to fulfill their crusading vows. After preaching in various parts of France, Saint Bernard crossed into Germany, where, at the Diet of Speyer, he induced the Emperor Conrad III also to take the cross. Two armies, each (it is said) seventy thousand strong, set out via the Danube and Thrace for Constantinople. Both armies met with disaster in attempting to cross Asia Minor, and

completed the journey by sea. So reduced were their numbers that they were unable to proceed against Edessa and instead laid siege to Damascus. Failing to capture it, they abandoned the Crusade.

The Third Crusade. Until toward the close of the twelfth century Egypt had not seriously menaced the Christian states. Internal dissension had weakened it, and the kings of Jerusalem not only had captured Ascalon, the last of the Fatimite possessions in Syria, but even dreamed of dominating Egypt. This situation, however, was altered by the rise of the young Kurd general Saladin, who in 1171 suppressed the Caliphate of Cairo and proclaimed himself Sultan. Having made himself master of Egypt, Saladin prepared to extend his power, and during the next few years he conquered the Mohammedan states in Syria and Mesopotamia (with the exception of Mosul). The Christians were thus menaced on the south, east, and north by a unified Mohammedan power under a pious prince who regarded as a religious duty the expulsion of the Christians from the Orient. He proclaimed a holy war in Syria, in Egypt, and in Mesopotamia, and in 1187 invaded the kingdom of Jerusalem. The destruction of the Christian army at the battle of Hattin (1187) sealed the fate of the kingdom, and in October Jerusalem fell into Saladin's hands. In a few months Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli were all that remained of the Christian states in Syria. A new crusade was necessary.

The news of the fall of Jerusalem aroused great emotion in Europe. The cardinals rashly vowed that they would live upon alms and not mount a horse until Jerusalem was captured, and that they would scour Europe on foot, cross in hand. The Pope addressed letters to all the Christian rulers and exhorted them to take the cross; he ordered public fasts and prayers and proclaimed a "truce of God" for seven years. In a new wave of emotion, warring princes made peace with their enemies and prepared to inaugurate a new crusade.

Three princes — Philip Augustus of France, Richard I of England, and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa — placed themselves each at the head of an army and set out to rescue Jerusalem once more from the hand of the infidel. The emperor, with one army, took the route through the Danube valley and via Thrace and Constantinople. Crossing the straits, after the usual strife with the Byzantine emperor, they suffered the customary privations from lack of a commissariat in crossing Asia Minor. They were compelled to eat the flesh of dogs, horses, and mules and to light fires with their harness. The final calamity was the drowning of Frederick Barbarossa while he was attempting to cross the river Saleph in southeastern Asia Minor. In dismay at the loss of their leader, some of the German princes returned home, while others persevered and eventually swelled the army of the crusaders before Acre.

In the meantime Philip Augustus and Richard I had completed their preparations and met at Messina, the former having embarked at Genoa and the latter having marched through France and Italy. After spending the winter of 1190-1191 in Sicily, where they indulged in violent quarrels, they finally sailed for Syria, Richard stopping on the way to seize the island of Cyprus. The assistance they now brought to the king of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, who for almost two years had been besieging Acre, led to its capitulation. Richard distinguished himself by his exhibition of bravery, and inspired terror in the minds of the Saracens, but showed his savage brutality by murdering two thousand hostages when Saladin failed to pay the promised indemnity. Philip Augustus abandoned the crusade after the capture of Acre; Richard lingered on in a fruitless endeavor to recapture Jerusalem. Finally, in 1192, Richard concluded a three years' truce with Saladin, according to which English pilgrims were given permission to visit the Holy Sepulcher. Then he likewise embarked for Europe, to fall into the hands of the archduke of Austria, whom he had mortally offended

after the capture of Acre. The terror he had inspired in the Saracens long survived him in popular songs, and to calm their children Saracen mothers threatened them with the name of Richard.

At the close of the twelfth century the Christians had lost all their possessions in Syria save the coast. The kingdom of Jerusalem was reduced to a strip of territory adjoining Acre, which became the capital and seat of the Hospitalers and Templars. The county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch were united under one ruler. Edessa was definitely lost. Cyprus, however, captured by Richard I, became a kingdom under the Lusignans, the royal house of Jerusalem.

The Fourth Crusade. Such was the situation when the greatest of the medieval Popes, Innocent III, ascended the throne of Saint Peter. One of the most cherished designs of the new Pope was to stir up Europe to a new crusade, and in his first encyclicals he urged it upon princes and prelates alike. He addressed letters to individual rulers, in which he exhorted them to lay aside their quarrels and to engage in the holy war. Legates scoured Europe promising remission of sins to all who should take the cross. The clergy were urged to devote a fortieth of their revenues, and the Pope pledged a tenth of his. Chests were to be set up in every church, that the laity might make their weekly contributions. Preachers were sent into every country, especially into France, to arouse popular enthusiasm. One of the most successful of these was Fulk de Neuilly. Renowned for his miracles, he is said to have induced one hundred thousand persons to take the cross. Among them were Thibaud, count of Champagne, Louis, count of Blois, Simon de Montfort, and Geoffrey de Villehardouin, the future historian of the Fourth Crusade. An embassy that included Villehardouin was sent to Venice to arrange with the Doge the terms of transportation to Syria. The Venetians agreed to provide transports for 4500 knights, 9000 squires, and 20,000 foot soldiers, with provisions

for four months, for the sum of 85,000 marks, and to have the ships ready by June, 1202.

In the spring of 1202, under the leadership of Boniface of Montferrat, the crusaders began to journey to Venice. Some, however, preferred other routes, and by November the number assembled was far less than had been agreed. On pooling their resources they found that they were unable to raise the sum promised the Venetians. The Doge then obligingly offered to allow the crusaders to earn their passage by assisting in the capture of Zara, a Hungarian possession on the Dalmatian coast. In spite of the opposition of some of the crusaders to an expedition against a Christian city, the agreement was signed. After a siege of a few days Zara capitulated.

Out of a variety of motives the Venetians next sought to enlist the aid of the crusaders against Constantinople. They desired to avert a possible expedition against Egypt, where they had extensive interests and peaceful trade with the Saracens. Moreover, a recent revolution had seriously injured Venetian influence within the Byzantine Empire; for the new regime favored their rivals the Pisans and loaded their merchants with taxes. Besides, the young Alexius, the son of Isaac Angelus, the emperor deposed by the revolution, now came to Zara to seek the aid of the crusaders in regaining his lost throne. He promised to place the empire under the authority of the Pope, to pay the crusaders two hundred thousand marks, and to aid them in the crusade. The Venetians further urged that the capture of Constantinople was but a step in the direction of Syria. In spite of the anathemas of Innocent III, who forbade them to attack the Byzantine Empire, the crusaders could not resist these seducing promises. This new enterprise was undertaken, and in July, 1203, Venetians and crusaders appeared before Constantinople.

In less than a month the usurper, Alexius III, fled, and the inhabitants dragged Isaac Angelus from his prison and placed him once more on the throne, which he shared with his son, Alexius IV. Many of the crusaders now demanded that they

set out immediately for Jerusalem, but the young emperor urged them to remain to secure his throne. Accord with the crusaders, however, was of short duration. Alexius IV was unable to carry out his promises, and he himself soon succumbed to a new revolution that shut the gates in the face of the crusaders. A second siege of Constantinople was necessary. It was agreed that the Venetians and crusaders should divide the spoils of victory and that a college of electors, half French and half Venetian, should elect a new emperor. Thus was created the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the rule of which was conferred upon Baldwin of Flanders. Six hundred French knights had fiefs bestowed upon them; but the Venetians took care to secure for themselves those parts of the empire that would assure their commercial supremacy. Innocent III, obliged to recognize the new empire, was appeased by the prospect of the union of the Greek with the Latin Church, which, however, was never completely realized.

The Children's Crusade. Innocent III had by no means relinquished the idea of the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher. At first he urged the knights at Constantinople to fulfill their vows, but soon he abandoned the attempt for a new crusade. Though his vassals Andrew of Hungary, John of England, and Frederick II all took the cross, the strife between Philip Augustus and John and between Otto of Brunswick and Frederick, as well as the crusade against the Albigenses of southern France, created in Europe a situation unfavorable to a new expedition to Syria. That the mystic fervor which had produced the crusades was, however, not altogether dead was shown by the Children's Crusade. In 1212 a young shepherd lad of Vendôme, named Stephen, announced that God had called him to lead Christians to Palestine and that God would open a path through the sea for them as he had done for the Israelites of old. A thousand children left their homes and rallied around him. Making their way to Marseille they en-

gaged two merchants to transport them to Palestine. Some suffered shipwreck; others were sold by the faithless merchants into slavery in Alexandria. A similar expedition from Germany, led by a boy of Cologne, Nicholas, crossed the Alps; but most of its members died of hunger and fatigue. "These children," said Innocent, "put us to shame. While we sleep they gaily embark for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulcher."³⁰ Accordingly, at the Lateran Council of 1215 he again exhorted the faithful to take the cross, and the council decreed that the new crusade should start in June, 1217. But before that time arrived Innocent III was dead, and the princes of Europe were slow to embark.

The Later Crusades. The first to attempt to fulfill the will of Innocent was an army of European knights and princes who in 1218, under the leadership of a papal legate and the king of Jerusalem, undertook an expedition against Egypt and succeeded in capturing Damietta. Their success caused a great stir in Europe, but the crusaders were so slow to follow up their initial advantage that the sultan of Egypt soon recovered the city. More successful was the crusade of Frederick II. As early as 1215 he had taken the cross, and his marriage with the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem gave him the title of "King of Jerusalem." But still he delayed until in 1227, as we have seen, Pope Gregory IX, impatient at his procrastination, excommunicated him. When he finally did embark, in 1228, he made a treaty with the sultan of Egypt according to which the latter ceded to him Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the roads and villages connecting them with Acre. In return Frederick undertook to prevent Western princes from attacking Egypt.

The final capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens in 1244 inaugurated the last stage of the Crusades. At the Council of Lyon, in 1245, Innocent IV proclaimed a truce of four years and endeavored to organize a new expedition for the rescue of Jerusalem. Saint Louis of France was the only



© British Museum

Garden of Love.
Miniature from Manuscript of "Romance of the Rose"



Uffizi Gallery
Fra Filippo Lippi's *Madonna*. (See page 777)



Joseph Widener Collection
Castagno's *David*. (See page 777)



National Museum, Florence
Donatello's *David*. (See page 775)

monarch who responded, and in 1249 he undertook an expedition that was largely French against Damietta. The city was captured; but later reverses, during which Louis himself was taken prisoner, led to its surrender. A final expedition in 1270 against Tunis, during which Louis died of the plague, was the last of the Crusades. One by one the Christian possessions in the Orient fell into the hands of the Saracens; and finally, in 1291, the one remaining stronghold, Acre, was captured. "The Franks no longer possess anything in Syria," exclaimed the Arab writer Ibn Ferat exultantly. "Let us hope, if it please God, that this condition will last until the Day of Judgment."³¹

Results of the Crusades. As far as their immediate purpose was concerned — the repulsion of the Turk and of Islam — the Crusades were a failure. Momentarily the wave of Turkish conquest was stayed, but it welled forth once more, and ended only with the Turks in possession of the Danube and Constantinople in the fifteenth century. From the point of view of the Byzantine Empire the Crusades were barbarian invasions,³² and the capture of Constantinople in 1204 was a disaster. Yet the Crusades were not without results, which, however, the enthusiasm of historians has often greatly exaggerated. While, in the very nature of the case, these results are difficult to trace, certain ones may nevertheless be singled out with a fair measure of confidence.

The papacy had unquestionably benefited, both in prestige and in power, by the crusading movement. Popes had taken the initiative; they had proclaimed the Crusades; they had financed them. Emperors and kings had assumed the cross, and armies had mobilized at their bidding. Did not all this demonstrate the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power? Papal finances also developed under the influence of the crusading movement. The clerical tithe, levied originally upon the clergy of Christendom for the purposes of the Crusades, ended by becoming a regular source of papal

income. Missions may be said to constitute another religious result of the Crusades. Saint Francis of Assisi, perhaps in reaction against the use of force, went to Egypt and preached before the sultan in an attempt to convert him; and his followers, as well as those of Saint Dominic, endeavored to gain the Moslem world for Christianity. Saint Louis sent the Franciscan William of Rubruquis to the court of the Great Khan, in central Asia, with the object of converting the Mongol Empire and using it to strike a blow at Turkish dominion in the rear and thus make the conquest of Palestine more easy.

But not always was the religious effect praiseworthy. The crusade was a weapon the papacy might turn against an enemy or unbeliever in Europe as well as against the infidel. Thus a crusade was proclaimed against the Hohenstaufen, and another against the heretics of southern France. The Crusades likewise greatly developed the use of indulgences, which ultimately became a source of gain not only for the papacy but also for the unauthorized pardoner.

The commercial revival had already begun before the Crusades; but undoubtedly it was greatly accelerated by them. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa made use of the Crusades to establish trading posts in Syria. Through these commercial centers not only native products but those of the Far East as well flowed into Europe. The crusaders acquired a taste for Oriental spices, fashions, and articles of luxury that stimulated trade.

Sugar and maize; lemons, apricots, and melons; cotton, muslin, and damask; lilac and purple . . . ; the use of powder and of glass mirrors, and also of the rosary itself — all these things came to Europe from the East and as a result of the Crusades.³³

Banking, bills of exchange, and letters of credit, if they did not have their origin in the Crusades, were all developed by them. The transport of large sums of money required by crusaders and pilgrims fostered the development of the bank-

ing institutions of the Templars and of the Italians. To transport the crusaders themselves the Italian city-states built larger and better ships, and thus navigation was fostered.

The effect of the Crusades upon the intellectual life of Europe is less clear. Formerly it was customary to make them responsible for the influx of Arabic and Greek learning into Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but with our increased knowledge of the many contacts with the East through Spain, Sicily, Africa, and Constantinople, less and less can with certainty be attributed to the Crusades. It would be unsafe to deny that many Europeans had their horizon broadened, their knowledge increased, or their intellectual energy stimulated by them. But, as it has been well pointed out, "a man may travel much and yet see little, may preserve intact the narrowness of vision with which he set out. Saint Louis, as Joinville shows him to us, or Joinville himself, was not intellectually changed by his crusading."³⁴ The Crusades did, however, stimulate historical writing, such as that of William of Tyre, Joinville, and Villehardouin.

Whatever their influence may have been upon contemporary life and thought, the Crusades coincided with a period of great commercial, intellectual, religious, and artistic revival, to which we must now turn.

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CHAPTER XX

The Revival of Town Life

WITH the rise of Mohammedan power in the western Mediterranean in the eighth century, the commercial prosperity of the cities of southern France and Italy, based on trade with Constantinople and Syria, was largely brought to an end. Marseille, in Merovingian times a flourishing seaport carrying on an extensive trade with Syria in jewelry, silks, wine, oil, spices, and papyrus, at the close of the eighth century was deserted and impoverished. Everywhere towns declined, and the merchant class, on which urban prosperity depended, disappeared. Those who continued to occupy the old town sites scarcely differed from the rural population. Behind old Roman fortifications open spaces were frequently tilled, and town dwellers and villagers alike became part of the manorial system. Roman municipal institutions disappeared, and the entire populace was dependent upon the law of the lord, whether noble, bishop, or abbot. In the Carolingian era Europe became entirely domanial and rural in its economy.

It is true that cities are mentioned in the ninth and tenth centuries, but they were merely fortified enclosures protecting either the cathedral church of a diocese or a monastery. Indeed the term "city" became synonymous with the seat of a bishop.

Its inhabitants [says Pirenne] did not present any municipal character. They consisted of priests, clerics, and monks attached to the service of the churches or abbeys round which were grouped the most indispensable servants and artisans. A small market was held once a week to which the peasants of the surrounding districts came to sell small quantities of the common articles of consumption, and where occasionally a wandering pedlar appeared.¹

The cities of this period were thus purely administrative centers; they possessed no inhabitants living exclusively from the fruits of trade or industry, and consequently resembled the centers of large estates rather than cities as we know them. Paris in the ninth and tenth centuries was a city of this sort, being the center of numerous domains.²

Besides the episcopal seats, or "cities," there were many strongholds of feudal nobility — *burgs*, or castles — scattered over Europe. Sometimes, indeed, an old Roman town became the stronghold of a duke or count rather than of a bishop, and sometimes the burg of the noble rose beside the city. But during the period between 850 and 1000 western Europe became covered with a mushroom growth of burgs that rose on entirely new sites. The role that these strongholds played has been aptly compared to that of the fort on the Indian frontier in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America. Not only were they the residences of the nobles, but they served as places of refuge for the surrounding country during invasion or war and as centers of administration and government. Like the inhabitants of the cities, however, those of the burg had no "urban characteristics." The knights, clergy, officials, and serfs grouped around the castle lived on the fruits of the soil.³

But by the close of the tenth century there was setting in a revival of city life which was to become more intense as time went on, so that by the thirteenth century flourishing cities, though by no means as great centers of population as in modern times, had become, as under the Roman Empire, an important phase of European life. Little evidence exists to enable us to describe the origin of medieval cities, and numerous theories have been brought forward to account for their rise. The most plausible is that cities had their origin in the revival of trade in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was the cathedral church, the monastery, and especially the burg that afforded the nucleus for this development. Out of some five hundred cities of modern France only about

eighty are on Gallo-Roman sites. That the rest developed out of burgs strategically situated on rivers or trade routes⁴ is indicated by the French word for city, *ville*, from *villa*, which signifies a rural domain. The needs of the clergy within the episcopal center, or of the monks within the monastery, or of the inhabitants of the castle, led, in the course of the eleventh century, to the rise of an artisan and mercantile class, living exclusively by their crafts or trade. Where opportunity offered, these newcomers doubtless settled in the empty spaces within the walls. But they soon outgrew this restricted space and were forced to build outside the walls. Thus at Regensburg a "city of merchants" arose beside the episcopal city, and at Strasbourg this new group was called the *urbs exterior*. Merchants and artisans also grouped themselves, where conditions were favorable, around the burgs; but because the space within the walls was here limited, they were forced to settle outside. Hence arose an *outside* burg, or *faubourg*. In contrast with the old burg it was frequently called the *new burg*. In the Netherlands and England such a settlement was termed a *port*, from the Latin *portus*, which meant not a seaport but an enclosed space serving as a storehouse or transfer point for merchandise. This new burg soon surrounded itself with a wooden palisade, which was later replaced by a stone wall.⁵ A noteworthy instance of a medieval burg's becoming a town is that of Bruges. When, in the latter part of the tenth century, Count Baldwin Ironarm built a castle in a loop of the little river Lys, there soon arose a faubourg inhabited by artisans and merchants. X

After this castle was built, . . . merchants, tavern-keepers, then other outsiders (*hospitarii*) drifted in for the sake of the food and shelter of those who might have business transactions with the count, who often came there. Houses and inns were erected for their accommodation, since there was not room for them within the château. These habitations increased so rapidly that soon a large ville came into being which is called Brugghe by the people, from the word for bridge.⁶

A similar bit of evidence comes from Domesday Book. "Henry de Ferrers," declared the Domesday survey of Staffordshire, "has the castle of Totbury. In the borough about the castle are forty-two men living only by their trading, and they render, together with the market, four pounds and ten shillings."⁷

It scarcely need be said that not every episcopal seat or every village surrounding a castle grew into a city, but only those that were favorably situated on a river or trade route. At first the merchants in the burg were doubtless in the minority, but eventually the commercial population overshadowed the older element. Hence it was that the term "burghers" (*burgenses*) came to denote not the old feudal population of the burg but the new commercial class.

The Merchant Class and the Lords. The inhabitants of the new burg, or *faubourg*, consisted of various elements, but as a rule of two main classes: artisans and merchants. Many of the former were doubtless serfs of the lord who gradually devoted themselves exclusively to the various crafts; others were perhaps runaway serfs from other manors. The merchants were probably for the most part foreigners who, attracted by the opportunities for trade, had settled under the shadow of the burg. But whether newcomers or old inhabitants, all alike were subject to the law and government of the lord of the domain. This was a situation that soon led to friction, for manorial laws and customs were ill adapted to the new industrial and commercial society. At first the nobles of the burg and especially the bishops of the cities sought to subject the new element to the old organization. The merchants, on the other hand, sought to rid themselves of the market dues and tolls which the lord exacted, and the artisans to emancipate themselves from the *cens*, or quitrent, which he continued to levy on his serfs within the town, and to obtain personal freedom. Before long, therefore, they began to demand the right to make their

own laws, administer justice, levy their own taxes, and even issue their own coinage.

The Commune. With the growth of the merchant population in the city or burg, with their development of class consciousness, and with their increasing restlessness under the rule of the feudal lord, the merchants did the natural thing: they formed associations. Such associations were in existence at least from the eleventh century and were variously known as guilds, brotherhoods, or *convivia* (from the custom of holding, on definite occasions, a solemn feast of which the members partook). Frequently they had a religious or charitable aspect as well as an economic one, and placed themselves under the protection of a patron saint. The strength that union gave them enabled these merchants, or bourgeois, to wrest privileges from the lord of whose domain the city or burg formed a part, and, not infrequently, to obtain complete autonomy. Such a self-governing city is known as a *commune*.

The earliest communes appeared in northern Italy; but the movement soon spread north of the Alps, where it affected the cities along the Rhine and those of Flanders, Hainaut, Picardy, and the south — in short, the most important commercial centers.⁸ Inasmuch as feudal lords were loath to renounce their rights over and dues from the flourishing bourgeoisie, the commune — at least in the early stages of the movement — was usually created by insurrection. Such rebellion against feudal rule was sometimes repressed, and then the yoke of the lord was fastened more firmly than ever about the necks of the bourgeois and artisans. But frequently it was successful, and then the lord was obliged to renounce his rights over the populace. When the first rising failed, repeated attempts were often successful. These newly won rights were guaranteed by the charter.

The insurrection of the town against the feudal lord was usually planned by the guilds of merchants and carried out

with the assistance of the working classes. Thus the towns of Lombardy and Tuscany, led by the merchants of Milan, won their independence against nobles, clergy, and imperial power. Thus, too, did many French and Flemish towns free themselves from the yoke of the feudal suzerain. Thanks to the autobiography of Guibert, abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, we know something of the details of the communal revolt of Laon against its suzerain, the bishop. Laon was a turbulent city. Its bishop, one Gaudri, was a tyrannical lord who treated his subjects as serfs and ruled over them with the assistance of a Negro slave who acted as his hangman. Taking advantage of his absence in England, the bourgeoisie purchased from the clergy the right to form a commune. The fury of the bishop on his return was appeased by a large sum of money, and he swore to respect the charter. Confirmation was likewise purchased from Louis VI. But the bishop, soon grieving for the time when his exactions had been unlimited, repented his action and, having purchased the king's consent, in 1112 dissolved the commune. This was the signal for insurrection. The episcopal palace was sacked, and the bishop murdered. In revenge the king marched against the city and suppressed the commune.⁹ Not until 1128 was it re-established by Louis VII, who feared another outburst of popular fury.

A commune was not always inaugurated, however, by an insurrection. Freedom was sometimes conceded as the price of assistance in some struggle in which the lord was engaged. More often independence was purchased outright. Feudal lords were always in need of money. If they wished to embark on a crusade, to undertake a military enterprise, or to ransom themselves from captivity, money could be raised by selling liberty to the bourgeoisie. Before long, too, the lords perceived that the development of town life was in their own interest, and that by fostering it through conferring liberties and privileges they themselves would derive profit. Frequently some charitable or pious reason was given as the

motive for enfranchisement, but usually it cloaked a financial transaction. Ecclesiastical lords, whether abbots or bishops, as a rule were more reluctant to grant independence than secular princes. The commune was bitterly opposed by the church, as the number of insurrections in ecclesiastical towns testifies.

The Privileged Towns. Not every town succeeded in attaining complete autonomy. Between the commune and those towns that remained virtually subject to the unrestrained law and exactions of the lord, there were many that had obtained charters conferring upon them varying degrees of liberty. These were the privileged, or enfranchised, towns. As a rule, wherever the royal authority was strong — as in England, parts of Germany, and central France — the towns were of this type. The charter, as in the case of the commune, usually conferred personal freedom, although often serfdom disappeared only gradually. Instead of the arbitrary levying of taxes, the amount was definitely fixed and was payable in money rather than in kind. Personal services, such as *corvée* and military aid, were likewise converted into taxes, although the burgher might be summoned to the defense of the country in time of invasion. Gate tolls, market tolls, banalities, and all arbitrary taxes were generally abolished or restricted. In the matter of justice the bourgeoisie were freed from the jurisdiction — often oppressive — of seignorial agents, given the right to trial in the lord's court, and freed from arbitrary fines for misdemeanors. Some privileged towns enjoyed almost as much self-government as the communes, while others, such as Paris and Orleans, had no municipal institutions and were subject to the rule of the provost.

The New Towns. Still another type of urban center was the new town. So strong had the urban movement become by the twelfth century that many kings, ecclesiastics, and nobles, in order the better to exploit their domains or to profit by the presence of the bourgeoisie, founded new centers of

population. In contrast with the older towns, with their narrow, crooked streets, these new towns were well laid out. They were usually rectangular, although sometimes (as in Germany) circular, with streets running at right angles to each other and with a wide, open square in the center which served as a market place. The site was carefully chosen and laid out in blocks, with spaces for gardens as well as houses. The entire town was surrounded by a palisade or wall. Special privileges, such as freedom and the limitation of taxes, tolls, and corvées, were offered to settlers, and the town was granted a charter, usually based on that of an older town. Such new towns were widely distributed. In the north of France they were designated by the name *Villeneuve*, as Villeneuve d'Étampes. Many were planted in Languedoc after the Albigensian Crusade. Even more extensive was the movement in Germany, especially east of the Elbe, where, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Germans were settling in large numbers. Breslau, Dresden, Berlin, and Leipzig were among the settlements founded in this way.

Characteristics of Medieval Towns. The early towns were built almost entirely of wood, and the walls were frequently wooden palisades. But with the increase of wealth, with the development of stone masonry and the knowledge of how to build stone fortifications learned in the East, and with the rise of Gothic architecture, the appearance of the town rapidly improved. Stone walls, surmounted by crenelated battlements and relieved from monotony by turrets or towers, began to characterize the town of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Looming high above the walls was the majestic form of a great Romanesque or Gothic church, a symbol of medieval faith, and evidence of the pride that all classes took in their town. Strangely enough, some of the most magnificent of these arose in the very towns in which the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the clergy became most acute: Laon, Reims, and Beauvais.¹⁰ The pride and

wealth of the bourgeoisie in the thirteenth century are also illustrated by the magnificent town halls, so numerous in Belgium, Germany, and Italy, that are still admired today. The watchtower, with its belfry to summon the citizens, was another sign of popular sovereignty. In many towns, especially in Italy, nobles erected their private towers, from which they waged war against each other to the disturbance of the commune, the merchants, and the artisans. Florence is said at one time to have had fifteen hundred such towers, and Milan three hundred; and legend asserts that Pisa boasted no less than ten thousand.

But the picturesque appearance of the medieval town, with its turrets, towers, and spires silhouetted against the sky, did not improve on closer acquaintance. It was essentially a place of sharp contrasts. Wretched hovels, usually of wood, existed under the shadow of the splendid cathedral, town hall, or burghers' houses. The houses were built close together, often with a projecting upper story. To prevent such encroachment on the street, an ordinance decreed that a knight must be able to ride unobstructed through it, with a lance across his saddle. The streets, save in the new towns, were narrow, crooked, unpaved, and filthy. Most towns lacked both water and sewerage systems and as a consequence were evil-smelling and unsanitary. Garbage was thrown into the streets and left until officials complained; then it was carted away and dumped into a river or other convenient place.¹¹ We find Edward III complaining that York was the most noisome city in his kingdom. Geneva had an ordinance that garbage should not be left on the street more than eight days in winter and three in summer.

Plagues and fires were the two most dreaded scourges. Disease was popularly ascribed to demoniac influence, and the necessity of sanitation was not understood. Infant mortality was extremely high. Smallpox (with which other skin diseases were confounded) and leprosy were very common. France in the thirteenth century had two thousand laza-

rettos; the diocese of Troyes alone contained nineteen. The blind and the crippled — victims of numerous wars, bloody feuds, pestilence, the unskillfulness of the physicians, or the harshness of the law¹² — might be found everywhere, begging alms at the doors of churches or, as in Paris and other royal cities, at the very gates of the palace. The wooden houses, with their thatched roofs, were frequently a prey to fires which could be checked only by pulling down the buildings; and special ropes and hooks had to be kept for this purpose. The lack of a high-pressure water system made anything in the nature of an effective fire brigade impossible. The danger from fire led to the increasing use of brick and stone and roofing tile or slate as building material in the later Middle Ages. In 1189 London encouraged the use of stone for the dividing walls between buildings, and, in 1212, of tiles and lead for roofs. That most houses in medieval England were still built of wood is indicated by a writer of the late sixteenth century.

The greatest part of our building in the cities and good townes of England consisteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houses of the communaltie (except here and there in the West countrie townes) are made of stone. . . . The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet, and for the most part, of strong timber. . . . Howbeit such as be latelie builded are commonlie either of bricke or hard stone.¹³

Yet with all its squalor and misery there was much gaiety and amusement in a medieval town. Even if the town itself did not boast gardens, — and many did, — the country, with its green pastures, tilled fields, gardens, streams, and woods, lay all around and was easily accessible. On holidays boys and young men indulged in wrestling, tilting, football, and other games, not only in the fields but also in the streets, to the danger of pedestrians. There were miracle and mystery plays and gay comedies enacted in the streets or open spaces. The freedom with which the medieval composer treated a sacred

theme would often seem blasphemous to the modern mind. Epics and romantic tales were declaimed by street singers, or *jongleurs*. The townspeople loved masquerades, state entries, and royal processions; and on such occasions the houses and streets would frequently be hung with silks and other brightly colored cloths. Weddings were occasions for dances, gay festivities, and the display of fine clothes, which town sumptuary laws frequently restricted. The beginning of Lent (the Carnival), May Day, and Midsummer Day were all occasions for celebrations. Besides, the guilds had their saints' days, when they held their festivities. Excessive drinking was a blot on the lighter side of town life. Taverns were numerous, and the records of coroners' inquests show that deaths from accidents or quarrels arising out of drunkenness were common. The city of Nuremberg kept a special wagon for picking up drunkards who had fallen on the street.

The town was a place where all feudal class distinctions broke down. "The air of the city makes free," declared an old German proverb; and it was exemplified by the universal law that if a serf lived a year and a day within a town he became a free man. Here even the lowest of birth might attain distinction and affluence.

* "Into one of our great cities there came one day [relates the preacher Stephen de Bourbon] a boy of poor appearance, covered with scabies. Soon everybody where he lived called him *Petit Galeux* (Scabby), and the name stuck to him. When he became a little bigger, he delivered meat at the houses of the bourgeoisie to gain a living. In this way he saved up some sous with which he began to practice usury, and profiting thereby he assumed a more respectable garb. Then people began to call him *Martin Galeux* (his sobriquet having become his family name). Later on he became rich. Then the villein word *galeux* was dropped and he was called *Master Martin*. When he amassed a great fortune he became *Sir Martin*. Finally he took rank among the greatest and most opulent personages of the city, and no one dared call him anything but *Monseigneur Martin*. All the inhabitants respected him as their lord.¹⁴ (A: 437)

Such new-rich, like their modern counterparts, often sought to forget their humble origin. They adorned their persons with costly garments, including silks and furs; they provided their daughters with large dowries; they built fine houses; they maintained a sumptuous table, adorned with fine plate and spread with rich foods and costly wines.

These wealthy bourgeois constituted the governing class of the towns. They were the masters of the guilds, the merchants, and the officials. Having made use of the working classes to destroy feudal lordship, the bourgeois denied them a share in the town government. A medieval town was thus far from being democratic, government being in the hands of the few. New class distinctions arose, — distinctions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, — which have been bequeathed to modern times. Thus class hatred was born, and revolts of the workers, especially in the industrial cities of Flanders and Italy, became common. Having escaped from rural serfdom, the masses fell a prey to the domination of the rising middle class.

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CHAPTER XXI

Medieval Commerce and Industry

I. COMMERCE

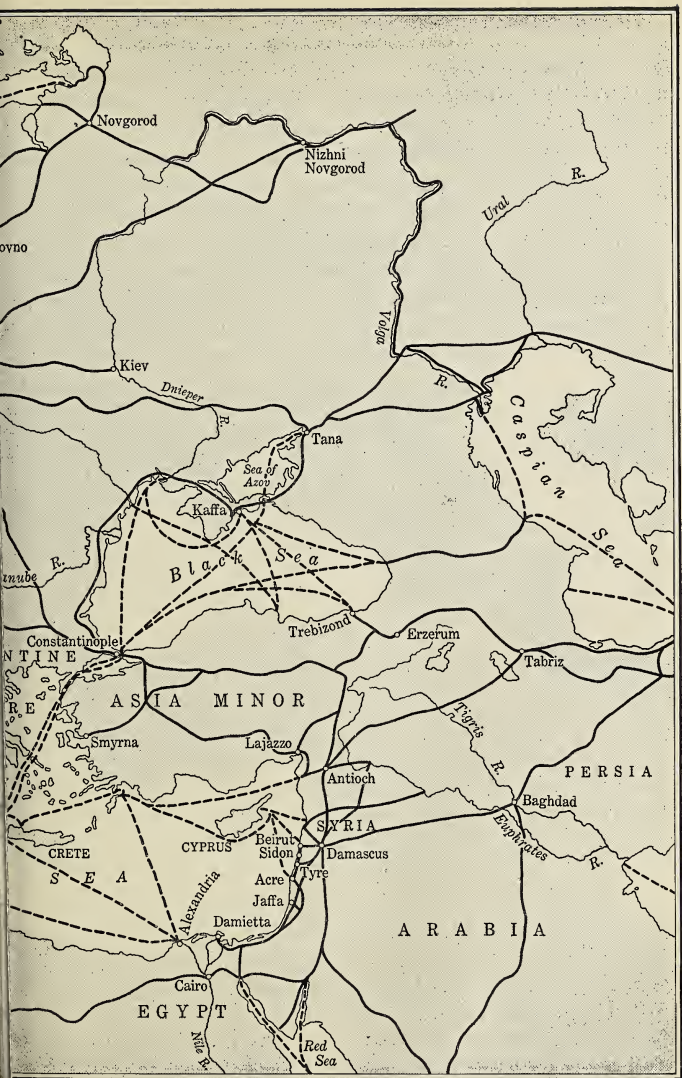
BY THE eleventh century Europe was experiencing a commercial and industrial revival which, as we have already seen, caused a renaissance of city life. Hitherto trade had been largely a local affair, with occasionally a visit from a Jewish, Syrian, or Greek merchant to break the monotony of life on the manor. But now the Italian trader might be found everywhere; and soon every country was to see the rise of a native merchant and artisan class. There was thus introduced into society a new element that became more and more important with each succeeding century and eventually was to supplant the feudal classes altogether.

This revival of commercial activity was first apparent in Italy, where such cities as Venice, Amalfi, and Bari, by the year 1000, were engaging in trade with Constantinople and Syria. The Crusades gave a great impetus to this movement, which extended to all countries of Europe. Venice and Genoa in particular became powerful city-states that vied with each other for the supremacy of the Mediterranean and the control of the trade with the East. Contact with the Orient familiarized the European with new products and articles of luxury, and created a demand that the merchant hastened to exploit. Commerce, in turn, stimulated industry since the European needed something to exchange. This new commercial movement was fostered by the increasing orderliness of society, by the subsidence of the Viking invasions that had long plundered the coasts of Europe, and by the Christian control of the Mediterranean that the Crusades assured.

The Mediterranean. The great highway of medieval as of ancient commerce was the Mediterranean. Down to the fifteenth century, when the Cape route to India and the Far East was opened, the Mediterranean Sea remained the great emporium of exchange between the East and the West. The cities of Italy, southern France, and Catalonia became great commercial centers through which European trade was carried on with Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and the Byzantine Empire. Commodities from the Far East were transported by Arab and Chinese traders to ports on the Persian Gulf or Red Sea, whence they were carried by caravans to Mediterranean ports such as Alexandria, Damietta, Acre, or Jaffa. Besides these two routes via the Indian Ocean, Red Sea, and Persian Gulf, another important one was the overland route from the back door of China and India via Turfan and Samarkand to Baghdad or to Tana (on the Sea of Azov). Through these channels the products of India and China, such as silks, precious stones, spices, precious woods, and dyestuffs, were transported to the Near East, whence they found their way to Europe, where — perhaps years after they had left their place of origin — they were exposed for sale at a market or fair. To them were added products of Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Asia Minor, such as sugar, cotton, incense, perfumes, indigo and other dyestuffs, red and yellow sandalwood, alum for fixing and brightening colors, glassware, and tapestries.

Role of Genoa and Venice. The carrying trade of the Mediterranean with the Orient was virtually a monopoly of Genoa and Venice. Both these cities had shared in the conquest and occupation of the Syrian coast towns. Genoa received as her reward a third of Arsuf, Caesarea, Acre, and a part of Jerusalem. Besides she possessed Kaffa, on the Black Sea, an important port for the trade with Persia, central Asia, and China. Even more important were the possessions of Venice. These included a third of Tyre and Sidon and, after the capture of Constantinople, much of the territory of





the Byzantine Empire. These concessions assured Venice and Genoa a secure foothold in the commerce with the Levant. For a time other cities, notably Pisa, also participated in this trade; but their part was always a subordinate one, and they were gradually ousted by the two greatest Italian city-republics.¹ At first, Eastern commodities were largely paid for by the export of gold and silver; but after the middle of the twelfth century Venetian and Genoese merchants began to make payments in the linen and, more especially, the woolen cloth of the West. Lead, copper, steel, helmets, chest armor, timber, and furs were also exported to the Levant. In addition to Oriental commodities, a knowledge of certain technical processes was likewise obtained in the East. The making of Venetian glass, later to become famous, was an art learned in Syria. The arts of making paper (a Chinese invention), confectionery, and syrups were obtained from the Arabs. By means of Venetian and Genoese ships Oriental commodities were delivered at the seaports of southern Europe, whence they were obtained by merchants from the northern countries.

European Trade Routes. Commerce between northern and central Europe and the Mediterranean, during the greater part of the Middle Ages, was almost entirely by land, since it was not until the fourteenth century that first Genoa and then Venice began to utilize the sea route through the Strait of Gibraltar. The old passes of the Alps which had been in use for centuries were improved, and new ones were opened. One of the most important trade routes between Italy and northern Europe went from Venice through Trent and over the Brenner Pass to Augsburg, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Stettin, Lübeck, and other points in the north. In the center the Septimer and the St. Gothard Pass linked Genoa through Milan with the Lake of Constance, Basel, and the Rhine. Genoa and Italian points in general were connected with France through the Great St. Bernard and Mont Cenis

passes. Through the former trade passed to the Lake of Geneva, Besançon, Troyes, and Paris; through the latter, to Lyon and the Rhône. In southern France, Marseille became once more a flourishing seaport, situated as it was at the mouth of the Rhône, which became one of the most important highways of commerce between the Mediterranean, northern France, and Flanders. Needless to say, rivers were utilized wherever possible, inasmuch as transport by water was much easier than by land. Thus the Oder, the Elbe, the Seine, the Loire, the Rhône, and especially the Rhine became important trade routes.

The Baltic and the North Sea. In northern Europe the Baltic and the North Sea corresponded to the Mediterranean in the south as highways of commerce. They bound eastern and northern with western Europe — Russia, Poland, and the Scandinavian countries with England, Flanders, and Brabant. Here trade dealt largely in raw materials, in contrast with the objects of luxury of the Mediterranean trade. The commercial cities of the north — Hamburg, Stettin, Danzig, and Lübeck (the most important of all) — exchanged timber from Norway, tar from Sweden, fur, hides, and tallow from Russia, and herring from the Baltic for English wool, Flemish cloth, and Oriental commodities. By the twelfth century a brisk coastal trade had developed on the Atlantic seaboard and the English Channel. La Rochelle, Nantes, and Bordeaux exported wine and salt to Spain, Germany, and England. The Norman ports of Harfleur, Rouen, and Dieppe grew rich through their trade with England and the Low Countries and their virtual monopoly of the export of the wines of France and Burgundy. England's most noteworthy export and source of wealth was wool, with which she supplied the looms of Flanders. Bruges, and later Calais, became the Continental depot, or center of the staple, for English wool.

Obstacles to Trade. Yet this economic revival was obliged to contend with serious obstacles. The merchant was con-

stantly a prey to robbers, who were not infrequently the feudal nobility. But fortunately the increasing orderliness of society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries made the lot of the trader an easier one. With the development of royal authority, merchants were taken under the king's protection; and the church, by its Peace of God, sought to guard them against violence. Nevertheless, throughout the Middle Ages the robber and pirate continued to be a menace to trade, and merchants were obliged to travel in groups or with armed retainers.

Even more serious was the condition of the highways and bridges, for which there had been no regular means of maintenance since Roman times. Where Roman roads existed they were the best. Often the roads were mere tracks, which in wet weather became veritable quagmires. Pack mules and pack horses were the usual means of transportation; carts, however, were used more than has generally been supposed, though only on the best roads. Edward III was obliged to admit that the roads around London were in such bad condition that carters and merchants ran the risk of losing their loads altogether, and in 1339 members summoned to Parliament could not arrive at the appointed time because the weather had made the roads impassable.²

The lack of bridges was also an obstacle confronting the merchant. The Roman stone bridges had everywhere fallen into ruins, and bridges of any sort were rare in the twelfth century. Streams had to be forded, and in floodtime both merchants and beasts were liable to be drowned. By the close of the twelfth century the church had undertaken to build bridges as a pious work and sometimes offered indulgences to all who would assist.³ Tolls were collected at these bridges for their maintenance; but frequently the temptation was strong to use the funds so obtained for other purposes, and the bridges fell into ruin. Bridges were usually of wood, and frequently were so shaky that the traveler did not dare cross without commending his load and his soul to God.

Not only were roads perilous, owing to the prevalence of robbers, to disrepair, and to lack of bridges, but accommodations for merchant and traveler were frequently lacking, especially in mountainous or sparsely settled regions. Here again the church came to the rescue. On the passes of the Alps and Pyrenees were monasteries that served as hospices, and the development of commerce across these ranges must have owed not a little to them. The most famous was the monastery of St. Bernard, on the Great St. Bernard Pass, which became richly endowed with possessions in places as widely separated as Apulia, the Rhine valley, and England, doubtless bestowed upon it by grateful travelers.⁴ "On the rough plateaus of central France similar refuges were erected, and in dark nights of storm and tempest the bell of hermitages pealed forth to guide the lost traveler." Moreover, on the main thoroughfares, "especially in the neighborhood of bridges, it was not unusual to find hostels" for pilgrim, traveler, or merchant.⁵ By the thirteenth century signposts were erected at some places in the Alps to guide the wayfarer.

Tolls. Less terrible than the foregoing obstacles, but more onerous, were the tolls that were everywhere exacted from the merchant. They were usually established by lords or monasteries, often before the royal authority had become strong; and the merchants had no recourse but to submit. On river, bridge, and road all that a lord had to do was to erect a barrier and demand a fee before permitting the merchant to pass. There was no redress, and soon the lord could plead custom. As late as the fourteenth century, seventy-four tolls were levied on the Loire, sixty on the Rhône, and seventy on the Garonne. Frequently these tolls were collected in kind, to the great detriment of the merchandise. Thus the steward of the lord of Poissy had the right to broach three casks from every boatload of wine that passed up the Seine and select fifteen liters from the one that pleased

him best. In the same way the monks of St. Julien de Beauvais claimed the right on fast days to hold up the fish boats on the Seine and select three deniers' worth of the best of the cargo.⁶

Strand Laws. Although sea transport was more convenient than land transport, it was not without its risks and perils. Ships were small, means of navigation rudimentary, and shipwreck frequent. While the properties of the magnetic needle were known in Europe by the thirteenth century, there is little evidence for the use of the compass on merchantmen before the fifteenth.⁷ Charts, first introduced by the Italians and Catalans, were very rudimentary until the sixteenth century. Aids to mariners were few, although attempts were made to erect lighthouses, such as those at Yarmouth, Calais, and the mouth of the Humber. Navigation, as in Roman times, was confined to the six spring and summer months. Among the menaces to sea transport were the odious strand laws, according to which the owner of coast land could claim any goods that washed ashore, or the entire cargo if it was wrecked on his shore. He might even claim the whole cargo if only part of it was washed ashore. Strictly speaking, this right was legal only if no living creature survived the wreck; but in practice the inhabitants of the coast cared nothing for such legal niceties.⁸ It was not unusual for ships to be wrecked by false beacons, the crew murdered, and the merchandise plundered. A count of the Léonais, in Brittany, derived, it is said, a yearly revenue of ten thousand sous from the strand laws, and he was wont to say that the rock of Primel, on which these wrecks took place, was the "most precious stone in his crown."⁹ The church commended travelers to the prayers of the faithful, and Masses were frequently said on their behalf. More practical was a form of marine insurance, known in the Mediterranean by the thirteenth century and elsewhere in Europe by the fourteenth.

Usury. Another obstacle to commerce was the lack of institutions of credit. The lending of money at interest, or usury, was condemned by canon law, the usurer was excommunicated by the church, and his body was denied Christian sepulture. Consequently money-lending was long the special prerogative of the Jews, who, in order to compensate themselves for the great risks that they ran in lending money to Christians, were forced to demand exorbitant rates of interest, frequently 40, 60, or even 100 per cent. An English abbot, it is said, at the end of four years was obliged to pay 840 livres for the original 25 which he had borrowed. But by the thirteenth century many Christians — especially Italians and natives of Cahors (known as Cahorsins), in southern France — were devoting themselves to the business of money-lending. They soon hit upon the expedient of levying a fine if the loan was not returned within a specified time, and took care that the time limit was set earlier than the borrower could possibly repay the money. This practice was sanctioned by the canonists and theologians, so that, under a subterfuge, interest was virtually legalized. Italian money-lenders soon established themselves all over Europe, and their quarters in cities like London and Paris became known as Lombard Street. A group of capitalists was thus created who, by the close of the Middle Ages, played a very important role in society.

Markets and Fairs. Of fundamental importance in the commercial life of medieval Europe were markets and fairs; for it was there that the greater part of the internal trade of a country was conducted. The market was a weekly institution, held in a town under the authority of the lord or, if the town was free, of the municipal authorities. The fair, held only once or twice a year, for a period ranging from three days to six weeks, was "a kind of glorified market," much wider in its scope, and maintained by monarch, feudal lord, or great ecclesiastic.

The market was primarily a center of exchange for the neighborhood, and the authorities were careful to see that no new market was instituted within the sphere of an old-established one. Markets were common by the middle of the eleventh century; for Domesday mentions some fifty of them. Frequently they were held on Sunday, sometimes even when the proprietor was a bishop or abbot; for that was the only day when many laborers could leave their work. The churchyard was a favorite place for holding a market; but with the development of towns a square in the center was frequently set aside for that purpose. Covered market places were sometimes erected (as in Paris in the fourteenth century), and stalls that were rented to traders. Elsewhere commodities were exposed for sale on the ground or on carts in the open market place. At first, market transactions consisted chiefly in the sale of foodstuffs by the peasants or seigneurial agents; but eventually the market square was surrounded by shops where artisans offered their wares or where merchants sold imported commodities.

It was to the fair that foreign merchants flocked with exotic products from all countries, especially with Oriental wares. Every country had its fairs: England at Stourbridge, Boston, Stamford, and London; Germany at Cologne, Leipzig, and Frankfurt-am-Main; Italy at Piacenza and Bergamo; France at St. Denis (the so-called "Lendit"), Lyon, and Carcassonne, and in Champagne. The most important of all were the fairs held by the count of Champagne; for they lay on the trade routes between Italy and Flanders, and were centrally located for France, Germany, and England. Besides their favorable geographical location, the Champagne fairs were fostered by the protection that the counts afforded merchants of all nations. Not only did they accord safe-conducts to all merchants, but Champagne constituted a sort of neutral zone between Germany, France, Flanders, and Italy. A convention with the king of France and duke of Burgundy guaranteed safe passage across their

lands. If any states oppressed merchants traveling to or from Champagne, their merchants were excluded from the fairs.

Six Champagne fairs succeeded each other almost without interruption. Two were held at Provins, in May and September; two at Troyes, in July and October; one at Lagny, in January; and one at Bar-sur-Aube, in mid-Lent. The largest were the May fair at Provins and the July fair at Troyes. Here merchants came with their wares from all over Europe. Here the Italians and French from the south exchanged Oriental products for cloth from Flanders and Brabant, linen from Germany, furs and different kinds of coarse cloth from the north. After finishing these coarse cloths, the Italians exported them to the Orient. Not only were the Champagne fairs centers of trade,

where goods of every conceivable kind from all over the known world were to be found, but they were also the financial clearing houses of the time. Bills of exchange were negotiated there, and a vast proportion of credit transactions were made payable at one or other of these fairs.¹⁰

Each fair lasted forty-eight days. After a period of unpacking that lasted eight days, sales began, being regulated according to a fixed order called divisions. The first ten days constituted the cloth fair, during which all kinds of woven stuffs were sold, — woolens, muslins, silks, cottons, and carpets. It was brought to an end by the cry of the sergeants, *Hare! hare!* ("pack up"). Then began the fair of leathers or cordovans, skins and furs, which lasted for eight days, ending in the same way. It was followed by the sale of numerous other commodities. These fairs had an enormous clientele, comprising wholesale and retail merchants, peddlers, stewards of feudal lords and monasteries, burgesses, even peasants, — all come to lay in their supplies.¹¹ The conclusion of the fair was given over to the money-changers and bankers, who devoted themselves to the settlement of debts, — a difficult task owing to the multitude of currencies

in use. In addition, numerous loans were made to needy ecclesiastics or princes, at rates varying from 6 to 36 per cent.

Order was maintained at the Champagne fairs by a chancellor, or *garde des foires*, assisted by lieutenants and sergeants. The seal of the chancellor guaranteed the authenticity of all contracts. For the speedy settlement of disputes arising at the fair there was a special institution, the Pie Powder Court (from *pied poudré*, "dusty foot"). "To every fair is of right pertaining a court of piepowder to minister in the same due justice in this behalf; in which court it hath been all times accustomed that every person coming to the fairs should have lawful remedy."¹² Disputes arising out of the fair could thus be settled on the spot and without the tedious delay that proceedings in the regular courts would have involved.

Merchant Guilds. In order to protect their own interests, merchants at a very early date formed associations called merchant guilds. As we have already seen, it was these guilds that took the lead in shaking off the feudal yoke from the towns. Their primary purpose, however, was to assure themselves the monopoly of trade within a given locality. "The fundamental feature of the merchant guild," says Lipson, "consisted in the exclusive right of its members to buy and sell within the borough, retail and wholesale, on market days and all other times without payment of toll or custom."¹³ The guild was distinct from the town administration, in which, however, its members were usually prominent. They saw to it that all alien merchants within the town were closely supervised, paid tolls, and did not infringe guild rights. They also supervised weights and measures and levied fines upon all who used false ones. The guild had its own court for the settlement of trade disputes, and its own legal code, the Law Merchant. There was a social as well as a business side of the guild. Periodically the guildsmen met

in the guildhall to feast and "drink the guild," to refuse which was to incur a fine. "They looked after the sick and poor of their number, buried the bodies of their dead, prayed for their souls and cared for their orphans."¹⁴

Forestalling, Engrossing, and Regrating. The medieval legislator was dominated by the idea of "just price," that which should be fair to both producer and consumer. Both towns and guilds collaborated against the practices — odious to the medieval mind — of forestalling, engrossing, and regrating, which tended to raise prices. The forestaller bought goods or victuals on their way to market in order to get them more cheaply. The engrosser purchased grain standing or before it was threshed and held it until the price advanced; that is, he "cornered" the market, as we should say. The regrator purchased wholesale to sell retail. "These offences," says Lipson, "violated mediaeval conceptions of commercial morality, and were the more dreaded since the narrow area from which supplies were drawn aggravated enormously the evils of a dearth or a 'corner' in trade."¹⁵

The Hansas. An individual guild could seldom afford to equip a fleet to protect its mercantile enterprises; so cities and guilds sometimes combined to form Hansas for the protection of their commerce. One of the earliest of these Hansas was formed of seventeen cities (their number eventually rose to sixty) of Champagne, Flanders, Picardy, and Hainaut, to safeguard their common interests at the fairs of Champagne. Another was the League of the Rhine Cities, established in 1254 to protect their commerce against the robber barons and other highwaymen that infested all roads and rivers. The Hanse of London was a league of seventeen cities, including Ypres and Lille, with headquarters at Bruges, for the purpose of regulating the wool trade with England. But the most famous and powerful of all was the Hanseatic League. Originating about 1241 in an

alliance, for mutual protection, between Hamburg and Lübeck, according to which these two cities agreed to pool their expenses in punishing those who injured their citizens, the Hanseatic League by 1300 included some seventy cities, embracing every important center from Holland to Livonia. They created a merchant navy that could be employed for war as well as for commerce and once sacked Copenhagen in revenge for injuries that the king of Denmark had inflicted upon some of their ships. They endeavored to extirpate piracy in the North Sea and the Baltic and to protect shipwrecked sailors against murder and pillage. But their chief object was the control of northern commerce. They established trading posts in Novgorod, Bruges, and London (the famous Steelyard); they monopolized the herring fisheries and sought to keep in their hands the entire trade of the Baltic. The League lasted until the Commercial Revolution of the Renaissance dealt it a deathblow.

II. INDUSTRY

Industry grew up alongside of commerce, by which it was stimulated. In the Carolingian age every manor had its artisans, often servile, who manufactured the articles needed by the lord and his family, by the monastery, or by the bishop and his clergy. With the development of the burg, or town, the number of these artisans increased and the number of crafts multiplied. The rise of the market gave them an opportunity to sell their products to the peasants of the surrounding country in exchange for foodstuffs. The town thus came to contain a group of people living exclusively on the fruits of their craft as well as a group of merchants, and when it received a charter the artisans obtained their freedom. At an early stage in their history they, like the merchants, formed associations for the protection of their interests. These were known as craft guilds. Originally the merchant guild often included artisans as well as merchants,

so that the craft was frequently an offshoot of the merchant guild. With the increase in demand and the improvement of technique, the crafts tended to split up into specialized groups, each craft devoting itself to the production of a specific article.

For instance, one craftsman would make only one of twenty different kinds of woolen cloth, or would carry on only one of a number of distinct operations such as spinning, weaving, or dyeing. This did not lead, as in modern times, to any great industrial concentration, except in a few localities where a limited number of products were made almost exclusively for export. Generally, the division and subdivision of labor merely multiplied the number of small enterprises.¹⁹

The Apprentice. Within each craft was a threefold hierarchy, consisting of apprentices, journeymen, and masters; and no one could enter it without serving an apprenticeship. At an early age, usually in their teens, boys were apprenticed to a master for a definite period, — ordinarily seven years, though the term varied, according to the place, circumstances, and nature of the craft, from three to twelve years. An apprenticeship was begun by the payment of a fee to the master and by the signing of a solemn contract in which the apprentice, or his parent or guardian for him, bound himself to be diligent and obedient and to fulfill the term of service. If he broke his contract for some reason, such as ill-health, he was obliged to pay the master an indemnity. If he ran away, he could be brought back; if he misbehaved, he might be corrected with the rod. So completely did he belong to the master that if the latter gave up his industry the apprentice might be sold to another. On the other hand, the master had certain obligations toward his apprentice. He was obliged to house, clothe, and feed him, and ordinarily the apprentice lived with the master and his family. No master should take an apprentice, the statutes decreed, unless he possessed a house, was sufficiently well-to-do

to maintain him, and was able to instruct him thoroughly in his craft. Moreover, the master was responsible for the social and moral as well as for the technical training of his apprentices. Among goldsmiths fines were levied upon a master who neglected to have an apprentice taught to read and write. In order to avoid competition between masters, and the resulting creation of surplus labor, the number of apprentices that a master might have was strictly limited, often to one. Only during the last year of his apprentice's term might he take a second one.

The Journeyman. Having completed his term of service, the apprentice became a journeyman, or day laborer, receiving wages and working for a master by the day, week, or year. To obtain employment, journeymen each morning repaired to a specified place, usually a public square, where they were hired by the masters. Ordinarily they did not have to wait long, for the guild system tended to prevent surplus labor and hence unemployment. "Masters and workmen," says Boissonnade, "could labour without taking heed for the morrow, sure of finding in the little workshop exercise for their well-regulated activity, and in the urban market a sale for their produce."¹⁷ Both worked together in the same shop in a spirit of good comradeship. There was no social gulf between them; for both had received the same training, and the journeyman might one day hope to become a master. Foreign workmen also might receive employment, provided they possessed a certificate of apprenticeship, showed that they were honorably discharged by their previous master, and agreed to conform to the laws and customs of the guild which they entered. Artisans, seized by wanderlust, frequently traveled from place to place to see the sights as well as to seek employment.

Yet labor conditions were far from being ideal during the Middle Ages. The artisan's hours were long, and his wages low. The working day was from sunrise to sunset,

varying according to the season from sixteen hours in summer to eight and a half in winter. The numerous feast days, amounting to about a quarter of the year, provided intervals of rest and thus some compensation for the long hours. Shops opened and closed at the sound of the bell of the parish church or at the call of a public crier. Some towns, however, such as Amiens and Tournai, possessed a special bell to summon workmen or to announce the suspension of labor. The journeyman's wage ranged from five to twenty cents a day, and probably was nearer the lower than the higher figure. The purchasing power of such a wage was, of course, vastly greater (perhaps twenty times greater) than at the present time; besides, the artisan was frequently lodged and boarded by the master. Nevertheless, it was barely a living wage and did not keep pace with the increasing price of wheat. Married artisans were crowded together in houses of wood or clay and lived under conditions that were very unsanitary. The meager wage they received was frequently dissipated at the tavern, much to the detriment of wives and children. The indications are that the lot of the artisan of the Middle Ages was decidedly worse than that of the workman of today. It need not surprise us, therefore, to learn that strikes were not unknown. Indeed, the custom of workmen to resort to a public place to await hire lent itself to combination, as is suggested by the fact that the French word for strike (*grève*) comes from *Place de Grève*, the name of a square in Paris which constituted the resort of unemployed journeymen. Beaumanoir, the thirteenth-century lawyer and bailiff of Philip the Fair, has given us a description of a strike from one who was naturally hostile:

It is an alliance against the common good, when any sort of people agree or pledge themselves not to work at so low a wage as before, and thus cause their wages to be increased by their power, and agree among themselves that they will not work for less, and bring injuries and threats to bear on the comrades who will not join their alliance.¹⁸

Another description of a strike comes from fourteenth-century London.

If any dispute arose among the shearmen of London between master and man, all his fellow-workers within the city, according to the allegation of the masters [1350], were wont to enter into a conspiracy "that no one among them should work or serve his own master until the said master, his servant, or man, had come to an agreement; by reason whereof the masters in the said trade have been in great trouble and the people left unserved."¹⁹

The Master. In the natural course of events the journeyman might hope to become a master himself and open a shop of his own, to practice his craft with an apprentice and possibly a workman or two. Sometimes, as among the butchers in Paris, the mastership was kept in the same families and descended from father to son; but as a rule few restrictions were placed in the way of a journeyman's becoming a master, at least during the early period. Certain conditions, however, had first to be fulfilled. (1) The candidate was obliged to submit to an examination to show that he knew the theory of his craft. For instance, the French silk workers had this requirement: "Whoever wishes to pursue the said trade as a master, it will be necessary for him to know how to do all the processes himself, without advice or help from any one else, and he shall for this purpose be examined by the guardians of the craft."²⁰ (2) The aspirant to mastership was obliged to produce a "master-piece" to demonstrate his skill. Among the rope-makers this might consist of making a good rope; among the saddlers, a saddle, — all to be done in the shop of a master and often before notables of the craft. (3) There were certain pecuniary obligations, such as the payment of an entrance fee, the giving of a banquet and presents to the masters, and, in Germany, the possession of a certain amount of property. Finally, the candidate took oath, either over relics or over the Gospel, to obey the statutes of the guild.

In the early period of the guilds these requirements were not very exacting; but by the beginning of the fourteenth century the tendency was to make them more so. Emphasis was placed upon the masterpiece, the production of which became a lengthy and costly affair calculated to deter many from aspiring to the mastership and thus to restrict the number of masters. The sons of masters were often exempt from the masterpiece, and this tended to make the position hereditary. At the same time the entrance fees were enhanced. In Brussels, for instance, a simple tinker was required to pay three hundred florins for permission to set up a shop. Many journeymen were thus condemned to remain permanently day laborers. A proletariat was created,—not large, it is true, but sufficiently numerous to give rise to a social problem.

Craft Guilds. The craft guild was a juridical personality possessing the right to sue in a law court, hold property, and issue its regulations. At its head were the wardens, two or four in number, selected by the assembly of masters from their own numbers for one year. It was their first duty to see that the statutes of the guild were enforced and that its rights were not being infringed by other crafts or by individuals. They were obliged to visit the workshops of the masters, to inspect the work that was being turned out, to see that a high standard of quality was maintained, and to impose fines upon the negligent. In addition, they placed apprentices, intervened in disputes between masters and workmen, examined candidates for the mastership, passed judgment upon masterpieces, and received the oaths of new masters. The guild had a monopoly of the production of a certain article in a given town,—a monopoly in which it was supported by the royal or municipal authority,—and it was the wardens' right, as well as their duty, to visit other crafts, to prevent them from infringing it. This monopoly gave rise to endless lawsuits among the guilds, owing to the

difficulty of determining the sphere of activity of each. In all such disputes the wardens represented the guild.

It was to the interest of the guild to maintain a high standard of quality, which they sought to do by a multitude of regulations and by a rigid inspection. "The rivalry of the towns obliged the crafts of each town to improve and to watch carefully over their work."²¹ They prided themselves on using only the best materials and punished those who employed imitations or substitutes. The Parisian goldsmiths set the standard for the purity of the gold that they used. "Paris gold surpasses all the golds of the world," they proudly boasted. The statutes of the cooks of Paris declared: "No one should cook geese, beef, or mutton if these meats are not of good quality and with good marrow. No one should keep for longer than three days cooked meats which are not salted. Sausages must not be made except from good pork."²² Night work was forbidden in most of the crafts because it made good work more difficult. "Work done at night is neither good nor honest," declared a regulation of Amiens. Articles made in private were regarded with suspicion, and in many places the statutes insisted that the shops should be open in front, so that the work might be easily observed. Weavers were required "to work at looms visible from the street, and not in cellars or upstairs rooms; the better class of furs had also to be worked in public, and ale might not be sold in private."²³ The goldsmith must have his forge in his shop, and a tailor could cut his cloth only on a table in his front window. To prevent shoddy workmanship, not only were masters obliged to supervise the work of apprentices and artisans, but the wardens went on tours of inspection. In most Parisian guilds no article could be put on sale before it had been examined. Sometimes, when articles affected more than one craft, they were inspected by the officials of each. The wardens could seize imperfect articles not only in the workshop but when exposed for sale; these were either burned or given to the poor, and the offend-

ing craftsman was fined, set in the pillory, or, if an old offender, banished from town. To make it more easy to trace bad work, craftsmen were obliged to put their private trade-mark on their products. Inspection was facilitated by the fact that all members of one craft were situated in one street or quarter of the town.

The town or royal authority frequently collaborated with the guild in making regulations and inspections. Night work in noisy trades, such as those of blacksmith and leather-worker, was prohibited in the interest of quiet; and offensive trades, like flaying of carcasses, dressing of skins, and making bricks, were banished outside the walls. The question of prices was one of the chief concerns of the civic authorities, and again and again they forbade the raising of prices and punished those who were guilty of it. Indeed, cheap goods were the price towns exacted in return for guild monopoly.

The minute regulation and inspection that characterized the guilds show not only that they took great pride in honest workmanship and a high standard of value but also that medieval methods of fraud were extremely subtle and demanded close scrutiny.

Sentimental admirers of the past [says Salzman] are apt to imagine that the mediaeval workman loved a piece of good work for its own sake and never scamped a job. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The mediaeval craftsman was not called a man of craft for nothing! He had no more conscience than a plumber, and his knowledge of ways that are dark and tricks that are vain was extensive and peculiar.²⁴

The London bakers stole the customer's dough under his very eyes; cloth was "cunningly folded" to hide bad defects, or a cheap grade was substituted for the good one that the customer had purchased; poor "leather was faked to look like the best"; "pots and kettles were made of bad metal" that melted on the fire; and false weights and measures were used everywhere.²⁵

Mining. Another important industry, distinct from the craft guilds of the towns, was mining. The Romans had exploited the mineral resources of Europe; but with the break-up of the Western Empire, mining, like other industries, declined, although here and there mines probably continued to be worked to some degree. But with the economic renaissance of the eleventh century a revival of mining took place, to meet the mineral needs of Europe. The precious metals were needed to meet the requirements of monetary circulation, and gold-seekers diligently washed the sands of the Rhône, the Rhine, and the Po. This source of supply was altogether too meager, and miners soon opened up the gold seams in the Bohemian mountains, the Carpathians, and the mountains of Carinthia and Transylvania. Until the twelfth century the richest silver mines were in the Harz Mountains, in Saxony. Discovered in the middle of the tenth century, the Rammelsberg mine soon became the most important source of silver, and Goslar, near which it was situated, the most famous mining town in Europe. Then, in the middle of the twelfth century, silver was discovered in Bohemia (in the Erzgebirge), in Hungary, and in the Tyrol. Throughout the Middle Ages and until the discovery of Mexico and Peru these remained the great sources of supply.

Germany was the most important source of the iron supply also, although some was obtained in England, Spain, and the island of Elba. Cornwall, in southwestern England, had a virtual monopoly of the production of tin. Copper and lead were produced in England and Germany. Germany met much of the European demand for salt from her mines in Swabia, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and especially Salzburg, the very name of which betrays its origin.

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CHAPTER XXII

The Church at the Height of its Power

THE HISTORY of the Roman Catholic Church through the first thirteen centuries reveals the greatness and strength of that institution. It had survived the breakup of the Roman Empire, the barbarian invasions, and the onslaughts of the Mohammedans. The barbarians themselves had been converted to its faith and thus brought within its fold. While losing part of its heritage from the Roman Empire (North Africa), it had reached out into new fields which the civilization of Rome had never penetrated — northern and north-eastern Europe. It had inspired crusades against the infidel in Syria, Egypt, and Spain. Medieval civilization grew up and became conscious around the church, which was the sole unifying and stabilizing factor in European society. Indeed, the true successor of the Roman emperor was the Pope; the real heir of the empire, the church, — “the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof,” as Hobbes said. The church was an international state transcending feudal and national boundaries and reaching into the life of every community.

It has [said Maitland] laws, lawgivers, law courts, lawyers. It uses physical force to compel men to obey its laws. It keeps prisons. In the thirteenth century, though with squeamish phrases, it pronounces sentence of death. It is no voluntary society. If people are not born into it, they are baptized into it when they cannot help themselves. If they attempt to leave it, they are guilty of *crimen laesae maiestatis*, and are likely to be burnt. It is supported by involuntary contributions, by tithe and tax.¹

The church was endowed with vast wealth, including a large percentage of the landed property of Europe; it pos-

possessed a powerful hierarchy, composed of Pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests; it had erected splendid edifices in which were administered, with stately and awe-inspiring ceremony, the seven sacraments, by means of which divine grace was bestowed upon the sinner. It was the church's privilege to instruct all men in the knowledge of the truth, to guide them in the conduct of life; the church's prerogative to discipline them if they erred, to reward them (by opening for them the very gates of heaven) if they lived well. The fate of man here, his destiny hereafter, were largely in its hands. Such was the position of the church. Let us look a little more closely at its organization and work.

The Papal Curia. At the head of this imposing structure was the bishop of Rome, — or Pope, as he had come to be called, — who was the vicar, or representative, of Christ upon earth. Not only was he the supreme lawgiver, whose power was “limited only by natural and positive divine law,” but he was also the supreme judge and administrator of Christendom. It was his prerogative to summon and preside over general councils and to enforce their decrees by his confirmation. If a dispute arose over any matter of discipline or doctrine, his decision was definitive. In the last analysis it was the Pope who could interpret the meaning of Scripture, that is, declare what divine truth really was. As the successor of Saint Peter, he possessed the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, to bind or to loose, to admit or to cast out.

Surrounding the Pope was his court, or *curia*, comprising a numerous group of clergy and officials made necessary by the vast increase in business that flowed to Rome with the development of the power and prerogatives of the Pope over the universal church. The chief of the clergy were the cardinals, who, appointed by the Pope, not only constituted his ministers and advisers, but elected the new Pope when the office became vacant. They took precedence over all archbishops and occupied the most important places in the

offices and tribunals. They were divided into three classes: cardinal bishops, cardinal priests, and cardinal deacons. The cardinal bishops were the titular heads of the seven episcopal sees within the Roman patrimony. The cardinal priests were the honorary *curés* of the parochial churches of Rome, and their number varied from time to time. The cardinal deacons were the honorary curates of the succursal churches attached to the charitable institutions of Rome, and, like that of the cardinal priests, their number was variable.

In addition to the cardinals there was a large group of officials and clergy, such as advocates, notaries, judges, lawyers, and clerks, who transacted the mass of legal business and performed the clerical work. They were organized into four courts or bureaus: (1) the Apostolic Camera (*Camera Apostolica*), which controlled the papal finances; (2) the Chancellery (*Cancellaria Apostolica*), which took care of papal correspondence and prepared papal documents, bulls, and the like; (3) the Apostolic Penitentiary (*Poenitentia Apostolica*), which pronounced upon disciplinary matters that were laid before the curia; and (4) the Rota (*Rota Romana*), a court composed of twelve ecclesiastics, before whom lawsuits and disputes of various kinds were brought from all over Europe.

Papal Administration. The Pope, moreover, had in every country his official representatives, the legates, who might be appointed permanently or for a specific purpose (as in the mission of Pandulf, who was sent to receive the submission of John of England). The legate was given a papal bull or credentials threatening with anathema all who did not accept him as the Pope's representative. As such he took precedence over all ecclesiastics of the country to which he was sent, even if he was of lower rank. It was his right to preside over bishops in council, and he had power to excommunicate and to pass sentence of suspension or deposi-

tion against any who refused to execute his commands. By means of legates the Pope exercised a great deal of power throughout Europe.

Europe was divided into ecclesiastical provinces which, in countries that had formed part of the Roman Empire, coincided with the old Roman provinces. Over each of these provinces was an archbishop, or metropolitan, whose headquarters and cathedral church were in the old provincial capital. Originally the archbishops had tended to become more or less independent, but with the growth of papal power they had been completely subjected to Rome. In theory they were elected by the canons, or clergy who made up the chapter of the cathedral, but in practice they were often the nominees of the secular ruler. No archbishop, however, could perform his spiritual functions without the *pallium*, a white woolen scarf, or band, worn around the neck, which he received from the Pope. The pallium was thus the indispensable symbol of archiepiscopal dignity. Frequently the archbishop-elect journeyed to Rome to receive it in person, but in any event he was obliged to take an oath of fidelity and obedience to the Pope before it was bestowed. The duties of the archbishop consisted not only in ruling his own diocese as bishop, but also in supervising the dioceses of the province and in summoning and presiding over the provincial synods.

The Diocese. The province was subdivided into dioceses (another Roman administrative term), at the head of one of which was the archbishop, the rest being ruled by bishops, or suffragans. Like the archbishop, the bishop was elected by the chapter of the diocesan cathedral, which had to obtain permission to elect not only from the archbishop but also from the secular ruler, whose nominee the bishop frequently was. If the chapter refused to elect his candidate, the king might refuse to invest with the bishop's temporal estates. Under certain circumstances, however, the Pope claimed the right to fill vacant sees, namely, in the event of a disputed

election or if a bishop died while on a visit to Rome. Once elected, the bishop was installed by the metropolitan and the other bishops of the province, although the Popes were more and more claiming the right to summon bishops-elect to Rome to receive consecration.

As religious head of the diocese the bishop not only presided over the cathedral and its services but also had supervision over all the clergy and churches within his jurisdiction. Certain functions, such as confirmation, the bestowing of holy orders, and the consecration of churches, could be performed only by him. If he was diligent, therefore, in fulfilling his duties, his task was an arduous one, and he needs must spend a good deal of his time in traveling. He had to visit all the churches of his diocese, to supervise them, to see if his clergy were performing their duties, to punish and correct them if they were not, and to confirm all neophytes. Monasteries lying within the diocese, unless they had been placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope, were also under his care, and had to be visited and inspected to see if all were in order. Once a year he held a synod of all the clergy of his diocese in the great hall of his palace or in the choir of the cathedral, and there he preached, gave instructions, issued statutes and reprimands, or published bulls. Besides, the bishop possessed judicial functions and held court, to which were amenable not only all clergy, but even laity who had been guilty of spiritual offenses, such as blasphemy or heresy. He had power to excommunicate, to suspend or depose clergy, and to grant certain dispensations. In much of the work of visitation and correction the bishop was assisted by the archdeacon.

The Parish. The diocese in turn was subdivided into parishes, the smallest ecclesiastical units, each one consisting of a single village, a group of hamlets, or a quarter of a town. The parish had frequently been established by a nobleman, who had built the church and endowed it with a farm called

the glebe. In consequence his descendants claimed the right to nominate the parish priest, just as the monarchs and great lords did the bishops. This right of patronage, as it was called, was often bequeathed by secular lords to monasteries, which thus came to control many parishes. But the patron of a church, whether layman or ecclesiastic, could neither ordain nor install a priest: that was the function of the bishop, who subjected him to an examination before installing him. "Usually," says Luchaire, "the bishop contented himself with approving the choice made by the patrons. The examination was a joke: the candidate declined a Latin noun, conjugated an indicative mood, named the principal parts of a verb, chanted a little, and that was all."² Not always, however, did the patron's candidate escape so easily, especially if the bishop was exacting. Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, on one occasion, refused to install in a parish a deacon who came to him "untonsured, dressed in scarlet, and wearing rings, in the habit and carriage of a layman, or rather of a knight, and almost illiterate."³ The bishop also possessed the right to suspend or depose a priest for misconduct, although the priest might appeal to the judgment of Rome over the bishop's head.

It was through the parish that the church had contact with the people. Everyone, except Jews, within its boundaries was obliged to submit to the spiritual ministrations of his parish priest, to attend, under penalty of excommunication, the services of the church, and to contribute the tithe, or tenth part of his income, to the priest.

Not only were the farmers and cottagers [says Coulton] bound to render a strict tenth of all their produce — theoretically, at least, down to the very pot-herbs of their gardens — but merchants, shopkeepers and even the poorest artisans were by the same theory bound to pay from their personal earnings this same tax.⁴

Peasants often resisted payment, and the priest was obliged to resort to excommunication, which made him unpopular.

One of the virtues of Chaucer's Parson, from the lay point of view, was that he was loath "to cursen for hise tithes." Not infrequently the incumbent of a parish was an absentee, drawing its revenues and, for a mere pittance, employing a vicar to perform his duties for him.

The church was the center of the social as well as of the religious life of the parish. Being the chief building of the village it was frequently used for holding law courts, and for plays, banquets, scotales, dances, or markets, or even converted into a fortress in time of war or into a granary, or storehouse, in harvest time. This secularization was condemned, though usually to no purpose, by the higher ecclesiastical authorities. Surrounding the church was the churchyard, part of which was consecrated as a cemetery for the burial of the faithful. Often it was used by the peasants as a pasture for their pigs, horses, cows, and sheep. The parish church and its environs were thus frequently the center of a good deal of activity, gaiety, and even strife that must have greatly impeded divine service.

The medieval church controlled many aspects of life that today are the care of the secular state. Hospitals, poor-houses, and schools were all ecclesiastical foundations and for the most part maintained by ecclesiastics. All matters concerning marriage, the making and probating of wills, disputes over ecclesiastical property, the legitimacy of children, oaths, as well as heresy, blasphemy, sacrilege, and usury, fell within the province of the ecclesiastical rather than of the secular courts. If disputes over any of these things could not be settled in the episcopal court, they might be appealed to Rome, a sort of supreme court for all Europe. Hence lawsuits over the most diverse matters, many of them having nothing to do with religion, were constantly being carried, at great expense, from the remotest parts of Europe to Rome for final settlement and decision.

The existence of ecclesiastical courts necessitated ecclesiastical law, known as canon law. Based upon the edicts of

Christian emperors, statements of church fathers, canons of councils, and decrees of Popes, canon law was a heterogeneous mass of frequently conflicting pronouncements. About 1148 Gratian, a monk of Bologna, attempted to reconcile these conflicting opinions in his *Decretum*, which henceforth became the legal textbook of the church. Canon law was greatly influenced in its codification by Roman civil law, many of the concepts of which now entered into the church. Many clergy devoted themselves to the study of canon law (which, as we shall see later, was introduced into the curriculum of the universities) and thus became experts in the law of the church.

Excommunication and Interdict. Like the secular state the church had its means of coercing those who failed to obey its laws. The most common of these was excommunication, or cutting the individual off from the privileges of the church. The priest pronounced the sentence against the offender with a lighted candle in his hand. He then threw the candle upon the floor and stamped it under foot. No one was to associate with an excommunicated person. Even the members of his own family who ate with him incurred the same penalty. Stones were frequently hurled against his house, as well as insulting epithets. If excommunication failed to bring a monarch or nobleman to terms, his lands were laid under an *interdict*, according to which all ecclesiastical services and benefits were brought to an end. Subjects were absolved from allegiance, and foreign rulers were invited to dispossess him. The church had its prisons for offenders of lesser rank, and those who were condemned to death were handed over to the secular authorities for execution.

These aspects of the medieval church should not obscure in our minds the real purpose for which it existed, — salvation in a future world. Life on earth, the church taught, was not an end in itself, but merely preparation for another, better, and eternal life in heaven, in comparison with which

this was but a fleeting moment. Consequently people were here living a life of probation which would determine their future status. Moreover, the church taught that only through its ministrations could salvation be obtained. It alone possessed the keys of the kingdom of heaven, entrance into which it could grant or deny. No one who refused to belong to or to obey it could hope for anything but the fearful torments of a hell which the Middle Ages depicted in the most realistic fashion. It was this fear of the future that the church held, like a sword of Damocles, over the head of every individual. In popular tale, in storied window, in sculptured tympanum over the cathedral door, in private instruction, and in public sermon the minds of the laity were impressed with this truth. Without divine grace no one could be saved, and divine grace could be obtained only by means of the seven sacraments and the Mass.

The Sacraments. As early as the fifth century Saint Augustine had defined a sacrament as "an outward sign of an inward grace." The early Middle Ages thought of many such "signs," but not until the time of Peter Lombard, in the twelfth century, was the number definitely fixed at seven. Three things were essential for a valid sacrament: *matter*, that is, the sensible elements; *form*, that is, the recitation of a specified formula; and *intention*, that is, the ministration of a competent person intent on doing as the church does. Given these three things, the sacraments mechanically (*ex opere operato*) conferred divine grace quite independently of the character of the ministrant. To the pious they were the assurance of mystical union with the Deity, the symbols of a virile faith. The entire life of the Christian, from infancy to old age, was hedged about by these supernatural sanctions.

At the beginning of life was baptism, bestowed upon the newborn infant. It wiped away original sin, which the child was supposed to have inherited from Adam, conferred divine grace, and made it possible for one to do good.

Inasmuch as no unbaptized person could enter heaven, neglect of baptism was a serious matter. Ordinarily baptism was performed by a priest; but in case of emergency — if a child was on the point of death and a priest could not be obtained — it might be conferred by a layman or even by a woman, provided the proper formula was observed.

As baptism marked the beginning of life, so confirmation characterized the beginning of adolescence. It was conferred only by the bishop, by the laying on of hands, when a person had reached the age of reason, or had attained the ability to discern between good and evil. Having been confirmed, one became a full-fledged member of the church.

In the Eucharist the Christian partook of the consecrated wafer, the "Body of Christ," the wine being reserved for the priest. It reminded him of the love of Christ and his pious example, and strengthened him and stimulated him to good works.

As baptism wiped away original sin and left the baptized with a clean sheet, so to speak, so penance atoned for the sins which he committed after baptism, — sins for which he himself was responsible. Three things were essential in this sacrament: contrition, confession, and satisfaction, or the doing of some good work to atone for his sin. The Christian must feel sorrow for his sins, confess them to a priest, and receive absolution. The priest then required the performance of some good work, such as fasting, alms-giving, prayer, attendance at so many Masses, or, for the more heinous sins, the making of a pilgrimage. For the medieval theory was that every sin must be counterbalanced by a compensating good work. Sins unatoned-for by good works had to be expiated, at death, in purgatory. In the early Middle Ages confession was a purely voluntary matter, but in 1215 it was made obligatory for all Christians by the fourth Lateran council, which decreed that everyone on attaining the age of discretion must confess to his own priest at least once a year.

Extreme unction was for those afflicted with a serious illness and especially for those who were not likely to recover. It consisted of anointing with oil the organs of the five senses, the feet, and the loins. Its purpose was partly to restore bodily health, but more especially to prepare the Christian for death by wiping away the last of earth's stains from the soul. Many theologians taught that it should not be bestowed until the near approach of death, while others emphasized its remedial aspects and encouraged its use for all who were seriously ill.

By means of holy orders candidates were ordained to the diaconate, or priesthood. Ordination created a special caste, set apart from secular activities, who were empowered to bestow divine grace through the sacraments. It was conferred by the bishop; it could not be repeated, and it imparted an indelible character that nothing could remove.

In exalting marriage to the rank of a sacrament the church sanctified the union of man and woman and the begetting of children. It thus made legal and proper for the laity what it regarded as illegal and improper for the clergy. Marriage was ordinarily indissoluble, although it might be annulled for good and sufficient reason, such as consanguinity or adultery.

The most important ceremony of the medieval, as indeed it is of the modern, Catholic Church was the Mass. Growing out of the early Christian Eucharist, by the Middle Ages it had become the center of Catholic worship, characterized by the miracle of *transubstantiation*, in which the bread and wine, when consecrated by the priest, were transformed into the body and blood of Christ. While the *accidents* — that is, the appearance — remained the same, the *substance*, so the theologians explained, was miraculously transformed. The Mass was a representation of the sacrifice of Christ, in which those present beheld their Saviour's passion for the redemption of their sins. Elaborated by stately ritual, the use of costly vessels, sumptuous vestments, lights, and incense, it was calculated to impress the beholder with awe and reverence. It

conferred divine grace upon those who were present. Masses were said for travelers, to aid them amid the perils of their journey, or for the dead, to assist them in the pains of purgatory.

Shortcomings of the Church. No description of the medieval church would be complete without mention of its shortcomings, which frequently marred its influence and defeated its purpose. Some of the severest arraignments of it come from ecclesiastics themselves, who had its interests at heart. They show that, however much the practical working of the church fell short of the ideal, there were always many who constantly kept that ideal before them.

Much criticism was directed against the papacy. This had its roots partly in the tendency of rising nationalism to chafe under papal rule; partly in the economic system of the papal court, which found itself, like all medieval monarchies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, obliged to seek new sources of revenue; partly in the difficulty of settling justly in Rome disputes that arose hundreds of miles away; and partly in inevitable human frailty. The right of the Pope, under certain circumstances, to appoint to vacant benefices frequently placed in office in England, France, Germany, and elsewhere foreign prelates who were non-resident, although it also sometimes led to the appointment of high-minded ecclesiastics, like Stephen Langton. The right of appeal to Rome often enabled unworthy priests to defeat the attempts of their superiors to discipline them. Thus Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, found his efforts to reform his clergy nullified by their appeals to Rome, where offenders could often purchase immunity. Another common source of evil within the church was the right of the Pope to grant dispensations to suspend the law of the church. Thus Rome might grant permission for a man to marry within the prohibited degrees of relationship, for a bishop to hold several benefices, or for a monk to be absolved from his vows. Plu-

ralities, or the holding of several benefices at once, were a great evil ; for the incumbent drew the revenues from all and often performed the duties of none, employing inefficient vicars and suffragans at an inadequate wage to do his work. Then the Roman court had the reputation of selling justice to the highest bidder or delaying the settlement of a suit if the plaintiff did not have a well-lined purse. "At Rome," said Hugh de Digne, "there is no relic half so efficacious as the bones of St. Gold and St. Silver : with money a man may buy a judgment at his will." And he quoted a university epigram that was current in his day :

On an *accusative* errand no suitor to Rome need wend,
Unless he bring with him the *dative*, to make that Mammon his friend.⁵

The shortcomings of the bishops were no fewer than those of the court of Rome. Many prelates of the Middle Ages were learned, high-minded, and indefatigable in their labors for the good of the church, but many others were quite the reverse. The right of the monarch to appoint favorites and of the Pope to grant *expectancies*, or the privilege of succeeding to a particular benefice when it should become vacant, militated against the quality of the bishops. There were absentee bishops, bishops who lived like secular princes and exploited their sees, warrior bishops, boy bishops, bishops who knew "small Latin," and bishops who spent their lives in the service of monarch or Pope. All such circumstances prevented the efficient management of episcopal sees. The idea, current in some circles, that a bishop could never be saved throws a lurid light upon the character of many members of the medieval episcopate.

A few years ago [declared Caesarius of Heisterbach (1180-c. 1250)] this terrible saying was uttered against bishops by a clerk in Paris : "I can believe a great deal," he said, "but there is one thing I can never believe, namely, that any bishop in Germany can ever be saved!"⁶

More widespread still were the shortcomings of the parish priests. The patronage system, as we have already seen, militated against a highly efficient priesthood. The patron, especially if a monastery, frequently hired a vicar for a nominal sum and employed the greater part of the parish revenues for other purposes. So poorly paid were these vicars that the councils were obliged to decree that they should be paid a living wage. The medieval church clung tenaciously to the doctrine of clerical celibacy; but it was never able to enforce it among the parish priests, who kept wives or mistresses, reared families, frequently bequeathing them ecclesiastical property and not infrequently transmitting their offices to their sons. Preachers and councils denounced the practice, but to no avail. The "priestess," as she was called, had a recognized position in village society, and parishioners frequently preferred a "married" priest. But the medieval priest had even more serious failings. We hear of the priest who was a "haunter of taverns" and frequently drunk; of the hunting priest who wore gay clothes, prided himself on his horses and falcons, and fared sumptuously; of the usurious priest; of the priest who engaged in trade and was even guilty of the odious practice of forestalling. Too often the priest regarded his parish as a farm to be exploited, charging, contrary to the canons of the church, fees for baptism, marriage, burial, and the Mass. The council of Paris in 1208 forbade priests to leave the bodies of the dead unburied in order to extort money.

Illiteracy was another serious shortcoming of the parish clergy. Comparatively few of the priests and vicars who manned the parishes could boast a university education, and not until the sixteenth century was there any attempt to establish seminaries for their training. Many knew no Latin and simply mumbled prayers and formulas that they did not understand. The injunction of Stephen Langton at the council of Oxford in 1222 throws a flood of light on clerical education.

Let the archdeacons at their visitations see that . . . the priests can rightly pronounce at least the formula of consecration (in the Mass), and that of baptism, and that they clearly understand the meaning of these two formulas.

This same injunction was later repeated by another council and reveals, as Dr. Coulton says,

an abyss of clerical ignorance at which we may well stagger. In an age when the Bible was in Latin, all the Church services in Latin, and only a small fraction even of popular religious books could be obtained in the vulgar tongue, it was necessary for Provincial Councils to take elaborate precautions for ensuring that parish priests knew just enough Latin to pronounce, and understand, two every-day formulas of half a dozen words each! ⁷

The inevitable result of the lack of education on the part of the parish clergy was a laity insufficiently instructed in the tenets of their faith and liable to fall into error and even heresy. This was clearly recognized by Archbishop Peckham of Canterbury, who declared :

The ignorance of priests casteth the people into the ditch of error ; and the folly or unlearnedness of the clergy, who are bidden to teach the faithful concerning the Catholic Faith, doth sometimes tend rather to error than to sound doctrine. ⁸

Monasticism. We have been dealing with the secular clergy and their activities — those who lived within the world. We must now turn to consider the regular clergy — those who lived apart from the world, within the cloister and under a rule (*regula*).

During the early Middle Ages the monastic movement had spread rapidly over Europe. Monks were often pioneers in the lands of the pagans, establishing houses which became centers for the conversion of the natives and the spread of civilization. They penetrated into the fastnesses of the forest, cleared the land, and began the cultivation of the soil. Europe from the eleventh century was literally cov-

ered with monasteries. To their spread and development the laity contributed much, for they regarded it as meritorious to establish a monastery or to bequeath it their property when they died. There was scarcely a baron, said Luchaire, however obscure, who did not desire to have near his castle a monastery to pray for his soul and receive his mortal dust when he died.⁹ On every hand, monasteries received donations of lands, forests, churches, chapels, feudal rights, serfs, taxes, and tithes. With wealth came decline from the strictness of Benedict of Nursia's rule, and this in turn gave birth to the reformer, who, with burning zeal, sought to return once more to the earlier ideal. The history of monasticism down to the thirteenth century is largely the history of its reform movements.

The first of the great Benedictine reforms was that of Benedict of Aniane, a young noble at the court of Charlemagne. While he was serving with the Frankish army in Italy a narrow escape from drowning led him to renounce the world for the cloister. Finding monasticism at a low ebb, he withdrew to the gorge of the Aniane, in Aquitaine, and established his cell, which in less than a decade "had become a stately abbey, with over a thousand monks under his rule, attracted to him by the fame of his piety, by the diligence with which he acquired books for the library, and by his zeal as a reformer."¹⁰ Under Louis the Pious he led a reform movement to restore monasticism to the strictness of the Benedictine ideal. But within a century after the reforms of Benedict of Aniane, conditions within the monasteries were worse than ever.

Cluny. More important still was the reform movement that had its origin at Cluny. It was founded by Duke William of Aquitaine in 910 at Cluny, in Burgundy, to counteract monastic decay and especially to establish an institution that should be free from all feudal jurisdictions and relationships. Its buildings, fields, serfs, meadows, woods,

streams, and mills, he decreed, should be subject to no authority — not even to the authority of the bishop in whose diocese it lay — but to that of the Pope alone. Here, as an example to others, the Benedictine Rule was to be enforced in all its rigor. From Cluny, charity was to be dispensed, and the pilgrim and the stranger were to be received with hospitality. In addition to its independence, Cluny was fortunate in its abbots, who were noted for their ability, their saintliness, and their zeal in promoting the reform for which Cluny stood.

From the time of its foundation Cluny became the center of a vast monastic revival, which, as we have seen, spread to the secular church and gave birth to the Gregorian reform. Under its influence old monasteries were reformed and new ones established. These were all grouped into what was known as the "Congregation of Cluny," a sort of feudal organization at the head of which was the mother house, ruling over a multitude of vassal monasteries. The abbot of Cluny was the superior of the "Congregation." At the head of each dependent monastery was a prior, not elected by the monks but appointed by the abbot-general, to whom he took an oath of allegiance resembling homage. Cluny made laws for the entire Congregation; it levied taxes on and supervised the revenues of its dependencies, and it kept them in conformity with its practices by regular visits of the abbot. With the growth of the order this right of visitation became a burdensome duty compelling the abbot to spend most of his life upon the highway. The unity of the order was still further maintained by the chapter-general, held at Cluny, which the priors and leading officials of the vassal houses were obliged to attend. Its growth was phenomenal. By the close of the twelfth century it comprised some three hundred and fourteen Benedictine houses, all exempt from episcopal control.

The great success of Cluny made it enormously wealthy and led to the erection of magnificent buildings. The abbey

church of Cluny, erected between 1089 and 1131, was one of the finest Romanesque buildings of France (unfortunately it was destroyed during the French Revolution), and services were held in it amid sumptuous surroundings. Its choir stalls, seating two hundred and twenty monks, were beautifully carved, and its candlesticks Saint Bernard called "great trees of brass, glittering as much through their jewels as their lights."¹¹ It was adorned with fine sculpture and enriched with costly manuscripts, vestments, and vessels of gold and silver wrought by Eastern craftsmen. Its relics were among the most precious and coveted in Europe.

With wealth and prosperity, however, there came the inevitable decay, — relaxation of discipline, idleness, and luxurious living, — until those who were fired with a passion for renunciation could no longer find satisfaction within its walls. In revolt against this condition, new and stricter orders were founded, the most famous and influential of which was the Cistercian.

The Cistercians. In 1098 Robert, a nobleman of Champagne and abbot of Molesme, and Stephen Harding, an Englishman, with a group of monks, settled at Cîteaux, which derived its name from the stagnant pools or cisterns near Dijon. There in the wilderness they laid the foundation of the new order. But the greatness of Cîteaux dates from the entrance of Bernard, the son of a nobleman of Fontaines, with thirty companions. So rapidly did the new order develop after their coming that in two years it threw out three colonies, the third being Clairvaux, of which Bernard himself was the head. Within forty years Cistercian houses spread all over Europe, and when Bernard died in 1153 the order possessed three hundred and forty-three abbeys, a number which had doubled by the close of the century.

The guiding principle of the Cistercians was a return to the observance of the Benedictine Rule — the establishment of a sort of monastic puritanism. They insisted on the

plainest architecture, and would permit in their churches and buildings no stained glass, no paintings on walls or pillars, no curious carvings, and no crosses of gold but only of painted wood. Candlesticks were to be of iron or copper, altar cloths of unembroidered linen, and vestments of linen or fustian. Monastic fare was to be of the plainest, and no high-born guests but only the poor were welcomed at Cîteaux. Puritanism in worship was also emphasized, and hymns written in rhyme were forbidden. Cistercians were known as "White Monks," from their white robes; "for they looked upon dyeing as a needless refinement." Once more manual labor, relaxed at Cluny, was stressed, especially labor in the fields. The Cistercian, says Coulton, was

to eschew the ordinary monastic advantages of agricultural capitalism on a great scale — monopolies of mills or ovens, bondmen and bondwomen, tithe-endowments and rent charges, economic partnership with other farmers — everything, in fact, which enabled the average Benedictine to "live by the sweat of other men."¹²

In order to obtain primitive simplicity, to practice the rule of labor, and to avoid the perils of monastic capitalism the Cistercians sought the wilderness and erected their houses in secluded districts. In England they built their monasteries in the "wildest and least cultivated districts, the great valleys of Yorkshire and Lancashire." On the Continent they were pioneers in the German penetration east of the Elbe, where they cleared forests, reclaimed swamps, erected dikes to confine the streams, and built roads and bridges. Waste lands in old Germany attracted them too, and one of their most notable achievements was the creation of the Golden Meadow (*Goldene Aue*) in the Thuringian basin. The Cistercians soon became the foremost agriculturists and horticulturists of Europe. Their vineyards at Cîteaux were among the most famous in Burgundy, and they carried viticulture from the Rhineland into central Germany. They made a

study of seed germination, of grafting, and of plants that might be used for food. Whenever a brother traveled he carried with him seeds, plants, or slips of trees, and on his return he brought with him any seeds or herbs that he thought might flourish in the environs of his monastery.¹³ The Cistercians were also noted for stock-raising, and in England they became famous for their sheep and the production of wool. One monastery, Waverly, in 1280 possessed eleven thousand sheep and about one thousand cattle.¹⁴

The manual labor, however, involved in such enterprises was not always performed by ecclesiastics. A peculiar feature of the Cistercian system was the large number of lay brothers. These were persons of inferior rank, often peasants, who were associated with the monastery to perform menial labor. They took the three vows, and had their own quarters, and their place in the choir; but it was forbidden to teach them letters, and they could not become monks. They were the *helots* of the system, and not infrequently they outnumbered the monks. The Cistercians made use also of hired labor.

The Cistercian system was less highly centralized than the Cluniac system, each house being an independent abbey, not a priory of its parent. Unity of usage was maintained, however, by an annual conference of all the abbots, held at Cîteaux in September, by enforcing unity of practice, and by the right of visitation that the abbot of Cîteaux possessed.

The late eleventh and early twelfth century also witnessed the rise of a number of orders that emphasized the hermit ideal, each monk living in his own cell, in distinction from the Benedictines, where the monks occupied a common dormitory. The most widely known of these were the Grandmontines and especially the Carthusians. The mother house of the Carthusians was the "Grand Chartreuse," near Grenoble, where an attempt was made to introduce something of the rigid austerity of the early Egyptian hermits.

Regular Canons. Somewhat different from the monks were the regular canons. They resembled monks in living a cloistered life, but differed from them in that they were usually ordained and often devoted themselves to secular work, pastoral, educational, or charitable. The most important of these were the Austin, or Augustinian, Canons, whose rule was based on the writings of Saint Augustine. "Among them," said Guyot de Provins, "one is well shod, well clothed, well fed. They go out when they like, mix with the world, and talk at table."¹⁵ The Premonstratensians, the Gilbertines, and the Canons of Saint Victor all followed the Augustinian rule.

Organization of the Monastery. Monasticism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a highly organized institution, which, while developing along the lines that Saint Benedict had laid down, had gone much beyond anything he had dreamed of. Every monastery comprised a large group of buildings, frequently surrounded by a wall. Overshadowing all others, both in size and in splendor, was the conventual church, sometimes assuming the proportions of a cathedral (such as Westminster or St. Denis), reflecting the pride of the monks, and indicating the importance of religious services in their lives. It was usually in the form of a Latin cross placed with the apse toward the east and fronting the west. In the apse, as in secular churches, was the high altar, frequently of costly material and workmanship, on which Mass was said for the monks. To the choir of this conventual church the monks resorted seven times a day to observe the canonical hours. Each service lasted from twenty minutes to half an hour and consisted chiefly in the chanting of three psalms. These services were as follows: nocturns, sometimes at midnight, but more often about 2 A.M.; after which the monks went back to bed; prime, at the first hour of the day, or roughly 6 A.M. Then followed, at about three-hour intervals, tierce, sext, none (whence our "noon"), and ves-

pers, sung shortly after sundown. Finally came compline, just before the monks retired.¹⁶

Outside the church the life of the monk centered in the cloister, a covered walk surrounding a quadrangle, usually placed south of the church. On the inner side the cloister opened through arches (which in northern climates became windows) on a grass-covered garth; on the outer side it gave access to other buildings, which were thus built around the cloister. Frequently the cloisters were used for other purposes than the exercise of the monks. The north walk, adjoining the church, often served, because of its southern exposure, as the scriptorium, in which the literary activities of the monastery were conducted. The west walk was generally a schoolroom for novices, or probationers, as the gameboards scratched on the floor or benches reveal. The east walk gave access to the chapter house, an important building, often richly ornamented, in which the monks met for elections, the transaction of business, or the discipline of erring brethren. Near the chapter house was the *calefactorium*, or warming house, the one place in the monastery where the monks were permitted a fire and where they might indulge in lighter conversation than was allowed elsewhere. On the east side of the cloister, too, was usually the dormer, or dormitory, a long rectangular building, as the Benedictine Rule did not permit separate cells for the monks.

The most important building south of the cloister was the refectory, or, to use the old English word, the *frater*, with the kitchen adjoining. It was a long rectangular building, often with great windows on either side, and resembling the refectories of Oxford and Cambridge today. On one side of the frater, often built into the wall, was a pulpit from which one of the monks read during mealtime, as the Rule of Saint Benedict prescribed.

At the high table, on a dais, would sit the chief officers and perhaps monastic guests. At lower tables, at right angles to the dais, would be the ordinary brethren, the youngest near the door.¹⁷

The monks had but two meals a day: the first, dinner, at midday, soon after sext, and supper just after vespers. To compensate for the slightness of the meals, a small extra allowance called a *pittance* was permitted.

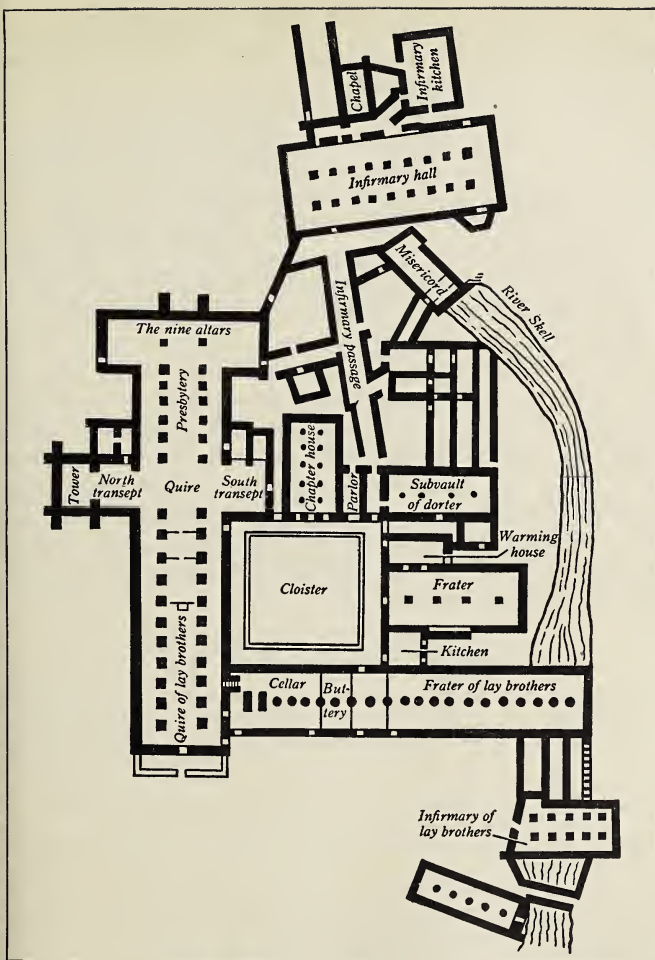
West of the cloister was the cellarium, where the stores were kept. They were under the supervision of the cellarer, who was one of the most important officials in the monastery. He had charge of the food supplies.

He ought to be careful over the bread and drink of the brethren, [declared the regulations of the monastery of Barnwell]. . . . He may give them warm bread, but it must not be dirty, broken, or burnt, or gnawed by mice. . . . On all the principal feasts of first dignity the Cellarer is to provide the convent, for four days, with bread of superior quality, and beer of extra strength.¹⁸

The cellarer had also a certain amount of supervision over the manors of the monastery, and it was he who visited the fairs to make purchases of such diverse articles as iron, steel, plows, bacon, salt, and dried fish. Repairs of buildings also came within his province.

The upper story of the cellarium was frequently the guest house (*domus hospitium*), in charge of a hosteler, whose duty it was to care for the guests who stayed there. In great monasteries there were three classes of guests: the aristocracy, ordinarily entertained by the abbot or prior; the better class, who stayed in the guest house; and the poor, who stayed in the almonry, situated at or near the main gate. In days when inns were few and poor, hospitality at monasteries was a great boon to the traveler. The usual length of visit was two days and two nights, which might be extended on account of illness; but the great were liable to saddle themselves upon a monastery for a longer period.

Inasmuch as the abbot was a great lord, he lived apart from the monks in a house of his own, which in size and appointments resembled the manor houses of the day. He had his own kitchen, dining hall, and staff of servants, and



PLAN OF FOUNTAINS ABBEY

A typical Cistercian monastery, built between 1135 and 1215. (After A. Hamilton Thompson, *English Monasteries*. Courtesy of Cambridge University Press)

frequently lived in grand style, traveling with a large retinue and entertaining the highborn.

Finally, there was the infirmary, under the charge of an *infirmarius*, often somewhat apart from the other buildings for greater quietness. Not only was the infirmary for the care of the sick, but here lived the aged, who required greater warmth, better food, and personal attention. To the infirmary also went each monk, about once in two months, to be bled. The bleeding season was usually regarded as a holiday, for it meant three days in the infirmary on a more generous fare.

Such was the elaborately organized and wealthy institution that the monastery had become by the thirteenth century. Even the Cistercians soon fell away from their emphasis upon simplicity, erected costly buildings, added manor to manor, and became a prey to commercialism and monastic capitalism. It was a reaction against all this, as well as against the wealth, power, and abuses of the secular church, that led to the Waldensian and Franciscan emphasis upon a return to apostolic poverty.

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CHAPTER XXIII

Heresy, the Inquisition, and the Friars

IT HAS frequently been assumed that the Middle Ages were pre-eminently an age of faith, in contrast with the skepticism and unfaith of the modern world. The all-predominant role which the church then played, its universal empire over the souls of men, as well as the fear which its control of the future world inspired, have been supposed to indicate that, apart from a few sporadic heretical movements which were quickly suppressed, people were submissive in faith and morals to the medieval church. A study of social life in the Middle Ages shows that this was by no means the case, — that multitudes of people were indifferent, skeptical, even hostile toward or rebellious against the church and its doctrines.

Medieval Unfaith. An important source of unfaith was the joy and satisfaction that many found in life itself and in secular occupations. They felt the appeal of humanism. To many the church, with its doctrines of renunciation and otherworldliness, robbed them of everything that made life desirable. The French romance *Aucassin and Nicolette* is an eloquent expression of this. Informed by his father, the count, that he must renounce the captive maid Nicolette, or else his "soul would lie tormented in hell all the days of all time," Aucassin replied :

In paradise what have I to win? Therein I seek not to enter, but only to have Nicolette, my sweet lady that I love so well. For into paradise go none but such folk as I shall tell thee now : Thither go these same old priests, and halt old men and maimed, who all day and night cower continually before the altars, and in the crypts ; and such folk as wear old amices and old clouted frocks, and naked folk and shoeless, and covered with sores, perishing of

hunger and thirst, and of cold, and of little ease. These be they that go into paradise; with them I have nought to do. But into hell would I fain go; for into hell fare the goodly clerks, and goodly knights that fall in tourneys and great wars, and stout men-at-arms, and all men noble. With these would I liefly go. And thither pass the sweet ladies and courteous that have two lovers or three, and their lords also thereto. Thither goes the gold, and the silver, and cloth of vair and cloth of gris, and harpers, and makers, and the prince of this world. With these I would gladly go, let me but have with me Nicolette, my sweetest lady.¹

The usurer was not disposed to be cheated of his gains, the noble of his tournament, or the peasant of the dance on the village green by the anathemas of the church.

The *fabliaux* represent the typical French *bourgeois* in the person of Martin Hapart, the usurer of Avranches, who is parsimonious, materialistic, a freethinker, who does not believe in miracles, who lumps together, as equal nuisances, sermons, monks, lepers, and cripples. His wife, anxious for his soul's salvation, urges him to accompany her on a pilgrimage to Mont-Saint-Michel. But Martin replies that only fools go to worship at Saint-Michel. Scandalized at his blasphemy, his wife rejoins that those who go repentant to Saint-Michel are sure of a bed in paradise. "What paradise?" retorts Martin, "There is no paradise apart from money, eating, drinking good wine, and reposing beneath soft sheets."²

From Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme* one also gets an illuminating insight into the psychology of those who, in the matter of worldly gain, withstood the anathemas of the church.

I know not why I should preach to such merchants concerning the joys of heaven or the pains of hell [he says]; for they well know that he who multiplies money in this life gets at least honor of his body. One of them said to me the other day: "He who can get the sweetness of this life, and who lets it go, would be a fool in my opinion; for, after that, no man knoweth the truth, whither or by what ways we go." Thus do the merchants of our day dispute and say; and thus will they commonly answer.³

The resistance of the nobility to the church is shown in their persistence in tournaments, one of their chief sources of diversion in time of peace, which the church condemned. From the beginning of the twelfth century, condemnation was added to condemnation. Councils denounced them and decreed that those who perished in them should be denied ecclesiastical sepulture, and popular preachers told edifying anecdotes to prove that all such were consigned to eternal torment. But here the church met with complete failure: the devotion to sport was stronger in the medieval nobility than their allegiance to the church.

Nor did the church command greater obedience from the peasantry. Not only did they persist in working on Sundays and holy days in spite of denunciations of both councils and preachers, sometimes forgetting when these days came, but they also carried on their merriment and dances in the churchyards, and even in the churches themselves, in the face of ecclesiastical opposition. William Durand complained before the Council of Vienne in 1311 that "... the people seems not to care for divine things [on Sundays or holy-days], but for songs and games, dancing and leaping and dishonest foul ballads, even within the churches and their yards, haunting such vanities by day and by night."⁴ And Bishop Brumpton, in a lament that has a peculiarly modern sound, complained: "Such folk go willingly to a long day's occupation, to wrestlings and fairs and spectacles, and vain bodily recreations, while they will scarce trouble to go one mile to hear a sermon."⁵ Again and again the councils of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries prohibited dances and secular songs in church and churchyards on Sundays and holy days; but in spite of these prohibitions the peasants, in every country in Europe, throughout the Middle Ages continued to dance and revel on sacred ground.

Among all classes there were many who were more or less indifferent to the church and its services. "I have seen," said Jacques de Vitry, "a knight who had never been present

at a sermon. He did not know what the holy sacrifice [the Mass] was, imagining that it was celebrated purely to obtain the offering." ⁶ "Sunday rest is no longer observed in almost all the provinces of France," declared Guillaume le Maire in 1274. "It is on Sunday that markets, courts, and trials are held. One buys, one sells, one pleads a cause, instead of going to church. The churches are empty, the courts and cabarets are full." ⁷ The councils show that peasants could with difficulty be induced to attend the parish church and its services. Even when they did attend they frequently created disturbances by their chatter and running about. It was not only the peasants who were guilty of such irreverences.

Men talk nowadays in church as if they were at market [complains Berthold of Ratisbon, a popular German preacher of the thirteenth century], each calling across to the other and boasting and telling what he has seen in foreign lands; so that one man may easily trouble six or ten who would gladly be silent. . . . And ye women! ye never let your mouths rest from unprofitable babble. One complains to another of her maid-servant, how greedy she is of sleep and loth to work; another tells of her husband; a third of her children, how this one is a weariness, and that other thriveth not. ⁸

The medieval as well as the modern man frequently found faith difficult, even some of the most devout being assailed by perplexing doubts. While many conquered their doubts, others surrendered to them. The study of classical literature and contact with Mohammedan civilization frequently created skepticism concerning the tenets of the faith, and there seems always to have been more unbelief in countries like Sicily, southern Italy, and Spain, where there was close intercourse with Mohammedanism. The unbelief of Frederick II and his "wise men" is widely known. But unfaith was by no means confined to these countries. Peter, Prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, London, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, compiled a work from the lives of the saints in order to convince the skeptics of the truth of re-

ligion. There are many, he declares, who "consider only what they see, believing neither in good nor in evil angels, nor in life after death, nor in any other spiritual and invisible things."⁹ Hélinant's *Vers de la mort*, written between 1194 and 1197, was directed against the disciples of ancient philosophy "who profess that there is no other world than this. Fools say: 'What does it matter when death assails us? Let us seize the good that comes to us. . . . Death is the end of the battle, and soul and body pass into nothing.'"¹⁰ John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres, tells us that physicians were particularly suspected of freethinking. "I have heard many," he declared, "discussing the soul, its virtues and its functions, the growth and decay of the body, its resurrection, the creation of things, and concluding otherwise than the faith maintains."¹¹ "Evidence abounds," declares Langlois, "to show that in every epoch of the Middle Ages in France freethinkers of every sort have not been lacking."¹²

The masses, however, far from being a prey to skepticism, were extremely credulous, and their faith was a strange amalgam of pagan superstition and Christian ideas. In the popular mind, rites and instruments of worship, such as the Eucharist, holy water, relics, prayer, and confession, were often regarded as fetishes possessing a magical power quite independent of the moral or spiritual condition of him who made use of them.¹³ We read of a woman who sprinkled her cabbages with fragments of the consecrated host to keep away the caterpillars, and of another who put it in a hive to stay an epidemic that was destroying her bees.¹⁴ The devil was an ever-present reality into whose power men and women sold themselves; but his baneful power could be averted by an incantation or charm such as a prayer or the sign of the cross. Swineherds and herdsmen sang "diabolical songs" over bread and herbs, which they then hid in a tree in order to free their animals from disease or accident or to injure those of another. Medicinal herbs were gathered to the

accompaniment of a charm. Sorceresses believed that by means of an incantation they could change a man's love into hate, or vice versa. There was a fervent belief in the efficacy of relics in healing disease, performing miracles, warding off disaster; and the traffic in them attained enormous proportions. Divination was widely practiced in order to ascertain the future or to discover the guilty. Although magic, sorcery, divination, and witchcraft were condemned by the church and punishable by the ecclesiastical authorities, their existence shows how far the masses were from understanding the real meaning of Christianity.

Even more serious, from the ecclesiastical point of view, than sporadic skepticism, unfaith, or even sorcery and witchcraft were the rise and spread, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of heretical movements, the most important and influential of which were the Waldensian and Albigensian, or Catharist, movements. Their spread, as the most farsighted in the church perceived, was fostered by the evil conditions within the church and by the lack of religious education; and in whole territories—notably southern France—they threatened the very existence of the church.

The Waldensians. The first of these movements, the Waldensian, was an attempt to reform the church by a return to the poverty and simplicity of the early centuries. Originally it began as a movement within the church, and was driven into revolt only by the opposition of the ecclesiastical authorities. The founder was Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyon, who, about 1170, deeply impressed by the Gospel emphasis on renunciation, determined to give up his wealth and live a life of evangelical poverty. Endowing his wife and daughters, he gave the rest of his wealth to the poor and became an itinerant preacher. He based his teachings on parts of the Gospels, which he had had translated into French. Soon he attracted a group of followers, whom he sent around to the villages teaching and preaching. They

adopted a distinctive dress—a dark outer garment resembling a religious habit, and sandals, in imitation of the apostles. Hence they were called the *Insabbatati* (the unshod); but they preferred to call themselves the “Poor Men of Lyon.”¹⁵ Not content with proclaiming their message on the street or in private houses, they ventured into the churches, where they came into conflict with the clergy, whose function they seemed to be usurping, for canon law forbade unlicensed preaching. When reports of grave errors in their illiterate preaching reached the ears of the archbishop of Lyon, he summoned them before him and forbade them to continue. It is not improbable that the clergy had become the more stirred up by reason of the fact that in their preaching the followers of Waldo doubtless did not spare the clerical vices. When they disregarded the archbishop’s injunction, on the ground that “it is better to obey God than man,” he excommunicated them.

Peter Waldo, with a group of followers, then journeyed to Rome to lay an appeal before the Pope. Alexander III received them kindly. Finding on examination that they derived their teachings from the Bible and church fathers and that they believed in the doctrine of transubstantiation, he approved their vow of poverty and granted them permission to preach, provided they obtained the consent of the local clergy. For a time they seem to have obeyed, but eventually, disobeying, they were condemned by Lucius III at the councils of Verona in 1181 and 1184 and again at the fourth Lateran council in 1215. Thus driven into opposition to the church, they rapidly became heretical in their teachings.

The Waldensians had a great reverence for the Bible, which they claimed was just as accurate and efficacious in vernacular translation as in Latin. Even the most illiterate frequently knew large portions of it by heart. “I have seen a young cowherd,” declares Stephen de Bourbon, “who had dwelt but one year in the house of a Waldensian heretic,

yet had attended so diligently and repeated so carefully all that he heard, as to have learned by heart within that year forty Sunday Gospels.”¹⁶ From this emphasis upon Scripture and their criticism of the clergy, it was but a natural step to the conclusion that Scripture rather than the church constituted the supreme authority in religion.

Accordingly the Waldensians became anti-sacerdotal. They rejected the binding and loosing power of the church; they refused to recognize papal authority; they denied that the ministrations of sinful priests had any value; and they maintained that merit, not ordination, gave value to the sacraments. While simplifying rites and ceremonies, they at first seem not to have denied the doctrine of transubstantiation; but they rejected the doctrine of purgatory, Masses for the dead, and invocation of the saints.

In spite of their anti-sacerdotalism, the Waldensians constituted a church of their own, the true church, from which the Catholics had fallen away; they had bishops, priests, and deacons, who held every year, in some large city, a chapter-general. The clergy, or *perfecti*, came to be quite distinct from the laity, or *credentes*; they took the vows of chastity and poverty and were known by their sandals and black coats. Even their enemies paid tribute to the purity of their lives and their dislike of oaths. Their ethical emphasis seems to have been an important source of their popularity.

The Waldensian movement made headway chiefly among the lower classes,—unskilled laborers, and artisans, such as shoemakers, weavers, swordmakers,—though there is evidence that a few were lawyers, physicians, and even members of the nobility. From its birthplace in southern France it spread rapidly into various parts of Europe, carried by the zeal of its missionaries, some of whom, we are told, employed various disguises, “appearing now as a cobbler, then as a barber, and again as a peasant.”¹⁷ But its chief strength was in southern France, Burgundy, and northern Italy.

Catharism. Even more disturbing than the Waldensian movement was the spread of the sectaries of a creed that had its origin in two religious movements of antiquity, Gnosticism and Manichaeism, both of which, in turn, were based on Persian dualistic notions. Unlike the Waldensian movement, Catharism was an imported creed, entering Italy from Bulgaria, probably through commercial channels, in the eleventh century. It spread rapidly through the northern part of the peninsula, infecting the leading cities of Lombardy, whence it penetrated southern France. By the middle of the twelfth century Languedoc, Toulouse, and Gascony had become honeycombed with the heresy. It was particularly strong in Toulouse, where the Cathari were known as Albigenses, from the town of Albi, one of their strongholds. Raymond, count of Toulouse, tells us that even the priesthood had gone over to the heresy, the churches had fallen into ruin, the sacraments had ceased to be administered; and he felt powerless to remedy the situation, as "his principal subjects had embraced the false faith, together with the better part of his people."

Catharist Teachings. At the heart of Catharist religion was the old doctrine of opposition between matter and spirit — dualism. The universe is composed of two principles, a good and a bad, spirit and matter, each created by a separate deity, a good God and an evil God. The evil God was Satan, identified with the God of the Old Testament, who was responsible for matter, wars, pestilences, and massacres. The good God, revealed by Christ, was purely beneficent and kind. Consequently the Catharists rejected the Old Testament and pinned their faith on the New. Like the Gnostics of old, they believed that Christ did not possess a human body,— he was purely spirit and good and could not unite with evil matter,—and hence the virgin birth, the crucifixion, and the resurrection were unrealities. His life was not expiatory, but purely to show the way to

salvation. Since a good God could not condemn anyone to perdition, the Catharist believed in the ultimate salvation of all. At death the Catharist, or believer, immediately cast off the filthy garment of mortal flesh and went to paradise; but the unbeliever, or impure, was reincarnated until he too came to a knowledge of the truth. Transmigration of souls was thus an article of Catharist belief.

The Cathari were divided into two classes: the *perfect* and the *believers*. The *perfect* were those who had received the *consolamentum*, which united the soul to the Holy Spirit and absolved the recipient of all sin. It was the chief Catharist ceremony, and consisted in the laying on of hands. It could be performed by any one of the *perfected*, even by a woman; but it was ineffectual if one of the ministrants was in mortal sin. The *perfect* swore to abstain from eggs, milk, cheese, and especially flesh, which was of the devil; to shed no blood; to refrain from money-making and oaths; to endure persecution; and to lead a life of celibacy. It was from the *perfect* that were chosen the clergy, consisting of bishop, *filius major*, *filius minor*, and deacon. Their duties were to preside at services and to carry on missionary work. The great majority of the Cathari were simply *believers* who by the *convenenza* had pledged themselves to renounce the Catholic faith and to receive the *consolamentum*, at least at the hour of death. Their other obligations were few. They might marry, accumulate riches, engage in war, and eat what they pleased — in short, live pretty much like anyone else. If they died without the *consolamentum*, they were obliged to go through a series of reincarnations once more. Although the *perfect* might not shed blood, yet it was legitimate for one to end his own life by suicide (the *endura*, it was called), and thus hasten his entrance into the world of bliss. Indeed, when *consolamentum* was administered on the deathbed, it was frequently followed by the *endura*, which often took the form of self-starvation or suffocation.

From southern France Catharism spread into many other

parts of Europe, being found in such diverse places as Brittany, England, Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary. But nowhere did it attain the strength that it possessed in Languedoc, where it was organized into a church in opposition to Catholicism and where it had its own buildings, clergy, and schools. Much of its popularity was doubtless due to its attack upon the morals of the clergy and the wealth of the Catholic Church, as well as to its own high ethical principles. For the Cathari not only refused to obey the Catholic hierarchy, but rejected infant baptism, the Mass, and the real presence in the Eucharist, considering transubstantiation the worst of abominations. They disliked elaborate ceremonies, the use of incense and sacerdotal vestments, and railed in the most abusive language against the veneration of images and especially against the use of the cross.

It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that the Catholic Church soon regarded the Cathari as a menace to its existence. Councils of the twelfth century expressed this alarm, anathematized them, forbade the faithful to associate with them or rulers to protect them, and threatened them with imprisonment, confiscation of goods, and branding on the forehead with a hot iron. In some parts of Europe where they were in a minority, the populace rose against them and burned them at the stake. But where the movement was widespread the church was powerless to stem it. Heresy, it is true, came within the jurisdiction of the episcopal courts, which had power to excommunicate and imprison; but while they might deal with sporadic cases, they were unable to cope with so universal a movement as that of southern France. Before the close of the twelfth century the papacy had become concerned. Special missions and legates were sent into Languedoc; but they failed to gain the whole-hearted co-operation of either clergy or princes. The count of Toulouse refused to take severe measures against the greater part of his population, and, aside from reclaiming an isolated heretic or two, these missions were a failure. On

his accession, in 1198, Innocent III concerned himself with the extirpation of heresy; but even he at first thought that the heretics could be reclaimed by persuasion, and he accordingly dispatched more legates and preachers to Languedoc, with, however, no greater result. Finally, urged on by exponents of radical measures, such as the abbot of Cîteaux and the legate Pierre de Castelnau, the Pope endeavored to inaugurate a crusade against the heretics. He repeatedly appealed to Philip Augustus to take the cross; but that monarch either excused himself on the ground of his absorption in the struggle with John of England or laid down conditions that the Pope could not accept. The appeal to the feudal nobility was scarcely more successful. It took the assassination of Pierre de Castelnau at the hands of a knight of the count of Toulouse, and the widespread indignation this caused, to precipitate the holy war for the extermination of heresy.

Crusade against the Albigenses. Accordingly, in 1209, an army mustered at Lyon under the supreme command of a papal legate. Various motives actuated the feudatories of the north in their participation: love of strife, jealousy of the wealth and more advanced civilization of Languedoc, the hope of obtaining fiefs in the rich lands of the south, or fanatical zeal of orthodoxy against heresy. In the last analysis it was a struggle between the two civilizations of France, the ruder feudalism of the north against the culture of the south.

The attack of the crusaders was first directed against Béziers, which was captured, its inhabitants being massacred. Neither women nor children were spared, and it was said that seven thousand perished in the church of the Madeleine, where they had taken refuge. When it was pointed out to the abbot of Cîteaux, one of the leaders, that some Catholics were among the inhabitants, the abbot, fearing lest heretics should escape under such guise, replied, "Kill them all, for

the Lord knoweth his own." One of the knights who distinguished himself most was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who henceforth was the leader of the crusade. A capable general, it has well been said of him, "Never was there Christian warrior purer in his motives than Simon, more whole-hearted in his enthusiasm, or more utterly inhuman in his fanaticism."¹⁸ For twenty years (until 1229) the struggle dragged on until not only the vigor of the heretical movement was destroyed but also the lifeblood of southern civilization. Catharism indeed continued to exist, but it was driven under the surface and called for a different kind of treatment — that of the Inquisition. Politically, also, the Albigensian Crusade was of far-reaching importance. By it Languedoc, which had pursued an almost independent political existence, was brought under the control of the French crown and became an integral part of the kingdom of France.

Establishment of the Inquisition. Heresy, as we have seen, was one of the things that came within the province of the episcopal court. The bishop, at his pleasure, might institute an investigation into the opinions and morals of the people within his diocese. At the Council of Verona, in 1184, Pope Lucius III ordered all archbishops and bishops

once or twice a year to visit every parish where there was suspicion of heresy, and compel two or three men of good character, or the whole vicinage if necessary, to swear to reveal any reputed heretic, or any person holding secret conventicles, or in any way differing in mode of life from the faithful in general.¹⁹

The study of Roman law in the twelfth century gave a great impetus to spiritual courts and to the systematic inquisition into life and conduct. Thus in 1246 Robert Grosseteste, the reforming bishop of Lincoln, ordered a general inquiry into the morals of the people throughout his extensive diocese. Both noble and commoner were summoned before the arch-

deacons and examined under oath. Such inquisitions, however, seem to have been the exception rather than the rule.

This episcopal inquisitorial machinery might suffice to eradicate sporadic cases of heresy, but it was utterly incapable of coping with widespread heretical movements, such as those of the Waldenses and Albigenses. Not only was the bishop's court inclined to be too indulgent and slow in action, but the ordinary ecclesiastic was unequal to the task of unmasking the heresy of those who shrouded their opinions under the cloak of the most orthodox observance. His learning and skill, says Lea, were usually unable "to elicit a confession from those who professed the most entire accord with the teachings of Rome. In the absence of overt acts it was difficult to reach the secret thoughts of the sectary."²⁰

A special organization and a specially trained group of inquisitors were therefore necessary if the heresy of those who were driven into outward conformity with Catholicism by the Albigensian Crusade was to be unmasked. This gave rise to the Inquisition.

The Inquisition was not created suddenly but was a product of gradual growth. It had its origin in the temporary inquisitory commissions which were now and again granted by Innocent III and his successors to persons skilled in the art of ferreting out heresy. The mendicant and preaching friars, Franciscans and Dominicans, were often singled out for such commissions. The Dominicans, particularly, because of their theological training, were peculiarly qualified to act as inquisitors, and Pope Gregory IX manifested a predilection for them. In 1233 that Pope issued two bulls: one to the bishops of southern France; the second to the Dominicans. To the bishops he wrote:

We, seeing you engrossed in the whirlwind of cares, and scarce able to breathe in the pressure of overwhelming anxieties, think it well to divide your burdens, that they may be more easily borne. We have therefore determined to send preaching friars against the

heretics of France and the adjoining provinces, and we beg, warn and exhort you, ordering you, as you reverence the Holy See, to receive them kindly, and to treat them well, giving them in this, as in all else, favor, counsel, and aid, that they may fulfill their office.²¹

In short, the bishops were to be superseded by the preaching friars as inquisitors. The second bull empowered the inquisitors to deprive of their benefices all clerics who hindered their work and to call in the secular arm, if necessary, to assist them.

From this time the Inquisition gradually developed an extensive organization under the supervision of an Inquisitor-General, who had command over its branches in the provinces. The chief town of the province came to be the seat of the provincial Inquisition, with its buildings containing cells, dungeons, and torture chamber. Thence the inquisitors were to visit all places where heresy was liable to exist.

Procedure. The procedure to be followed by inquisitors was outlined in a letter of Gregory IX (1231). The inquisitor, on arriving in a place, would preach a sermon on the faith to the people, whom the ecclesiastical authorities had been instructed in advance to summon for that particular occasion. He then called upon heretics to confess and all who had knowledge of heresy to come forward and reveal it within a specified time, termed the "time of grace." Leniency of treatment and indulgence were promised to all who did so. Those heretics who refused to come forward of their own accord were to be denounced by the faithful. As a consequence the Inquisition developed an elaborate spy system, and the spies became known as "familiars." They enjoyed immunity from secular jurisdiction, and the church absolved them from acts of violence, — privileges which soon made them the terror of the people. Eavesdropping and delation became virtues.

A man would be denounced to the Inquisition as ill-famed for heresy, or his name would be mentioned in the confession of other prisoners. A thorough investigation would then be made, all available evidence against him collected, and he would be cited to appear at a specified time, precautions being taken to ensure his obedience. Not only were the accused not allowed to know who the witnesses against them were, but they were not permitted to have counsel for their defense. Witnesses in favor of the accused were rare, for inevitably they would have been regarded as accomplices and abettors of heresy. Thus the suspect had to confront the Inquisition alone. The only way in which he could invalidate the testimony against him was to name all his mortal enemies. If the accuser's name happened to be among them, his evidence was discarded. All inquisitorial proceedings were naturally carried on in strict secrecy.

The primary object of the inquisitor was to secure confession, not only because the evidence against the accused was often of a very flimsy nature, but also because it was only through confession that he could be reconciled with the church and thus his soul be saved. In the last analysis this was the avowed object of the inquisitor. No labor was too great, no toil too arduous, if it would lead a suspect to acknowledge his guilt and bring him to a repentance that would blot out his sins.

Inquisitors soon became past masters in the art of extorting confession. At first the prisoner was often treated with every kindness. Trusty agents were sent to his cell to gain his confidence and then urge him, by holding out promises of mercy, to confess. At the opportune moment the inquisitor himself would appear and confirm these promises, with the mental reservation that everything that was done for the conversion of heretics was merciful. Converted heretics who acted as confidence men were very useful for this purpose. If gentler methods of extorting confession failed, resort was had to torture.

Torture. At first torture took the form of restriction of the diet and the prevention of sleep, in order to break down the will of the prisoner. If this was of no avail, physical torture was employed. The accused was taken to the torture chamber and shown the instruments for inflicting pain; and this exhibition sometimes sufficed. The two most common of these were the rack and the strappado. The rack was a frame on which the prisoner was stretched and bound. Cords were tied to his wrists and ankles and attached to a windlass, the object being to dislocate the joints. The strappado, or vertical rack, was no less painful. The victim, with his hands tied, was elevated by means of a windlass to the top of the gallows or torture chamber and then allowed to drop within a few inches of the floor, when he was brought up with a jerk. Sometimes weights were tied to the feet of the victim to make the shock of the fall greater.

While torture was being applied the victim was urged to confess. If he signified his willingness to do so, he was unbound and removed to another room, where his confession was heard. Confession made under torture had to be confirmed after the victim was removed from the torture chamber. "Persistent denial of guilt," says Lea, "and assertion of orthodoxy, when there was evidence against him, rendered him an impenitent, obstinate heretic, to be abandoned to the secular arm and consigned to the stake."²²

Acquittal was almost unknown, for one penalty or another was imposed on nearly every person brought before the inquisitorial tribunal. All penalties were expiatory in character and might take the form of hearing Mass on a given number of Sundays, going on a pilgrimage, participation in a crusade, the wearing of the yellow cross, the symbol of penitence, or imprisonment. Impenitent or relapsed heretics were condemned to perpetual imprisonment or handed over to the secular authorities for execution; for canon law forbade ecclesiastics themselves to pronounce the death sentence, though they might ensure that the state did.

Death Penalty for Heresy. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many rulers of Europe co-operated with the church by decreeing the death penalty for heresy. The first to do so was Peter of Aragon, in 1197. This was followed, after a quarter of a century, by the decree of Frederick II (1224), which condemned heretics to the stake or to have their tongues cut out. At first applied only to his Sicilian dominions, in 1238 it was extended to the empire. After 1249 the ducal oath in Venice contained a pledge to burn all heretics. In France the *Établissements* of Saint Louis (1270) condemned the heretic to be burned alive. But it was not until 1401, after the rise of Lollardy, that England provided for the burning of heretics by the statute *De Haeretico Comburendo*. The death penalty for heresy had the support of theologians, notably of Thomas Aquinas, who declared the sin of unbelief to be "greater than all the sins that occur in the perversion of morals."²³ "If counterfeitters of money or other evil-doers are immediately handed over to death, and rightly so, by the secular authorities, how much more can heretics, immediately they are convicted of heresy, not only be excommunicated," he says, "but justly put to death."²⁴ But it is easy to exaggerate the number of death sentences for heresy. Bernard Gui, one of the most efficient and vigorous inquisitors of the Middle Ages, during a period of fifteen years (1308–1323) pronounced six hundred and thirteen sentences, but only forty-five of these were relaxed to the secular arm for the extreme penalty.

More effective than either crusade or inquisition in stemming the tide of heresy was the work of the new orders of the thirteenth century, the Franciscan and Dominican friars. With their emphasis upon preaching and teaching, they did much to remedy the lack of instruction in the medieval church.

Saint Francis of Assisi (c. 1181–1226). Saint Francis was a native of the Umbrian town of Assisi, within the Papal

States. His father, Pietro Bernardone, a well-to-do merchant, was absent in southern France when the child was born. On his return he named his son (although already christened Giovanni) for the beautiful country he had just visited. Of a romantic and poetic temperament, the romance and chivalry of the age made a great appeal to Francis, and he had no taste for the career of a cloth merchant, for which his father intended him. Generous, high-spirited, filled with the joy of living, a lover of nature, fond of gaiety, and of attractive personality, Francis early became a leader of the youth of Assisi. Participating in a war with Perugia in which Assisi was defeated — one of those armed conflicts common between medieval towns in Italy — he was taken prisoner and spent a year in the prisons of his captors, where his light-heartedness and good spirits were the life of his comrades. A critical illness that followed his release seems to have wrought a profound change in him. He became introspective, meditative, and keenly aware of the suffering and squalor around him. He overcame his repulsion for lepers by ministering to their needs in the lazarettos; he renounced his inheritance, fled from his home, and began to repair the ruined chapels in the neighborhood of Assisi, — Saint Damian's, Saint Peter's, and the Portiuncula. He adopted the garb of a hermit and began to lead the life of a solitary. One day (in February, 1208), while listening to the Gospel of the day, he heard the priest read:

As ye go, preach, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes nor yet staves: for the workman is worthy of his meat."

The words burst upon him like a revelation. "This is what I want," he cried, "this is what I was seeking."²⁵ There and then he resolved to lead a life of apostolic poverty. But

Francis was no commonplace mendicant. His new life became a means of realizing his romantic dreams of valor and exploit. Like a chivalrous knight taking vows before the lady of his choice, he devoted himself body and soul to his "Lady Poverty."

The next morning he set out for Assisi, where he began, much to the scandal of Pietro Bernardone and to the contempt of his former associates, to preach in the market place. But the jeers of his former comrades and associates soon turned to veneration as one after another, led by Bernardo di Quintavalle, who gave his goods to the poor, they became his followers. They first took up their abode in an old leper house of Rivo Torto and later at the Portiuncula, where they built themselves a few huts of mud and wattle. Francis drew up a simple rule for their guidance, consisting of a few passages from Scripture and enjoining poverty. They traveled from village to village and from town to town, proclaiming their simple message of repentance and the love of God, now ministering to the lepers, and again aiding the peasants in their fields, that they might be a charge on no one. God's *jongleurs* they loved to call themselves, for their hearts were filled with joy. Some took them for knaves and madmen, threw mud at them, and insulted them; others received them as messengers from heaven, fed them, and gave them lodging.

"Your way of living without owning anything seems to me very harsh and difficult" [the bishop of Assisi said to Francis one day]. "My lord," replied he, "if we possessed property we should have need of arms for its defence, for it is the source of quarrels and lawsuits, and the love of God and of one's neighbor usually finds many obstacles therein: this is why we do not desire temporal goods."²⁶

In 1210 Francis and his companions betook themselves to Rome, to obtain papal confirmation of their vows and rule. Innocent III received them kindly, but put them off with fair words. Their life was too hard, and they would do better to join one of the existing orders, he urged. But Francis was

persistent, one of the cardinals championed his cause, and Innocent himself was aware of the danger of driving men into heresy. So he gave verbal sanction to their rule, and permission to preach repentance, enjoining them to receive ecclesiastical tonsure, to which Francis submitted with some misgivings. "Take care that you do not make me a large tonsure," he was wont to say to the barber. "For I want my simple brethren to have a share in my head." ²⁷ The "Friars Minor" was the name that they, in their humility, chose to call themselves.

The Dominicans. Quite different was the origin of the Dominicans. Dominic (1170-1221) was a Spanish theologian who, after ten years spent in study at the schools of Palencia, became a canon in the cathedral of Osma. In the early years of the thirteenth century he accompanied his bishop on a preaching mission to the heretics of Languedoc. The conversion of a heretic of Toulouse in whose house he chanced to lodge, and the widespread character of the heresy, led him, his biographers relate, to devote himself to its extirpation. Adopting a life of simplicity and poverty, he endeavored to convert the heretics by winning their confidence and by arguing them out of their errors. By degrees he gathered a group of followers around him, one of the first being a wealthy citizen of Toulouse who, moved by Dominic's earnestness, bestowed upon him his house. In 1215 the bishop of Toulouse gave formal recognition to their mission, and in the following year Dominic accompanied him to Rome, where he received papal approbation of his order. They became known as the "Preaching Friars," their avowed purpose being to save souls through preaching. "Our Order was instituted principally for preaching and the salvation of souls." ²⁸

Expansion of the Friars. Both Franciscans and Dominicans rapidly increased in numbers and speedily spread throughout Europe and even beyond. Both developed a

highly centralized organization. At their head was a minister-general (master-general among the Dominicans) who presided over the chapter-general and governed the order. Europe was divided into provinces over each of which was a provincial minister. At first the Franciscans did not own houses, for Saint Francis opposed the holding of corporate as well as individual property; but after his death this rule was relaxed, and both orders came to possess conventual property. "There was not a will of either a noble or rich bourgeois," Luchaire says of France, "that did not contain a legacy for the friars 'Minor' or the 'Preachers.'"²⁹

The friars were also the first to engage in foreign missions. The conversion of the Saracens was one of the aims of Saint Francis, who visited Egypt with the vain idea of converting the Sultan. Schools were established for the study of Hebrew and Arabic, notably that of the Franciscan Raymond Lull at Majorca. The friars traveled to the Far East, planted missions in China, and brought to the western world its first knowledge of the great Mongol empire. Notable among these Franciscan travelers were an Italian, John of Plano Carpini, sent out by Innocent IV in 1245, and a Fleming, William of Rubruquis, sent by Saint Louis in 1253, both of whom visited the Mongol court of the Great Khan and have left us accounts of what they saw. The most noteworthy missionary to the Far East was John of Monte Corvino, an Italian who labored in China between 1289 and 1328. He was the first archbishop of Peking; he translated the New Testament into the Tatar language; he founded bishoprics and monasteries and became a trusted adviser of the Great Khan.

Distinction between Friars and Monks. In many respects the friars differed from the monks. The law of "stability" which characterized the latter was abolished. Friars did not belong to one convent or province but to the whole order, and went wherever their superiors commanded. They

were international, and their membership was drawn from every race and nationality in Europe. Their ideal, too, was higher than that of the monks. While the monks retired from the world into the cloister, the friars went out into the world to devote themselves to the service of their fellow men. They selected the towns as the chief sphere of their activities, especially those places neglected by the secular church. They often took up their abode in the slums of the cities, — in London, for instance, in the “Stinking Lane” and the shambles of Newgate. By their charities they carried succor to the poor, the despised, and the most wretched members of society. They popularized Christianity as it had not been popularized for centuries.

The difference between Franciscans and Dominicans (at least during the early years of the two orders) arose out of the difference in ideal and outlook between Saint Francis and Saint Dominic. Francis was neither a scholar nor a theologian. He had little interest in learning, and none in theological questions. His was purely a lay interpretation of Christianity, and his supreme ambition was to follow Christ, which he interpreted as meaning to love and serve his fellows as Christ did. The imitation of Christ was his supreme ideal. Dominic, on the other hand, was a scholar and theologian, trained in the logic and metaphysic of the day. The defense of the Catholic faith and the conversion of the heretic by means of logic and sermon constituted his aim. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the Dominicans soon became the greatest theologians and scholars in Europe and that they dominated many of the universities. The Dominicans appealed to the higher classes; the Franciscans, to the lower classes. Eventually this difference between the two orders disappeared, and Franciscans as well as Dominicans became notable for their learning.

Decay of the Friars. To these orders, as to the Benedictines, with wealth and power came the inevitable decay. After the

first flush of enthusiasm was over, their ideals proved too high for frail human nature — at least for the rank and file. Becoming popular as confessors, they often demoralized the influence of the parish priest by the easy terms on which they granted absolution to penitents. They interfered in the parishes, also, by their claims to preach, to receive gifts and legacies, and to bury the dead. They became notorious as lovers of money. The Dominicans, moreover, by their control of the Inquisition tended to repress free thought. But the decay of the friars in the later Middle Ages should not blind us to the great contributions that they made to the religious and intellectual life of Europe. "Without Francis of Assisi," says a sober writer like Sabatier, "the church, would perhaps have foundered and the Cathari would have won the day." ³⁰

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CHAPTER XXIV

The Revival of Learning and the Rise of Universities

DURING the early Middle Ages (roughly from the sixth century to the eleventh) learning in western Europe was in a state of decadence. From the time of Gregory the Great, except in Mohammedan Spain, the Byzantine Empire, southern Italy, and Sicily, Greek was virtually a dead language; only an isolated individual like Erigena, whose life span covered most of the ninth century, had any knowledge of it. "Even the alphabet was lost," says Haskins: "at the hands of the mediaeval scribe a Greek word becomes gibberish or is omitted with *grecum* inserted in its place — it was 'all Greek' to him." ¹ Consequently western Europe had no acquaintance with Greek science, philosophy, or literature except what had been translated into Latin by Boethius or served up in compendiums such as those of Martianus Capella, Isidore of Seville, or the Venerable Bede. Of the writings of Aristotle there were available only part of the *Organon*, or logical works (the *Categories* and the *De Interpretatione*), in the translation of Boethius; of those of Plato, only the *Timaeus*. Most of the Latin classics that we have were known. The Carolingian renaissance preserved them, and the Latin language never again fell back into the depths of the Merovingian age. Yet the old Christian prejudice against classical literature survived and now and again cropped out. "It is unbecoming the episcopal function to be occupied in such studies," wrote Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. "Formerly I spent the days of my youth in such things; but on taking the pastoral office I determined to renounce them." ² Intellectual interests were largely theological, such as the controversies over predestination and the

idea of the real presence in the Eucharist, although some were unable to shake off altogether the spell of the classics. The Latin fathers — Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory the Great — were widely read.

The Seven Liberal Arts. The basis of education was the seven liberal arts, divided into two groups: the *quadrivium*, consisting of music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, and the *trivium*, of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. The *quadrivium* was the less important. The study of music consisted of the rules of plain song; geometry, of a selection of the propositions of Euclid; arithmetic and astronomy, of little more than the calculation of the date of Easter. The chief importance of the *quadrivium* was that it supplied a skeleton of studies later to be filled out by the twelfth-century renaissance. The real basis of secular education was the *trivium*. Grammar included the study of the rules of Latin grammar as laid down by the ancient grammarians Priscian and Donatus, but also classical and philological study in the wider sense of the term. Rhetoric was the study of the art of composition (which included forms for letters and documents), and out of it grew the *ars dictaminis* of Bologna. But the heart and soul of the education of the time was logic.

Here [says Rashdall] the teacher was untrammelled by the lurking uneasiness of conscience which haunted the medieval Monk who loved his Virgil: there was nothing pagan about syllogisms: the rules of right reasoning were the same for Christian and for pagan alike, and were (as was thought) essential for the right comprehension and inculcation of Christian truth.³

Its basis was the *Logic* of Aristotle.

By the close of the eleventh century there was taking place a veritable intellectual renaissance which coincided with the revival of town life and of commerce. North of the Alps the most noted center of learning in the later eleventh century was the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, made famous by

the names of Lanfranc and Anselm of Aosta, later of Canterbury. But as a rule the cathedrals rather than the monasteries were centers of the revival of learning. The youth were seized with a passion for inquiry. On the highways, in addition to knights, ecclesiastics, and merchants, might now be seen here and there a student making his way to this or that cathedral school in search of learning.

Revival of Classical Study. One of the first of these cathedral schools to become famous was that of Chartres. Its fame was due to a series of able teachers: the two Breton brothers Bernard and Thierry, and a Norman, William of Conches. Their interest was mainly classical. By improved methods of instruction in grammar as well as by their personalities they attracted students and effected a veritable, though short-lived, classical revival. Students daily practiced Latin composition, both prose and verse, based upon classical models and took part in conversation and discussion in order to acquire fluency and elegance of diction. The authors studied covered pretty well the entire field of classical Latin. An Englishman, John of Salisbury, later bishop of Chartres, was one of the finest products of this school. His Latin style, if not equal to that of the later Renaissance, was more finished than that of the African fathers of the church, such as Augustine. He was a firm believer in the classical basis of education. Another center of classical study, though somewhat later, was Orleans.

Dialectic. But the classical revival of the twelfth century was greatly overshadowed by the study of logic, or dialectic. The tedious grind that the mastery of the classics demanded was intolerable to the youth of the age, more intent on speedy results. They were carried away by a passion for disputation. Of course a certain amount of classical knowledge was essential as a prerequisite; but as soon as the student had mastered the rules of grammar and the vocabu-

lary of conversational Latin, "he hastened to acquire the subtle but unliterary jargon which would enable him to hold his own in the arena of the Schools."⁴ Any other study was regarded with contempt. "Poets and historians," said John of Salisbury, who, in his *Metalogicon*, defended classical study and sound learning, "were looked upon as blameworthy, and if anyone devoted himself to the works of the ancients, he was a marked man and became an object of laughter to all, not only more stupid than the ass of Arcadia, but duller than lead or stone."⁵ They desired to learn the art of arguing and discussing in the shortest possible time, by the most direct method. "They speedily became complete philosophers," said John of Salisbury; "for he who came illiterate seldom tarried longer than the space of time in which young birds put on their feathers."^{6*}

Abélard and the School of Paris. The most famous center of dialectic at the close of the eleventh and during the twelfth century was the cathedral school of Notre Dame at Paris. Hither students flocked, attracted first by the keen logic of William of Champeaux (1070-1121) and later by the scintillating brilliance of his successor, Peter Abélard (1079-1142). So important a figure was the latter in this intellectual movement that a brief survey of his career will be in order. A native of Brittany and son of a feudal lord, Abélard was one of those who preferred the strife of disputations to the trophies of war. Sometime about 1095 he left his ancestral castle, and for several years he wandered from school to school and from master to master. "Perambulating divers provinces," he said, "in search of discussion, wherever I had heard the study of this art to flourish, I became an emulator of the Peripatetics."⁷ He was a sort of knight-errant of dialectic, sharpening his wits by coming to grips

* Champion as he was of classical study and impatient of "mere logic-choppers," John of Salisbury defended the study of sound dialectic and especially of Aristotle. — C. J. C. Webb, *John of Salisbury*, London, 1932, ch. 3

with his masters, attacking their pet theories, and then passing on to find new rivals. At length he came to Paris and sat at the feet of William of Champeaux, whose reputation he succeeded in shaking and whom he shortly afterwards supplanted in the cathedral school. He became the "idol of Paris," and his fame attracted thousands of students from all parts of Europe. Twenty of his pupils, it is said, became cardinals; more than fifty, bishops. At the height of his career, however, disaster fell upon him. He fell in love and eloped with Heloise, niece of Canon Fulbert of Notre Dame, who wreaked so fearful a vengeance upon him that he sought to hide his shame and suffering by entering the monastery of Saint-Denis. While this destroyed all hope of preferment in the church, it by no means put an end to his career as a scholar or his popularity as a teacher. But his later life was a veritable series of calamities, the most serious being condemnation for heresy at the instigation of Bernard of Clairvaux.

Nominalism versus Realism. The question around which the debate centered in Paris and other schools where dialectic dominated was the problem of universals, or realism versus nominalism. In the last analysis the problem went back to the conflict between Aristotle's assertion of the "pre-eminently real existence of individuals" as over against the Platonic doctrine of ideas. For the Middle Ages this conflict was raised by a passage in Porphyry, the Neo-Platonist, where he asked: "As to genera and species, do they actually exist or are they merely in thought? Are they corporeal or incorporeal existences? Are they separate from sensible things or only in and of them? I refuse to answer,"⁸ says Porphyry; but the Middle Ages insisted on an answer, and, to obtain it, expended much intellectual energy.

Those who answered these questions in the affirmative—that is, those who maintained that genera and species have a real, independent existence apart from individuals—were

the realists. This realistic philosophy had its origin in the Platonic doctrine of ideas, which maintained that individuals were but symbols of a suprasensible reality. Apart from individual things and persons there were great archetypes, existing in heaven, and they constituted the true reality. More concretely, the realists maintained that there was a redness apart from all red objects, an abstract justice apart from all judgments or acts, and an ideal beauty distinct from all beautiful objects. In its most extreme form, realism virtually denied the real existence of the individual.

The opposite of realism was nominalism, which insisted that reality existed only in the individual. It claimed Aristotle as its progenitor rather than Plato. The idea of the universal, or of genera and species, said the nominalists, is only a figment of the imagination, with no objective existence. Thus abstract terms like "humanity," "justice," "virtue," "beauty," "redness," only express qualities that do not exist apart from individuals. An extreme nominalist like John Roscellinus, canon of Compiègne, declared genera and species nothing but words (*flatus vocis*).

Now this philosophical controversy, which seems to us like a battle of words, was a medieval attempt to explain the very nature of things. Besides, it had important theological implications. It seemed to the orthodox of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to be a struggle between idealism and materialism. If the nominalist were right, there would be no objective reality to such ideas as the church, catholicity, divinity, and trinity. Moreover, the idea of the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament seemed to gain support from the doctrine of the realist. On this account realism was to many the only conception consistent with orthodoxy. But besides such profound subjects of debate, much more trivial questions were often discussed in the schools. For instance, was the pig that was being led to market held by the man or by the rope? And might a shield that was black on one side and white on the other be called

either black or white? It was the discussion of such trivial subjects that John of Salisbury ridiculed.

Revival of the Study of Law. A third phase of the intellectual revival of the twelfth century was the study of law, the earliest important center for which was Italy. It was in Italy that, owing to the commercial revival and the contacts with Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt, the development of municipal life advanced most rapidly. Here, too, the memory of the Roman municipal and legal systems remained strongest. It is not surprising, therefore, that the intellectual awakening took on a practical nature arising out of the needs of trade and commerce in Italian cities. North of the Alps the renaissance was largely cloistral, metaphysical, and speculative, demanding knowledge for its own sake, apart from all relation to social life; south of the Alps it became legal and but another aspect of the political and social renaissance.

This legal revival arose out of the study of the *ars dictaminis*, or art of letter-writing, needful to notaries and royal and papal clerks. Schools (*studia generalia*, they were called) where such instruction was given existed at Rome, Pavia, Ravenna, and Bologna early in the eleventh century. Manuals of composition were compiled for the instruction of clerks. The study of composition was accompanied by instruction in the elements of law, a knowledge of which was indispensable to both clerk and notary. With the development of municipal, commercial, and political life, doubtless more and more emphasis was placed upon the legal aspect of these schools. This was more particularly true of Bologna, which before the close of the eleventh century had become renowned for its law school. Its fame was enhanced by Irnerius, who during the first quarter of the twelfth century attracted large numbers of students by his skill as a teacher, as Abélard was doing in Paris. Irnerius made the systematic study of the entire *Corpus Juris Civilis* the fundamental part

of a legal education, and ranks as one of the most famous glossators, or commentators, on Roman law. On the entrance of Henry V into Italy, Irnerius entered into his service and often acted as judge. The close association of the Bolognese jurists with the imperial power was continued by the successors of Irnerius, who acted as the advisers of Frederick Barbarossa in his attempt to subject the Lombard communes to his will. So important did legal study become that soon no one was considered fit for a judicial post in one of the Italian cities without a period of study at Bologna or some other law school.

Gratian and Canon Law. What Irnerius and his successors did to promote the fame of Bologna as a center of civil law Gratian did for canon law. A monk of the monastery of San Felice in Bologna, Gratian, although probably not a teacher at all, gathered together the canons of councils, papal rescripts, the pronouncements of the church fathers, and decrees of the early Christian emperors. These sources of canon law had previously been put together in collections by others; but there were much confusion and many contradictions among the authorities. These Gratian sought to resolve in true scholastic fashion, and thus to ascertain the law of the church. The result was his *Concord of Discordant Canons*, usually called the *Decretum* (compiled about 1148), a textbook to which the student might turn for the opinion of the great church leaders on any matter of ecclesiastical law. Almost immediately Gratian's work became the recognized textbook in the schools and ecclesiastical courts and formed the basis of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. Ecclesiastics flocked to Bologna to study canon law as laymen did to study Roman law.

The New Learning. This renaissance of learning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was greatly accelerated by the introduction, through Greek and Arabic channels, of a

new body of learning hitherto inaccessible to Latin Europe. Now and again a wandering scholar in his quest had ventured into Mohammedan Spain or Syria and there had become aware that the Arabs possessed a body of knowledge of which scholars north of the Pyrenees were ignorant. The Arabs, in their conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Persia, had absorbed much of the Greek culture with which they had come in contact. (The works of Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Galen, and others had been translated into Arabic and had thus become the basis of Saracen philosophy, science, and medicine. Christian scholars now began to learn Arabic and Greek, and with enthusiasm to make this new learning available in Latin translation. The chief center of these translations was Spain,— particularly Toledo, after its recapture from the Moors in 1085. Adelard of Bath, in the early part of the twelfth century, was one of the pioneers of the movement.

It is worth while [he declared] to visit learned men of different nations and to remember whatever you find is excellent in each case. For what the schools of Gaul do not know, those beyond the Alps reveal; what you do not learn among the Latins, well-informed Greece will teach you.⁹

Through the activity of these translators Latin versions of Aristotle, Ptolemy, Euclid, Galen, Hippocrates, and their Arabic commentators were spread over western Europe and gave a great impetus to the renaissance of learning. One of the most productive of these translators was Gerard of Cremona, who translated over seventy Arabic works, the chief of which was Ptolemy's *Syntaxis* or *Almagest*. "More Arabic science in general," says Haskins, "passed into Western Europe at the hands of Gerard of Cremona than in any other way."¹⁰ Under the auspices of Raymond, archbishop of Toledo, a veritable college of translators appeared, of which some members were Jews. Another important center of translation was Palermo, the capital of the Norman kings of Sicily. Here Aristippus, an ecclesiastic and official at the

Sicilian court, as well as others, rendered the writings of Ptolemy, Aristotle, and Plato, and works on mechanics and mathematics, directly from the Greek. By these means much of the learning of the Greeks, as well as the contributions of the Arabs, passed over to Latin Europe and became a fundamental part of its cultural heritage.

The Rise of Universities. This revival of learning gave rise, in the latter part of the twelfth century, to a new institution, the university. The popularity of centers such as Paris and Bologna, made famous by the careers of Abélard and Irnerius, and the large number of students there, inevitably led soon to the organization of associations for mutual protection. These associations naturally adopted the form as well as the name, familiar to everyone, of the craft guild, *universitas*, which simply meant a number of persons grouped together into a corporation. Thus we get a "university" of students or a "university" of masters, just as we do a "university," or guild, of cobblers or a "university," or guild, of goldsmiths. The earliest universities were Paris and Bologna, both of which date from about the middle of the twelfth century.* Inasmuch as they represent two different types, later organization following the example of one or the other, we shall glance at each in turn.

Paris. By the early part of the twelfth century the school of Paris was famous throughout Europe, almost a century before we hear of a university there. No student considered his education complete unless he had studied at Paris. "At this time," said the historian William the Breton, "letters were flourishing at Paris. Such a flock of students had never been seen in any other part of the world, whether Athens or Egypt."¹¹ The quest of these students was not merely the pursuit of learning for its own sake but also the obtaining

* Salerno was probably older, but it was purely a medical school and did not influence the development of university organization.

of the right, or license, to teach. This might be secured by studying under a master (serving an apprenticeship, as it were) and, in turn, receiving from him the right to give instruction. By the early part of the twelfth century it was pretty clearly established that no one should set himself up as a master without such a period of study and such a formality. It was to preserve their monopoly against unlicensed teaching that the masters of Paris organized themselves into the University of Paris. "In that age of Guilds," says Rashdall, "we may almost say that the formation of a teaching-guild in some form or other was inevitable."¹² This university, or guild, of masters received a royal charter in 1200 and the recognition of Innocent III in 1208.

Paris was the home of the collegiate system. The college arose out of the custom of students' living together in societies. Originally it was nothing but an endowed hall, or *hospitium*, provided by some benevolent person, often to ensure board and lodging for poor students who could not support themselves. The earliest college was founded in 1180 by one Jocius of London, who, returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, hired a room for needy students in the *Hôtel Dieu*, or Hospital of the Blessed Mary, of Paris. Soon the colleges assumed a definite organization and discipline and came under the rule of a master. Before the close of the Middle Ages, Paris had sixty-eight colleges, the most famous of which was founded (c. 1258) by Robert de Sorbon, the chaplain of Saint Louis, for students in theology. By modern times the Sorbonne became synonymous with the theological faculty at Paris and ultimately with the university itself.

Bologna. Unlike Paris, the guild, or university, at Bologna was primarily an association of students to which the guild of masters, when it came to be formed, was subordinate. There were two reasons for this. First, the students who flocked to Bologna to study law were more mature than those at Paris, — lawyers in the employ of monarch or prince or

else benefited clergy. Second (and more important) was the status of the student in Bologna. As an outsider he possessed no rights within the city. "There was one law for the citizen; another, and much harsher one, for the alien."¹³ The formation of a guild therefore gave the students greater bargaining power with the town authorities; it was an attempt to create a sort of artificial citizenship in place of the one they had temporarily abandoned for purposes of study. If the town refused to grant them privileges, the guild could threaten to migrate to another city; for a university in the thirteenth century did not have the numerous buildings and extensive equipment of its modern descendant. "Townsmen and Professors alike," says Rashdall, "stood in awe of a body which by the simple expedient of migration could destroy the trade of the former and the incomes of the latter."¹⁴

Professors in Bologna were employees of the student university, which made regulations for their conduct. The professor might not absent himself, even for a single day, without permission. If he left town, he was obliged to deposit a sum of money as guaranty for his return. If he failed to make his lecture sufficiently interesting to obtain an audience of five, he was fined as if absent. He could not create holidays for his own pleasure. He was obliged to begin his lecture when the bell rang and to close promptly. A certain amount of ground had to be covered in each lecture. Thus a disproportionate amount of time might not be spent on the introduction. A fine was levied if the professor skipped a decretal or a chapter; and he was forbidden to postpone a difficulty to the end of the hour, lest he should make this a pretext for avoiding it altogether.

Oxford and Cambridge. The University of Oxford owed its existence, not to a gradual evolution and organization of a large body of masters and students, as did Paris and Bologna, but to a migration. About 1167, English students

seem to have been expelled from Paris, and shortly afterwards Henry II, probably as a step against the supporters of the exiled Becket, ordered masters and clerks, on pain of losing their benefices, to return from Paris or to refrain from going there to study. Presumably these masters and students then settled at Oxford, for shortly afterwards we hear of a large number of students there. Oxford had not previously been particularly noted for its schools; it was not then the center of a bishopric and boasted no important monastic foundation. But, situated on the Thames, it was a place of some commercial importance and was easily accessible from London and the north. Evidence shows that within a few years after 1167, at the latest by 1185, a university organization existed there.

Cambridge, in turn, owed its origin to a migration from Oxford after a riot that occurred during the interdict and the persecution of all clerks by King John (1209). But there is little evidence that the university as such existed before 1229, when Henry III offered an asylum to scholars driven from Paris.

Oxford and Cambridge closely followed the organization of their mother university, Paris. Both came to be ruled over by a chancellor, and both established colleges. The earliest colleges at Oxford were Balliol (*c.* 1261), Merton (*c.* 1263), and University College (*c.* 1280); at Cambridge, Peterhouse (1284).

The Student. Various types of students might be found in a medieval as in a modern university. There were the well-to-do, frequently beneficed clerks, drawing a fat revenue from some prebend, who lived well and indulged their taste for books and fine clothes. There were the poor, largely dependent upon charity or what they could earn, obtaining a meal here and there or a pittance by carrying holy water or copying for others. Some were diligent and carried away learning and honors from the university; others were aimless

and idle, rarely attending a full course of lectures, and wandered from university to university.¹⁵

The medieval student was notorious for his pranks and love of amusement. He fell in love — and recovered; he wrote verses and lampoons; he gambled, drank, and got into debt. The modern practice of hazing is a legacy from the medieval university. The freshman was treated as an unclean, unkempt beast, with horns and tusks that had to be removed by his seniors, who heard his confession, granted him absolution, and fixed as penance a dinner for the crowd. Pranks played on townsmen were common, and not seldom did they lead to blows and even bloodshed. Students, however, ranked as clerks and could plead benefit of clergy. Thus they escaped with a lighter punishment than laymen. Many were indulgent toward the student and his escapades; others could see in the university nothing but a corrupter of youth and of religion. "They seek the law at Bologna, medicine at Salerno, philosophy at Paris, the black art at Toledo," declared a medieval saying, "but nowhere a life pleasing in the sight of God."¹⁶

Besides Paris and Bologna there were seventy-five universities in Europe before the close of the fifteenth century. As a rule those in the north followed the model of Paris; those in the south, that of Bologna. The university was thus one of the institutions that the Middle Ages bequeathed to the modern world.

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CHAPTER XXV

Medieval Thought and Science

I. PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY

THE Middle Ages fell heir both to the philosophy of the Greeks and to the dogma of the church. The former was an endeavor to obtain a rational view of the world and man; the latter, the revelation of God through the Scriptures as interpreted by the church. Reason and revelation: were these two mutually exclusive, contradictory, or reconcilable? Herein centered much of the speculation, philosophy, or theology of the Middle Ages, frequently described by the term "scholasticism."

The first to grapple with the problem of the relation between reason and revelation was apparently Boethius, the author of the *Consolation of Philosophy*. As a Christian he accepted the body of revealed truth, or dogma, of the church; as a philosopher he sought to fit it into the system of Aristotelian logic, to substantiate or corroborate dogma by reason. In this respect Boethius was the precursor of the great theologians or scholastics of the Middle Ages.

One of the most original and striking thinkers of the early Middle Ages was the Irishman John Scotus Erigena, who, shortly before the middle of the ninth century, made his way to France and lived and taught at the Frankish court, high in the favor of Charles the Bald. Noted for his knowledge of Greek in an age when that language was no longer widely known, he was a speculative thinker of the first rank, whose writings were better known and more influential in later centuries than in his own. While recognizing the authority of the Scriptures and of the fathers of the church, he yet placed reason above them both. The rights of reason

are sovereign, he declared, in regard both to nature and to revelation.

Let no authority ever scare you out of the conclusions to which reason, after sound reflection, leads you. For true authority never opposes sound reason, nor sound reason true authority, inasmuch as, beyond a doubt, they both flow from a single source, to wit, the divine wisdom. . . . Authority is derived from true reason, reason by no means from authority. For any authority which is not confirmed by true reason would seem to lack stability. But true reason, since it is immediately sanctioned and fortified by its own power, needs the support of no buttress of authority.¹

On the other hand, he contended that dogma could be buttressed by reason, and he sought to show that the dogmas of the faith were capable of rational demonstration.

Anselm (1033-1109). Another definition of the relation between faith and reason is found in Anselm. An Italian of noble family, at an early age he was drawn to the cloister rather than to the life of a feudal lord. Wandering across the Alps, he made his way to the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, where, under the tuition of Lanfranc, he acquired that patristic learning and that dialectical acumen which were to make him one of the founders of scholasticism. In 1093 William Rufus, king of England, virtually compelled him to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury. As archbishop, Anselm proved himself a stout champion of the principles of Gregory VII, and he sought to break the feudal control over the church of England.

As a pious monk, Anselm, unlike Erigena, placed revelation first.

No Christian [he declared] ought in any way to dispute the truth of what the Catholic church believes in its heart and confesses with its mouth. But always holding the same faith unquestioningly, loving it and living by it, he ought himself as far as he is able to seek the reason for it. If he can understand it let him thank God. If he cannot let him not raise his head in opposition but bow in reverence.²

To Anselm belief is a prerequisite to knowledge. "I do not seek to know in order that I may believe; but I believe that I may know. For I believe this also, that unless I shall have believed I shall not understand."³ Reason has thus become the "handmaid of faith." The primary source of religious knowledge is revelation, and revealed truth must be accepted without question. "Nevertheless it is the business of the human reason to exercise itself upon the truths of revelation, and to attempt to bring its own light to bear upon them."⁴ All doctrines of the church are true, Anselm maintained, because they are divinely revealed; but he believed also that they were rational and could be shown to be acceptable to reason.

Although Anselm believed in the reasonableness of all Christian doctrines, he sought to demonstrate the truth of only a certain few. In the first of his writings, the *Mono-logium*, or *Soliloquy*, he endeavored to demonstrate by reason the existence of God. But when he had finished he began to ask himself if he could not find a single, self-contained proof for the existence of God.

I began to ask myself whether there might be found a single argument which would require no other for its proof than itself alone; and alone would suffice to demonstrate that God truly exists, and that there is a supreme good requiring nothing else, which all other things require for their existence and well-being.⁵

The thought would not allow him to sleep, and he wondered whether it might not be a temptation of the devil. But suddenly there flashed into his mind the answer, the famous ontological argument for the existence of God, which he set forth in a treatise entitled *Proslogion*, or *Address*. The idea of God, by its very definition, signifies the greatest conceivable being. Now everyone, even the fool and the atheist, possesses the idea of a being than which nothing greater can be conceived. But the greatest possible being cannot

exist in the mind alone; for then there would be a greater in reality; since reality is greater than the idea.

Therefore, if that, than which nothing greater can be conceived, exists in the understanding alone, the very being, than which nothing greater can be conceived, is one, than which a greater can be conceived. But obviously this is impossible. Hence, there is no doubt that there exists a being, than which nothing greater can be conceived, and it exists both in the understanding and in reality.⁶

The most important and influential of Anselm's writings was the *Cur Deus Homo*, in which he undertook to demonstrate, with unbelievers in mind, the reasonableness of the incarnation and death of Christ, and their place in the great scheme of things. Hitherto, for nearly a thousand years, theologians had held the theory that Christ's death was a ransom paid by God to the devil to bribe him to release the souls of men held in bondage to him by reason of their sin. This hideous theory Anselm rejected. Through the disobedience and sin of Adam, man has injured the honor of God, whom every rational creature, in the very nature of things, is bound to obey. God, therefore, like a medieval knight, demands satisfaction. But because man is finite he cannot render satisfaction to the infinite honor of God. This satisfaction "cannot be effected, except the price paid to God for the sin of man be something greater than all the universe besides God. . . . But none but a man ought to do this, otherwise man does not make the satisfaction."⁷

Hence the one who renders such satisfaction must be perfect man and perfect God, qualifications which only Christ, the God-man, possesses. Moreover, inasmuch as this satisfaction must be something which God does not already possess, it must be a gift, bestowed by the God-man of his own free will. It was for this purpose that Christ voluntarily, through the incarnation, became man. By his voluntary death he acquired infinite merit which sufficed to discharge the infinite debt, God's injured honor.

By such arguments Anselm undertook to demonstrate that the incarnation and death of the son of God were rational, necessary, and grounded in the very nature of things.

Abélard (1079-1142). A younger contemporary of Anselm was Peter Abélard, an account of whose career has already been given. The problem of the relation between faith and reason was one with which he, as well as Anselm, grappled. Formerly Abélard was regarded as a rationalist, "a prototype of the eighteenth-century philosopher," who accepted no article of the faith unless it could be demonstrated to the satisfaction of reason. But this estimate of him, in the light of research, must now be discarded. It is true that he had no patience with those who, in religious matters, believed everything they were told, without inquiring into its reasonableness; but it is also true that he attacked those who glibly asserted that they could make every article of the faith intelligible to reason. Free discussion, he believed, could only be advantageous. It was the daring with which he grappled with theological problems that shocked his great opponent, Bernard of Clairvaux. Abélard was a rationalist only in the sense that he sought to use the powers of reason to defend the faith of the church against her foes and for the instruction of students. While holding that "it is through reason, and not through compulsion, that men can be brought to accept the Christian faith,"⁸ he believed there were mysteries that reason could not fathom. Yet these were not necessarily irrational; rather they transcended reason, a position later adopted by Thomas Aquinas.

Abélard's contribution to the problem of universals also was significant, inasmuch as it was the position adopted by Thomas Aquinas and later scholastics. While rejecting the claim of the realists that universals had objective existence, he likewise refused to accept the position of the nominalists that they were mere "words." He adopted a middle ground that has been well called "conceptualism."

If universals are neither things nor words, it follows that they must be concepts of the mind. That constitutes their reality; but that reality is sufficient. . . . There exist only individuals, and no one of these individuals is in itself either genera or species; but these individuals have resemblances which the mind is able to perceive, and these resemblances, considered alone, with their differences abstracted, form more or less comprehensive classes which one calls species or genera. Genera and species are therefore, in reality, products of the mind: . . . they are concepts.⁹

Sic et Non. The method that Abélard employed in both his teaching and his exposition is contained in one of his earliest works, *Sic et Non*, or *Yes and No*. It consists of contradictory statements on a wide variety of theological topics, culled from the Bible and the fathers. No attempt was made to reconcile these contradictions, which Abélard said were sometimes more apparent than real. His purpose in adopting this method, he tells us, was to provoke his readers to the greatest exertion in their search for truth and thus to sharpen their wits. "For by doubting," he says, "we come to inquiry; by inquiring we discover the truth."¹⁰ Although his method was skeptical, this skepticism was only provisional and intended as a surer means of arriving at truth. After his time it became the generally accepted method of presenting theology. Abélard was formerly supposed to have been its inventor, but research has shown that it was the method followed by earlier writers on canon law.

The spirit of Abélard, and his insistence upon freedom of inquiry, are also shown by his use of secular learning. He denounced that bigotry which would exclude all knowledge not connected with religion. "No one can call any science evil," he asserted, "even though it be itself concerning evil, which an upright man requires; not indeed that he may work evil, but that he may be on his guard against evil prepared for himself." And again:

I suppose that none who are well versed in Holy Scripture are ignorant that spiritual men have progressed in sacred learning

more from the real study of science than from the merits of religion. Thus Paul, although his merits as an apostle do not appear superior to those of Peter, nor those of Augustine as a confessor to those of Martin, yet each of these exhibited greater graces in his teaching, after his conversion, in proportion as he possessed a more extensive knowledge of literature before it. Whence I conclude that the study of secular literature also is specially recommended by the Divine direction, not only on account of its inherent uses, but because it would seem unlike one of His gifts if He should employ it so as to serve no useful end.¹¹

The Incarnation. The most significant of Abélard's theological doctrines was that concerning the work of Christ, which stands out in sharp contrast with that of Anselm. Whereas Anselm emphasized the idea of satisfaction of God's injured honor, Abélard stressed the idea of God's love as the great means of reconciling humanity. The need was not that God should be appeased, but that man should be enlightened. The purpose of the incarnation of Christ, Abélard believed, was to illumine the world by the impartation of divine wisdom and to kindle in it love of himself.¹² Christ did not need to assuage the anger of God or vindicate his honor, for God easily and freely forgives. In order to win us to himself Christ has given us the strongest proof of love which kindles our cold hearts and leads us back to trust in and the love of God.

Thomas Aquinas (c. 1224-1274). With the thirteenth century a new epoch in the history of Western thought began, marked by the introduction of the complete Aristotle. Made available first by translations from the Arabic and soon afterwards directly from the Greek, the writings of the greatest exponent of reason in the ancient world were at first received with suspicion by the theologians of the Augustinian tradition. Many, however, embraced the new learning with eagerness. Becoming alarmed, the ecclesiastical authorities endeavored to arrest the movement by decreeing in

1210 and again in 1215: "The books of Aristotle on metaphysics and natural philosophy shall not be read."¹³ But Aristotle was read and studied in spite of the prohibitions of the church, and before the middle of the century attempts were made to reconcile his philosophy with dogma. The first to make such an attempt seems to have been a Franciscan, Alexander of Hales. But it was more especially Albert von Bollstädt, better known as Albert the Great, and his pupil Thomas Aquinas to whom the honor belongs of having reconciled Aristotle with the dogma of the church. This was no easy task. The Augustinians were right when they maintained that Aristotelian philosophy was inconsistent with the postulates of revealed religion. For this philosophy implied that neither "creator nor first man, neither anthropomorphic God nor providence, and no survival of individual souls after death"¹⁴ were necessary. Begun by Albert the Great, the Christianization of Aristotle was carried to completion by Thomas Aquinas. "Aristotle the politician and Augustine the theologian, two enemies," says Harnack, "became allies in Thomas; in that consists the importance of Thomas in the world's history."¹⁵

Of noble Italian stock, Thomas Aquinas was born at Rocca Sicca, the hereditary castle of the counts of Aquino in the territory of Naples. At the age of eighteen he determined to join the Dominican order and for that purpose set out for Paris. He was stopped and brought back by his brothers to his father's castle, and his family sought to dissuade him from his purpose. But after almost two years, finding their efforts of no avail, they allowed him to depart. The Dominicans then sent him to Cologne, where he studied under Albert the Great. Later he went to Paris, where he obtained the degree of master of theology and began to teach. For a time he taught in Rome also, but in 1268 he was recalled to Paris as professor of theology.

Thomas Aquinas was a voluminous writer, but his two most famous works were his *Summa contra Gentiles*, written

for the unbeliever, and the *Summa Theologica*, a textbook on theology intended for beginners. He had completely mastered Aristotle, — mastered it as no one else had done in his age, and perhaps as no one had done since the Greek world. At the same time he possessed a profound knowledge of Augustine and his thought. The thought of the great Latin father and the system of the great Greek philosopher were combined to produce the highest expression of medieval Catholic thought. Not only did Thomas provide the church with a system of dogma which still remains the standard in the Roman Catholic system, but he also produced a view of the world and of man which stands out as one of the great historic systems. It may be said to have completed the edifice of medieval thought and to have summed up the best that it contained.

The solution that Thomas gave to the problem of the relation between faith and reason was definitive. Faith and reason, revelation and knowledge, are not mutually exclusive or contradictory, but supplementary to each other. Each in its separate sphere leads us to the truth as it exists in the infinite God. Therefore there can be no suspicion of reason on the part of faith nor denunciation of faith on the part of reason. Thomas drew a distinction between natural theology, or philosophy, the knowledge of which comes to us through the senses and sense experience, and revealed theology, of which we obtain a knowledge through revelation. The one "begins with the creature and ascends to God"; the other "begins with God and descends to the creature."¹⁶ Natural reason, unaided, can attain much knowledge of God, but it needs to be supplemented by divine revelation. Perfect knowledge of God, however, cannot be attained in this life.

But if reason and revelation supplement, they also support each other. Some truths there are that we know only through revelation, to which reason can never attain; they merely transcend reason rather than contradict it. On the

other hand, reason demonstrates many of the truths of revelation. For instance, reason can demonstrate to us the truth of the existence of God, which is thus a postulate of natural as well as of revealed religion. While rejecting the ontological proof for the existence of God, Thomas, following Aristotle, based his argument on the movement in the universe and on cause and effect. The motion that we perceive necessitates a prime mover who is himself unmoved. In a similar way, the effects that we see presuppose an efficient cause.

This supreme being whom we can know through reason as well as through revelation is the creator of the universe. From the rational point of view, the universe might always have existed, but revelation tells us that it was created in time out of nothing. Besides the material universe God created intelligences also. The highest of these created beings are the angels, divided into three hierarchies, who are God's ministers, executing his decrees and governing the universe. Below the angels in the scale of creation are human souls, which differ from the angels in that they are united with material bodies. Each individual soul was created *ex nihilo* and *de novo* by a special divine act, but it requires a body in order to achieve its proper action. The soul is thus not imprisoned in the body, as Plato taught; but both are an essential part of man. Nevertheless, the body is mere unformed matter to which the soul gives form. On the other hand, the soul is "an independent entity, capable of separate existence as well."¹⁷

What is the goal of human life? Wealth, glory, power, pleasure, the goods of the body, have all been considered the end of human existence. But these are "only so many palpable errors."¹⁸ On the contrary, the goal of life consists in beatitude, the enjoyment or knowledge of God. Sometimes this is called also the vision of truth. Man's beatitude, therefore, consists in the contemplation of God or of truth, which, however, cannot be complete in this life.

The great obstacle to the attainment of the goal of life is sin.

Every sin [says Thomas] is in reality a turning away from God. . . . Hence a sin is heinous in proportion to the degree that it separates man from God. But man is especially separated from God by unbelief, because he [the unbeliever] does not have true knowledge of God. Moreover, through false knowledge he does not draw near but is farther separated from Him.¹⁹

From Augustine, Thomas took over the doctrine of the fall and the consequent doctrine of human depravity. Hence the incarnation and the redemptive work of Christ were a fundamental part of his thought. Like Augustine, too, Thomas made grace essential to salvation; and like the great Latin father, the great medieval scholastic made the church the sole repository of grace. On this account the advantages of Christ's redemptive work can be obtained only through the church. Moreover, it is through the sacraments of the church that the believer becomes the possessor of divine grace. But Thomas takes great care to combat the notion that the sacraments are merely signs. "We must needs say," he declares, "that in a certain manner the sacraments of the new law cause grace. For it is evident that by the sacraments of the new law man is incorporated in Christ."²⁰

Although the goal of life can thus be obtained only through the sacramental means of grace that the church possesses, yet Thomas was far from divorcing salvation from conduct. For salvation, in the last analysis, is bestowed only as a reward for virtuous works. Thomas thus made much of ethics, the treatment of which bulks large in the *Summa Theologica*, the second part of that work being devoted to its discussion. Furthermore, it constitutes the most elaborate treatment of the subject that had been produced within the church up to his time.

II. NATURAL SCIENCE

Why did the Middle Ages not make greater progress in science? One reason was doubtless the lack of scientific instruments, such as the telescope and microscope. Perhaps more important was the tendency to rely upon the authority of ancient scientists, such as Aristotle, Galen, Ptolemy, and Pliny the Elder, rather than to investigate. Of these authorities, Aristotle was by far the greatest. To Dante he was "the master of those that know." If a thing could not be found in Aristotle, then it could not be true. The story is told of a medieval student who, having discovered spots on the sun, revealed the fact to a priest, who replied: "My son, I have read Aristotle many times, and I assure you that there is nothing of the kind mentioned by him. Go rest in peace, and be certain that the spots which you have seen are in your eyes and not in the sun." With truth historians have spoken of the "dead hand of Aristotle."

Yet the medieval reliance upon authority and the lack of independent investigation have been exaggerated. Modern research, such as that of Haskins and Thorndike, has shown that medieval scientists used their powers of observation far more than has generally been realized. Adelard of Bath, an Englishman of the early twelfth century, employed experiment and observation. Experiment showed him why water did not escape from an opening in the bottom of a jar filled with water when it was closed at the top. And he accurately described the reason: "The liquid flows out only interruptedly and with bubbling. For as much air gets in as liquid goes out, and this air . . . makes its way to the top of the vessel and occupies what seems to be a vacuum."²¹ Observation told him that light traveled faster than sound. He realized, however, that the senses should be aided by scientific instruments:

The senses are reliable neither in respect to the greatest nor the smallest objects. Who has ever comprehended the space of the

sky with the sense of sight? . . . Who has ever distinguished minute atoms with the eye? ²²

It is difficult for me to discuss animals with you [he said to a student]. For I learned from my Arabian masters under the leading of reason; you, however, captivated by the appearance of authority, follow your halter. Since what else should authority be called than a halter? For just as brutes are led where one wills by a halter, so the authority of past writers leads not a few of you into danger, held and bound as you are by bestial credulity. . . . Wherefore, if you want to hear anything more from me, give and take reason. For I am not the sort of man that can be fed on the picture of a beef-steak. ²³

The English bishop Robert Grosseteste and Albert the Great likewise advocated and practiced experiment. The latter employed his own observation to prove Aristotle, in one instance, in error. The emperor Frederick II was notorious for his experiments and insatiable curiosity, and he encouraged scholars at his court to investigate.

Roger Bacon (c. 1214–c. 1294). The most famous of medieval scientists was Roger Bacon, though his importance has often been exaggerated. An Englishman, apparently belonging to a well-to-do family, Bacon had studied both at Oxford and at Paris and probably had taught. In mature life he joined the Franciscan order, very likely because of its learned men and the advantages it offered for study. His chief work was the *Opus Majus*, written at the request of his friend Pope Clement IV, though there is no evidence that the Pope ever acknowledged or read it. Bacon remained, as he complained, “unheard, forgotten, buried.” The preferment he sought never came his way. The *Opus Majus* was followed by two supplementary treatises, *Opus Minus* and *Opus Tertium*. The traditional story that Bacon was imprisoned for the last fourteen years of his life by the Franciscans because of heretical views rests upon a fourteenth-century writing and probably, as Thorndike has shown, should be relegated to the realm of legend.

Like his predecessors and contemporaries, Bacon emphasized the necessity of observation and experiment. "If we wish to have complete and thoroughly verified knowledge," he declared, "we must proceed by the methods of experimental science."²⁴ And he tells us that he has sent "over sea and to various other lands and to annual fairs" in order to "see the things of nature" with his own eyes.²⁵ But Bacon had little notion of the proper conditions for carrying on experiment. "Of laboratory equipment, of scientific instruments, of exact measurements, he has no more notion apparently than his contemporaries."²⁶ Nor did he make any important discoveries or startling inventions.

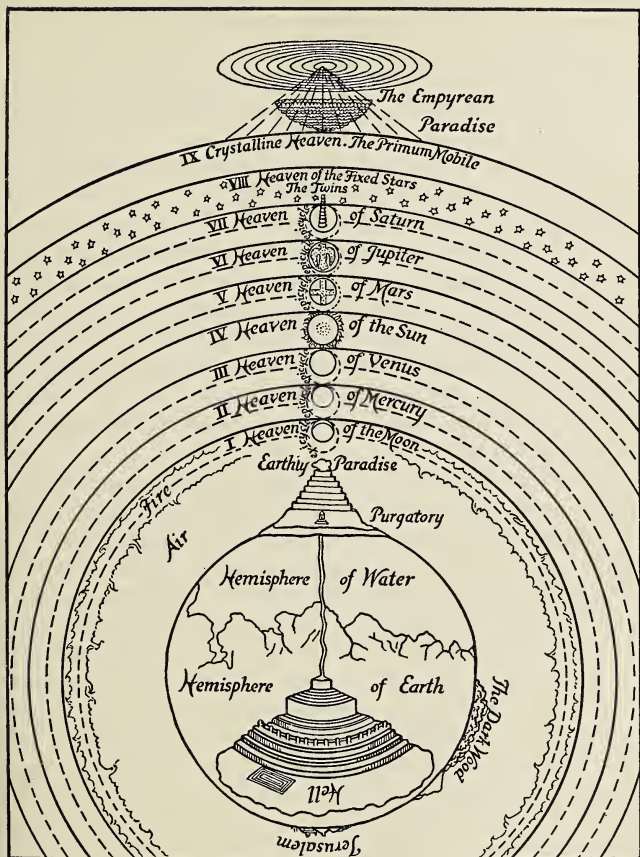
In spite of their emphasis upon experiment, therefore, the scientists of the Middle Ages contributed comparatively little to the sum total of the scientific knowledge of the race. They did little more than transmit to the modern world the scientific knowledge of antiquity on which modern science was based. The development of the lens and its use to aid nearsightedness were among their few contributions.

The Conception of the Universe. The basis of the medieval conception of the universe was the work of Ptolemy, whose *Almagest* became available to Christian Europe when translated from Arabic into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in 1175. According to the Ptolemaic system, the earth was the center of the universe, and around it revolved in concentric spheres the sun, the moon, and the planets. Within each circular orbit there was another circular motion, that of the epicycle. As the planet was carried on its orbit around the earth it revolved also around the circumference of a circle the center of which was on its orbit. Its motion was thus in the form of a spiral. This theory did explain the known facts and consequently permitted remarkably accurate observations and calculations of the movements of the heavenly bodies, although the Arabs had discovered sufficient discrepancies to make them realize that there was something wrong with it.

Its intricacy led King Alfonso the Wise of Castile to declare that if he had been consulted at the making of the universe he could have suggested a better arrangement.

This geocentric, or Ptolemaic, theory fitted in very nicely with Christian conceptions; for Clement of Alexandria in the second century had demonstrated that the altar in the Jewish Tabernacle was a "symbol of the earth placed in the middle of the universe." Peter Lombard in the twelfth century, in his *Sentences*, had declared, "Just as man is made for the sake of God — that is, that he may serve Him, — so the universe is made for the sake of man — that is, that it may serve him; therefore is man placed at the middle point of the universe, that he may both serve and be served."²⁷ Combined with certain Christian notions, this was accepted by the theologians as the view of the church, the last word of divine revelation. It was this Christianized version of Ptolemy that Dante popularized in his *Divine Comedy*.

The Heavens. The spheres surrounding the earth were crystalline and were called the heavens. Seven of them were the orbits of the planets: the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, in the order of their occurrence. Beyond these was an eighth sphere which supported the fixed stars. The ninth sphere was the *Primum Mobile*, to which was due the diurnal revolution of the planets from east to west. "The said heaven," says Dante, regulates "with its movement the daily revolution of all the others."²⁸ The tenth heaven was the *Empyrean*, the calm and motionless abode of the Triune God, of his angels, and of the glorified saints. It differed from all the rest in that it did not revolve but was absolutely motionless; for all motion implies change and desire for something better. "Still and tranquil is the place of that supreme deity which alone completely perceiveth itself. This is the place of the blessed spirits, according as holy Church, which may not lie, will have it; and Aristotle likewise seemeth to agree hereto."



DANTE'S SCHEME OF THE UNIVERSE

From Michelangelo Caetani, *La Materia della Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri*,
Rome, 1855

The Movers of the Heavens. All movement in the universe was brought about by "intelligences which," says Dante, "are vulgarly called angels."³⁰ There were as many of these intelligences as there were motions in the heavens. Thomas Aquinas's conception of the orders of angels was generally accepted and became the standard. There were three hierarchies of angels. The first was active in the Empyrean, in the presence of the Triune God, chanting his praises and carrying his orders to the second hierarchy, which served in the movable heavens, between the Empyrean and the earth. They were responsible for the movement of the celestial bodies and "the universal causes whereby all particular effects in nature are produced."³¹ To the third and lowest hierarchy was assigned the earth as their sphere of action. They cared for earthly affairs in general and for human beings in particular, one being assigned to each individual — his "guardian angel."

A few writers, such as Adelard of Bath, seem to have leaned toward the idea that the universe was governed by natural laws. "Human science must first be listened to," he declared, "'and only when it fails utterly should there be recourse to God' as an explanation."³² But the Thomist view was more in accord with church teaching, and it seemed to find support in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* as well as in Plato.

Opposed to the Triune God, who dwelt in the Empyrean, and his cohorts of angels were the devils, or demons. Their chief abode was hell. Formerly they were good spirits, but under the leadership of Lucifer, a former favorite of the Trinity, they rebelled and were cast out of the Empyrean. Some of these rebellious angels, however, still rove among the planetary spheres; others are active in the atmosphere about the earth, causing storms and drought; while still others infest human society, tempting men to sin.

Bad angels [says Thomas Aquinas] assault men in two ways. First, by instigating them to sin; and then they are not sent by God to assail them, but sometimes are permitted to do so accord-

ing to the just judgments of God. At other times they assail men as a punishment, and then they are sent by God.³³

Astrology. To the medieval, as to the ancient mind, there was a close correspondence between phenomena and movements of the heavens and occurrences here on earth. The influence of the sun and moon upon terrestrial life was so obvious that it was only natural that the unsophisticated mind should assume a similar relationship for the planets as well. About this idea there had grown up an entire science, or pseudo science, astrology, which had great vogue in the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century the Latin West was deluged with a flood of astrological literature translated from the Arabic. To refuse to believe the influence of the stars, the smallest of which was not without its effect, was unreasonable, declared a thirteenth-century treatise. Astrology seemed to be a practical application of the new learning, and the greatest scholars of the age were firm believers in it. Universities had their professors of astrology, and monarchs their official astrologers, whom they constantly consulted, not only on important affairs of state but on such personal matters as bloodletting and marital relations. In Italy professional astrologers had offices and gave regular consultations. The complexion of an individual, his character and temperament, his success or failure, all depended upon astrology. "Why do not all men resemble each other, and why do no men resemble each other completely?" asked a medieval textbook, and answered: "The movements of the planets are the cause of it. For each individual everything depends upon the planet which rises or sets in such or such sign of the zodiac the day of his birth."³⁴ Because health and disease also were dependent upon the stars, astronomy was a fundamental study for the doctor. Roger Bacon assigned each part of the body to a sign of the zodiac and asserted that if a physician were ignorant of astronomy, his medical treatment would be "dependent upon 'chance and fortune.'"³⁵

The Earth. The sphericity of the earth was quite generally accepted. "The earth is round like a ball," affirmed the *Image du Monde*, a popular treatise written for the laity. "The heavens surround the earth on all sides like the shell of an egg."³⁶ Roger Bacon gives the following argument in support of this conception :

We know by experience that he who is at the top of the mast can see the port more quickly than a man on the deck of the ship. Therefore it remains that something hinders the vision of the man on the deck of the ship. But there can be nothing except the swelling of the sphere of water. Therefore the water is of spherical form. But if this is true, then the earth is of a convex spherical figure, for otherwise it would not be equally distant from the heavens, nor would it be equally near the center of the universe ; but this must be the case.³⁷

A contemporary of Bacon, Brunetto Latino, employed the argument that a man traveling in a straight line would necessarily return to his point of departure, provided he encountered no obstacles. The earth, however, was regarded as immovable. Not only was this belief supported by such authorities as Aristotle, Pliny, and Ptolemy, but it was upheld by Scripture. The notion was widespread that hell was located in the center of the earth, — a notion that was popularized also by Dante. The existence of volcanoes confirmed the belief, although no one knew where hell's mouth lay. The fear that it might be out in the Atlantic militated against navigation there. "Why is the sun so red in the evening?" asked a medieval textbook, and answered, "Because he looketh down upon hell!"³⁸

The land was thought to comprise only a quarter of the surface of the globe. Not only was it entirely surrounded by water, but it floated upon it like a great island. This was a notion inherited from antiquity, and it received support in Scripture, which spoke of "the earth standing out of the water and in the water."³⁹ This habitable portion of

the globe was confined entirely to the Northern Hemisphere. The equatorial regions, owing to the extreme heat, were regarded as impassable. This meant that the Southern Hemisphere was uninhabited; for if there were inhabitants of the Southern Hemisphere at all, they could not belong to the race of Adam — an idea the church would not brook. Dante gives vent to a curious outburst on this subject in the *Convivio*, where he declares :

Although the Philosopher [Aristotle] does not lay down the succession from one first man, yet he will have it that there is one only essence in all men, the which divers origins could not produce. And Plato has it that all men depend on one only "idea" and not on several, which is giving one sole origin to them. And without doubt Aristotle would laugh aloud if he heard folk making two species of the human race, like that of horses and asses; for (with apologies to Aristotle) those who so think might at any rate be considered the asses.⁴⁰

Out of the ocean in the Southern Hemisphere rose the mount of purgatory, the inhabitants of which, however, were no longer denizens of this earth.

Not only was the landed surface of the globe restricted to the Northern Hemisphere, but it was confined within comparatively narrow limits of latitude and longitude. The known world was divided into three parts: Asia (in which Egypt was regularly included), Europe, and Africa. The western half of the habitable world was divided into the approximately equal continents of Europe and Africa by the Mediterranean Sea. In accordance with the map of Ptolemy, southern Africa was supposed to be connected with Asia. Thus the Indian Ocean was an inland sea corresponding to the Mediterranean. Jerusalem was regarded as the center of the inhabited world, and Rome as the center of the Western world.

The knowledge that Europeans had of the different parts of the world varied with the situation of the individual.

First there were the well-known regions about which knowledge was derived and kept fresh through active commercial, diplomatic, ecclesiastical, military, and scholarly enterprise. These regions may be said to have included most of Europe west of the Elbe and Hungary. They also included the overland routes to Constantinople, the shores of the Mediterranean, and the Holy Land. From the point of view of the Scandinavian peoples, who were great travelers, they took in not only the foregoing regions but also the Baltic coasts, southern Norway and Sweden, and Iceland. Beyond the bounds of the well-known areas lay a second group of areas about which a fair amount of reasonably trustworthy information was at hand, derived from one of three sources: (1) reports of occasional travelers; (2) more or less reliable hearsay; (3) classical descriptions drawn from literary sources. Much of Western Asia and North Africa fell within this category and, for the Scandinavians, Greenland. Beyond lay the third group of regions, known only through the vaguest of rumors — the domains of fabulous monsters and legendary men. To some writers India was such a land, to others Russia and northern Scandinavia, to still others the legendary isles that lay concealed in the Western Ocean.⁴¹

The geographical knowledge of the Middle Ages was considerably extended by travelers in Asia, eastern Europe, and elsewhere, and the description of their travels. The journeys of the Franciscan friars, William of Rubruquis and John of Plano Carpini, and the accounts that they wrote of their experiences were incorporated by Roger Bacon in his *Opus Majus*. The most celebrated of all these journeys to Asia was that of Marco Polo, the Venetian, who traveled to China and spent seventeen years at the court of the Great Khan. After his return he engaged in a struggle with Genoa, was taken prisoner, and, during his captivity, regaled his fellow captives with tales of the wonders of Asia. These were written down by a Pisan writer of romances, Rusticiano. Marco Polo's adventures, however, were largely ignored in the century that followed, so that they cannot be said to have become the possession of any large number of people.

Alchemy. One of the most famous and yet most obscure aspects of medieval science was alchemy. In its widest sense it seems to have included the knowledge of chemistry, metallurgy, and practical processes of metalworkers, jewelers, potters, and glassmakers, handed down from antiquity as craft secrets; in the narrower sense it denoted the attempt of medieval chemists to transmute the baser metals into gold and silver and to obtain an elixir that would prolong life. From the Egyptians and Greeks alchemy was transmitted to Christian and Latin Europe, partly through Arabic channels. A vast number of alchemical treatises are extant, most of which have not been adequately studied or published. Michael Scot, the scholar at the court of Frederick II, and Albert the Great popularized the study in Christian Europe. Albert gave instructions for the alchemist to follow. He must have a laboratory, "a special house away from the sight of men in which there are two or three rooms in which experiments may be conducted."⁴² He must be a tireless worker. All the vessels he employed should be of glass. All base metals, Albert believed, could be transmuted into the precious metals. Modern chemical discoveries and theories make the beliefs of the alchemist seem less absurd than formerly. That the alchemist worked in secret and often made base metals appear like precious ones doubtless helped to give the impression that this science was a nefarious one. Experiments with chemicals and metals tended to increase the knowledge of their properties, and doubtless a good deal of chemical knowledge was acquired as a by-product of alchemical research. On this foundation modern chemistry was built.

Medicine. During the early Middle Ages there was no medical profession, and little knowledge of the medical practices the Greeks and Romans had employed.

When Christianity [says Cumston] became the state religion, though it had opposed pagan magic and superstition, it had

stified medicine and all science. The belief in possession by devils made priestly laying on of hands, prayer, and exorcism the usual cures. Most of the Fathers rejected earthly means of healing. Medicine was a mixture of old medical tradition, Christian mysticism, and magical charms.⁴³

With the renaissance of learning, however, there came a revival of medical knowledge, in which the Arabs and the school of Salerno, in Italy, took the lead. By the tenth century Salerno had become a center of the healing art, and a school sprang up there, the origins of which are shrouded in mystery. The twelfth century witnessed the recovery of the medical literature of the Greeks and the translation of many Arabic works on medicine. The basis of instruction was the writings of Hippocrates, the father of medicine, and Galen. A group of medical writers arose there who emphasized simple and sensible remedies, such as bathing and diet. Their therapy was popularized in rhyme, the *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*, embodying such maxims as "After breakfast walk a mile, after dinner rest a while," "Breathe pure air and avoid vitiated atmosphere," "Never eat without hunger or drink without thirst."⁴⁴ "Anatomy," says Meyerhof, "showed signs of revival. Better textbooks of surgery were produced. Gynaecology and obstetrics, hitherto the monopoly of midwives, became the subject of scientific study. Ophthalmology passed from the hands of wandering cataract-couchers to those of learned physicians."⁴⁵ Yet throughout the Middle Ages surgery remained barbarous, and magic, astrology, and charms a fundamental part of medical practice. Bleeding was a universal remedy, as well as a preventive of disease. Some useful drugs were employed, but very often the connection between the disease and the remedy was purely fanciful. Gilbert of England (thirteenth century) prescribed that a patient take "the worms with many feet that are found between the trunk and bark of trees" in a little wine and water as a remedy for spots in the eye, but recommended that the dose be accompanied by a repetition

of the Lord's Prayer.⁴⁶ Astrology, as we have seen, was intimately associated with medical practice. From the position of the stars the doctor could tell whether a patient was likely to recover, and by the phases of the moon whether or not he should be bled.

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CHAPTER XXVI

Medieval Art

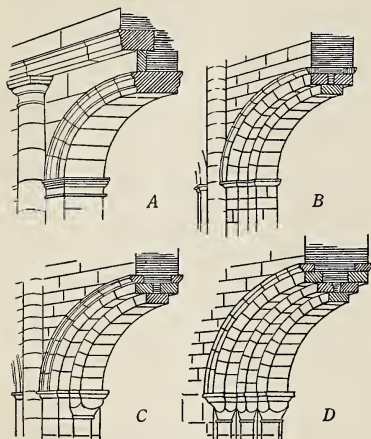
I. ARCHITECTURE

AFTER the decline of the Western Roman Empire the finest architecture was that of Constantinople, known as Byzantine. Until the eighth century or thereabouts this style was influential in Italy, especially in Ravenna. When Charlemagne built his cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, he copied the style of the fine Byzantine church of San Vitale in the old capital of the Exarchate. But although Byzantine influence continued to be more or less felt, as in Venice, most of Europe had already broken away from the Byzantine and Oriental tradition and was building in a style known as Romanesque. Possibly the Lombard conquest of Italy, and the papal alienation from Constantinople due to the iconoclastic controversy, may have been factors in the decline of Byzantine influence.

Romanesque Architecture. Roughly speaking, the period between 500 and 1150 is called Romanesque; but its most important monuments were all erected after the year 1000. As the name implies, Romanesque had its roots in the architecture of Rome; but it was no mere corruption of the Roman style, for it made important contributions both in aesthetic effect and in structure. From Rome it borrowed the basilica,* with apse, central nave, and aisles, the dome (which, however, was sparingly used), the vaulted ceiling, the round arch, and the supporting column. From the East

* The basilica was the rectangular building used by the Romans as a place of business or as a law court. One end — the apse — was often in the form of a semi-circle.

it obtained the cruciform plan; this explains why medieval cathedrals had the cross for their ground plan, though in the West a Latin instead of a Greek cross.* Equally important to the understanding of the medieval cathedral were the con-



ROMAN AND ROMANESQUE ARCHES

A is a typical Roman arch. B, C, and D illustrate the subordination of arches, — that is, arches built in rings or orders, one recessed within the other. (From Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, *Architecture*. Courtesy of Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)

the one within it, had an effect of which the architect was not slow to avail himself.”¹ It was this that made possible the magnificent depth in the portals of such cathedrals as those of Notre Dame, Rouen, and Reims.

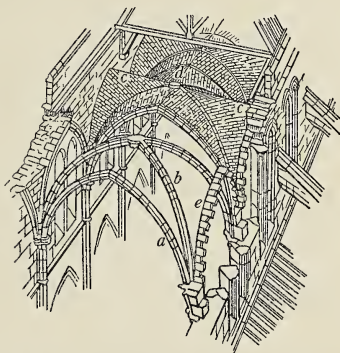
A second contribution of the medieval architect was the division of the nave into compartments, or bays, as if the church were built in sections and then put together. “This articulation of the building into distinct, self-contained

tributions made by the architect. The first of these was the subordination of orders in the arches. This subordination of orders was devised, in the first place, as a substitute for large building stones; for not only were quarries, in the early Middle Ages, inadequate, but also the builder was not as well equipped as in Roman times to handle large blocks of stone. The aesthetic possibilities of subordination, however, were quickly perceived. “The recessing of ring within ring, each ring throwing a shadow on

* In the Latin cross one arm was longer than the other three; in the Greek cross all were equal.

constructions," says Sir Thomas Jackson, "each of which might really stand alone, should be bornè in mind, for it is the key to the construction of all subsequent Romanesque and Gothic architecture."²

The ribbed vault was a third contribution of the Middle Ages. The Romans had employed the barrel vault (so called because of its semicylindrical shape) and also the groined vault (formed by the intersection of two vaults); but the Middle Ages preferred the ribbed vault. The ribs formed a skeleton framework to support the vaulting. They rested upon columns which, grouped together into piers, carried the weight of the vault. These piers, or clusters of columns, became another aesthetic feature of the building.



THE STRUCTURE OF THE GOTHIC VAULT

a, transverse rib; *b*, diagonal rib; *c*, cross ridge; *d*, longitudinal ridge; *e*, wall rib. These ribs formed a framework for the vault, and concentrated the thrust at points where it could be taken care of by adequate buttresses. (From Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, *Architecture*. Courtesy of Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)

With the development in building technique and in the use of masonry in the eleventh century, wooden and crude stone churches gradually gave place to imposing Romanesque edifices. One of the first great medieval cathedrals was erected at Pisa, in the eleventh century. Having destroyed a Saracen fleet off Palermo in 1063, the Pisans, already noteworthy for their mercantile activity, utilized the spoils for the building of their cathedral, which was finally consecrated in 1118. It is something of an "architectural prodigy"; for it shows a highly developed style, not approached by any preceding work. The experimental stages which led up to

its production are missing. In the form of a Latin cross, it has a nave, four aisles, and a dome over the crossing (that is, where the arms of the cross meet). The aisles are vaulted, but the nave has a wooden ceiling. A distinguishing feature is that it is built of marble; in the interior, yellowish white alternates with bands of dark green. The sixty-eight columns that separate the aisles and nave are said to be antiques, probably the spoils of some pagan temple, and the capitals are classical. The exterior is ornamented with engaged arches and columns (that is, arches and columns placed against a wall for ornamental effect), after the Roman fashion, and with arcaded galleries.*

The style of Pisa soon aroused imitation (as at Lucca), and it crossed the Alps and influenced the development of German Romanesque. The cathedrals at Cologne, Worms, Mainz, and many other places along the Rhine have the arcaded gallery probably borrowed from Pisa. In Germany, France, England, and the Netherlands, by the early part of the twelfth century magnificent cathedrals and churches were arising, sufficiently uniform in style to be termed Romanesque, yet in each country revealing national peculiarities. In Normandy the style was known as *Norman*, and from there it was carried to England, where many fine examples were erected. Durham, Ely, Winchester, Canterbury, and many other places attest the building activity that followed the Norman Conquest. One of the most noteworthy Romanesque churches in France was the abbey church of Cluny, unfortunately destroyed during the Revolution. Everywhere the same general features stand out: the massive stone walls, the small windows, the round arch, the heavy piers, the colossal towers, the cruciform plan.

Origin of Gothic. The greatest problem of the Romanesque architect was the construction of a stone vault over the nave.

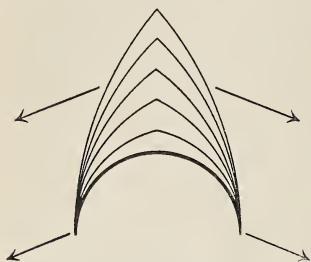
* Galleries built into the wall, but open on the exterior by means of arches and columns.

It was a comparatively simple matter to construct a stone vault over the narrow aisle; but to vault the wide expanse of the nave with the round arch was a much more difficult task and long defied his efforts. The outward thrust of such a vault was so great that it was almost impossible to build walls massive enough to prevent them from spreading apart. One solution of this problem of thrust was obtained in the construction of the church of Sant' Ambrogio in Milan, where the outer wall of the aisle was carried up a second story to serve as an additional buttress.³ But this had the disadvantage of making it difficult adequately to light the nave, and it does not seem to have been imitated. Yet architects were not content until they had solved the problem, for wooden ceilings were constantly catching on fire. Nearly all the Carolingian cathedrals, we are told, during a period of two hundred years burned five or six times.

The Pointed Arch and Flying Buttress. The problem of vaulting the nave was solved by the introduction of the pointed arch and the flying buttress; and it was these that transformed Romanesque into Gothic. Writers have often waxed eloquent in describing the ideals, the aspiration, and the spirit the creators of Gothic sought to exemplify; but the truth is much more prosaic: it was simply the solution of a structural problem. This transition to Gothic was first made in the royal domain of the Ile de France, about the middle of the twelfth century, — possibly in the abbey of Saint-Denis, which Abbot Suger rebuilt. Builders discovered that the pointed arch (which had long been used in the East and occasionally in the West) was much more elastic than the round arch and that it admitted of being raised to various heights as circumstance demanded.

The pointed arch had the further advantage of lessening the outward thrust of the vault, and made it possible to substitute slender flying buttresses for massive walls of masonry. The vaulting was so constructed that the thrust

was concentrated at specific points which the architect strengthened by supports, known as buttresses. The walls themselves could be largely done away with and the space between the buttresses filled up with windows. Stained glass was commonly used, and in "storied window" was made to



THE ROUND AND THE POINTED ARCH

Note the inelasticity of the round arch : its height (from the springing) equals the radius of the circle of which it forms a half. On the other hand, there is no limit to the possibilities of the pointed arch. The arrows indicate the outward thrust, at the haunch and the springing, of the Gothic vault. To counterbalance the thrust at these points, the architect introduced a double flying buttress. Compare illustration on the opposite page (Amiens and Reims)

teach the truths the church endeavored to inculcate. The weight, or downward thrust, of the vaulting was taken care of by slender ribs and carried to the ground by slight columns, which, grouped together, replaced the massive piers of Romanesque churches. First introduced into the vault, the pointed arch soon became the dominating motif in every part of the building, — in windows, doorways, towers, and spires. Builders were not slow to appreciate the aesthetic advantages of the new style and to capitalize them. The massiveness and the gloom of the Romanesque gave place to the loftiness,

the delicacy, and the light of the Gothic.

The thirteenth was the great century of Gothic; and whenever new churches were built or old ones rebuilt, they rose in the new style. France, the place of its birth, naturally produced some of the finest Gothic buildings, such as the cathedrals of Chartres, Reims, Amiens, and Notre Dame, and the Sainte-Chapelle. The French style soon spread to every country, although everywhere modified by national peculiarities. English Gothic, for instance, rapidly developed into a national style, and English builders emancipated them-

selves from their French teachers. In Italy the classical tradition was too strong to permit the abandoning of all Romanesque elements, and it was there that Gothic first gave place to the Renaissance style. Germany accepted



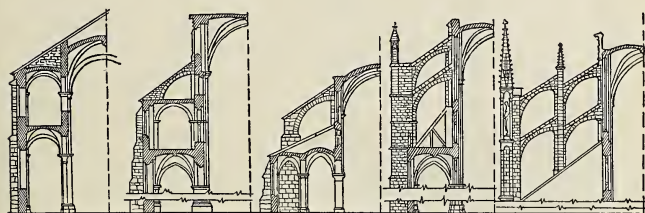
St. Étienne, Caen

Senlis

Paris

Amiens

Abbéville



Sant' Ambrogio,
Milan

St. Germer
de Fly

St. Germain
des Prés

Amiens

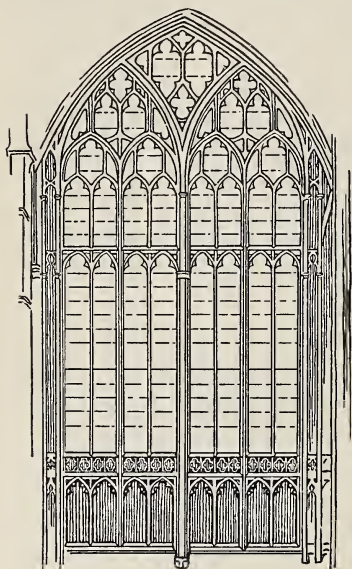
Reims

DEVELOPMENT OF FAÇADE AND FLYING BUTTRESS

From Kimball and Edgell, *History of Architecture*. Courtesy of Harper and Brothers

Gothic with reluctance. The Romanesque period, which lasted until the middle of the thirteenth century in Germany, constituted its golden age of architecture. Nevertheless, the cathedrals at Freiburg and Cologne (of which only the choir and part of the west front are medieval), and those of St. Stephen at Vienna and St. Vitus at Prague, are fine Gothic monuments. In Spain the Gothic reveals many traces of Saracen influence, notably in the great fifteenth-century cathedral of Seville.

English Decorated and Perpendicular Gothic. About the middle of the thirteenth century the severely plain English Gothic gave place to a more ornate style, known as *Decorated*



WINDOW FROM TRANSEPT OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL, ILLUSTRATING THE BEGINNING OF PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC

because of its profusion of ornament. Intricate tracery was introduced into the windows, arches were given numerous orders and enriched with carvings and moldings, and ribs were multiplied in the vaulting. The cathedrals at Exeter, Lincoln, and York, as well as Westminster Abbey, all contain good examples of Decorated work.

In the fifteenth century the *Perpendicular Gothic*, possibly the most original of the English styles, succeeded Decorated. It was so called because of its emphasis on perpendicular lines. Windows were tremendously enlarged and filled with tracery com-

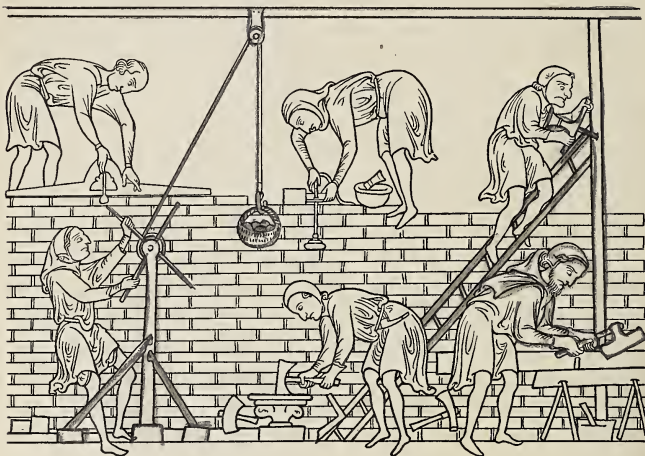
posed of vertical stone bars joined at intervals by horizontal ones. At the same time the flattening of the arch resulted in the so-called *Tudor arch*; and fan vaulting, in which the ribs spread out fanwise, was introduced. The cloisters, choir, and south transept of Gloucester Cathedral (where the style probably originated); St. George's Chapel, Windsor; King's College Chapel, Cambridge; and Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster, are among the foremost examples. Perpendicular Gothic never became popular outside of

England; the only Continental example was the church of Notre Dame, Calais, and that was built by the English.

Flamboyant Gothic. While England was developing Perpendicular Gothic, a new style, *Flamboyant*, was appearing in France. Resembling English Decorated, from which it was probably derived, Flamboyant ran to excessive ornateness and decoration and lacked the restraint of the English style. One of the finest examples is the west front of the cathedral of Rouen, which is virtually smothered with statuary and carving. Flamboyant was at its height after the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War and lasted until the middle of the sixteenth century, when it was replaced by the Renaissance style.

The Master Mason. The great cathedrals were built neither by ecclesiastics, as has sometimes been supposed, nor by a school of craftsmen, but by individual laymen, master masons who combined the functions of architect and skilled workman. "There is no great building of the Middle Ages," says Jackson, "which has not an individual character of its own; the expression of an individual mind; of a single artist, working of course in the style of his day . . . , but who nevertheless put his personal stamp on his work."⁴ Owing to the illiteracy of the age or to etiquette, which required that the building should be described as the work of this or that bishop, abbot, or king, the names of the builders are not widely known. A medieval cathedral, unlike a modern structure, is usually anonymous. But research has shown that patient investigation will often bring to light the names of the actual builders of most of the cathedrals. One of the famous master masons of Paris in the thirteenth century was Eudes de Montreuil, said to have been a favorite workman of Saint Louis and to have accompanied him to the East, where he built the towers of Jaffa. Another, Pierre de Montereau, is reputed to have constructed the famous

Sainte-Chapelle, begun in 1240 and dedicated in 1248, which Saint Louis ordered built to house his relics, the crown of thorns and a piece of the true cross. So admired was it that Henry III of England is reported to have remarked that he should like to carry it off in a cart. Master masons were well educated, often high in royal favor, frequently rewarded



LINE AND PLUMMET LEVEL; WINDLASS AND BASKET; PLUMB LINE AND MORTAR BOWL; CARVING EARLY ENGLISH CAPITAL; CARPENTER WITH ADZE

Redrawn from a thirteenth-century manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin

with gifts of houses or lands, and occupied a good social position. Fortunately the album of a French master mason, Wilars de Honecort, has come down to us. It is filled with sketches of buildings he visited and notes written in a hand as beautiful as that of any scribe. The master mason often knew Latin, as did Honecort, and his title of *Doctor Lathomorum* (Master of Masons) was closely parallel to that of Master of Arts in a university.

II. SCULPTURE

Sculpture, like architecture, suffered decline during the early Middle Ages; but it too revived during the eleventh and following centuries, eventually attaining so great a degree of perfection that, by virtue of its variety, its richness, and its beauty, it deserves to rank with the plastic art of antiquity.

This rebirth of sculpture accompanied and was used to ornament and embellish the new Romanesque architecture. Although this new artistic movement was perhaps most pronounced in southern France, yet it appeared simultaneously, and was of a similar nature, in every country of western Europe. At first based largely on reliefs from old sarcophagi or on the work of the miniaturists, Romanesque sculpture was marked by conventionality, stiffness, crudeness, and other archaic traits. For instance, in sculpturing the human figure the garments were pleated in regular, narrow folds, the movements were awkward and stiff, there was a lack of expressiveness in the features, and the figures themselves were often lank and lifeless. During the Romanesque period, sculpture was subordinated to architecture, of which it was an integral part.

But toward the close of the Romanesque period and during the Gothic period (from the close of the twelfth century) sculpture completely emancipated itself from all archaic features. No longer was the artist content to imitate, but he went directly to nature, which he studied and faithfully depicted. The medieval sculptor was a lover of nature, and he delighted to adorn the capitals and arches of his cathedrals with spring flowers, leaves, autumn fruits, beasts, and birds. So minutely did he trace every detail that modern botanists have frequently identified the flora of a territory by studying the sculpture in its cathedrals. "The Middle Age," says Mâle, "which has been accused of not having loved nature, regarded with admiration the meanest blade

of grass.”⁵ The sculptor became a complete master of his material, and his knowledge of human anatomy grew more profound. Statues are no longer stiff and lank figures, but lifelike and real. Features take on individuality and expression, garments fall in natural folds that reveal rather than conceal the human form, and movement loses its awkwardness.

The thirteenth century was undoubtedly the golden age of medieval sculpture, as it was of Gothic architecture. This was the age that produced such masterpieces as the Virgin of Notre Dame and the statues of Reims, examples of a “lofty and simple idealism.” In the Virgin the artist has admirably portrayed the purity, the grace, the benignity, that the Middle Ages associated with the Queen of Heaven. Equally successful are the Smiling Angel and the other figures of the Annunciation and Presentation groups at Reims. The master carver was completely successful in making their faces alive and in endowing them with spirituality. In the statues of Reims, says a recent writer,

Nothing is lacking even to the intelligent and conscious imitation of antique beauty. In the famous group of the Visitation, and in other figures, whose inspiration is a mystery, the breadth, the suppleness, the thin and clinging draperies recall the Greek masterpieces of the fifth century B.C. and suggest those of a Renaissance where Christianity had survived in all its intensity.⁶

While thirteenth-century sculpture in France was dominated by idealism, a touch of realism appeared in the plastic art of Germany. This realistic trait — which was to become more pronounced in the following centuries — is noticeable in the representation of sorrow in the features of Mary and John in the cathedral of Naumburg. In Germany, moreover, secular subjects, such as the effigies of the noble founders of churches, were more freely admitted than in France. The rider, possibly intended for Saint George, in the Bamberg cathedral, and the statues of Ekkehard and Uta in the west



Uffizi Gallery

Botticelli's *Spring*. (See page 777)



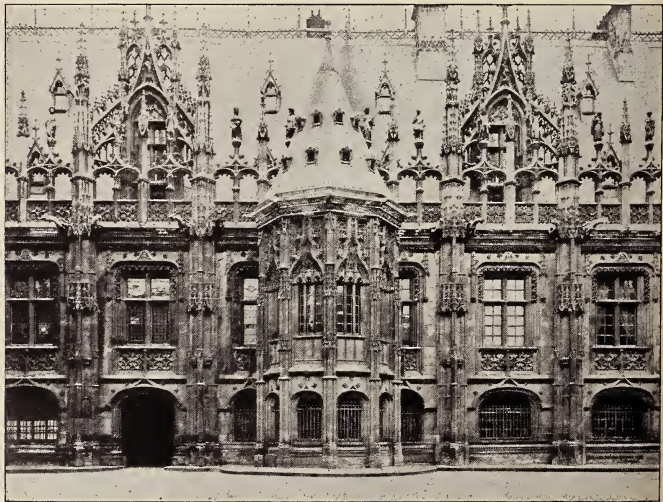
Riccardi Palace, Florence

Gozzoli's *Journey of Magi to Bethlehem*. (See page 777)



National Museum, Florence

Luca della Robbia's *Madonna*. (See page 776)



Palais de Justice. Rouen. Fifteenth Century

choir at Naumburg, are particularly worthy of mention. The figure of Ekkehard gives one a fine idea of the stalwart, war-hardened knight of the thirteenth century; that of Uta, the refined, delicate features and physical beauty of the German noblewoman.

A third important center of sculpture was Italy. In the southern part of the peninsula and in Sicily a school of artists arose that was remarkable for its reproduction of the antique. This antiquarian tendency became most pronounced under the emperor Frederick II, as the bust of his minister Pietro della Vigna and reproductions of Roman busts attest. This was probably the training school of Niccola of Apulia (c. 1206–c. 1278), or Niccola Pisano, — as he was formerly called from his residence in Pisa, — who is noteworthy for his superimposing of classicism upon the Gothic forms. His greatest work consists of two hexagonal pulpits, one in the baptistry of Pisa and the other in the cathedral of Siena. The heroic Roman types and the crowding of figures in the reliefs on the panels of these pulpits reveal the influence of classical models. Although some of his figures were clearly copies, he was no mere imitator, but combined “a fine sense of composition” with a keen observation of life. Niccola’s son, Giovanni Pisano, repudiated the imitation of the antique, and his work was characterized by a pronounced realism. The style of the Pisani was continued by Andrea d’ Ugolino, better known as Andrea Pisano (c. 1270–1348), whose great work was the first pair of bronze doors of the baptistry at Florence. These doors consist of twenty-eight rectangular panels, in the upper twenty of which, inscribed in Gothic frames, are scenes from the life of John the Baptist; in the lower eight are allegorical virtues. Simplicity of composition, grace, and repose are characteristics of these panels.

III. STAINED GLASS

The art of the glassworker as well as of the sculptor was employed to embellish the medieval cathedral. The Gothic style made possible the devotion of a large part of the wall space to windows filled with beautiful glass depicting saints' legends or Biblical story in a highly ornamental setting.

Glassmaking was a legacy of the ancient world to the Middle Ages; but window glass, though known by the first century A.D., was not used to any great extent until the Middle Ages. Large panes could not be produced; consequently small pieces of glass were set in a lattice of wood, bronze, or stone. The Middle Ages, however, glazed glass with strips of lead soldered together. In the sixth century, windows so constructed were being used in France, and probably the glass was colored. Bede tells us that Benedict Biscop (c. 628-690), the abbot of Wearmouth, when his monastery was nearing completion, "sent messengers to Gaul to fetch makers of glass, who were at this time unknown in Britain, that they might glaze the windows of his church, with the cloisters and dining-rooms. This was done, and they came, and not only finished the work required, but taught the English nation their handicraft."⁷ By the eleventh century, stained-glass windows are mentioned quite frequently in church records. For instance, the abbot of Monte Cassino used colored glass "glazed with lead and fixed with iron" for the windows of his chapter house.⁸ The Cistercians' prohibition (1134) of the use of stained glass in their buildings shows that it was no longer uncommon. Naturally, little of this early glass has survived, and the oldest window that can be approximately dated (c. 1081-1097) is probably in the cathedral of Le Mans.

The earliest windows were largely of *stained* rather than *painted* glass. That is, the color was produced in the pot by the addition of various substances, usually oxides of metals, to the molten glass. In this way glass stained yellow,

red, green, blue, or purple — sometimes called *pot metal* — was obtained. Fundamentally the stained-glass window was the work of the glazier, who first drew the outline of his design on a wooden table and then, by means of a hot iron, cut pieces of glass of the requisite size, shape, and color to fit into it. He next mounted these bits of glass in lead and soldered them together. The lead glazing thus formed the outline of the design. Fine details, such as the features of the face or the folds of a garment, which could not be given by means of separate pieces of glass, were added with paint. The paint used was an opaque brownish enamel, made of oxides of iron and other metals ground up together with powdered glass. When heated or fired in the kiln, before being glazed, the painted design fused with the glass and became indelible. Since a window so constructed would not be rigid but would be bent or broken by the wind, it had to be supported with iron cross bars. These iron cross bars were so fitted into the design that they did not detract, any more than the lead of the glazing, from the beauty of the whole.

Stained glass — that is, *pot metal* — was often almost opaque and transmitted very little light. This disadvantage was sometimes avoided by coating a sheet of white glass with a thin layer of colored glass. By dipping a lump of molten white glass into a pot of colored glass, a sheet of white glass containing a thin layer of color was obtained. Thus the craftsman could produce ruby glass, whereas if it were red throughout it would be almost opaque. This *flushed* glass, as it was called, could be chipped or worn off in places by abrasion so as to exhibit white and colored effects on the same piece.

More important was the discovery, made early in the fourteenth century, that white glass could be stained yellow by painting it with oxide or chloride of silver and then firing it. In this way, designs varying from a pale yellow to a deep orange, according to the amount of chemical used, could be

obtained on white glass. Extraordinarily beautiful effects could be secured by stain: the nimbus of a saint or the hair of an angel could be rendered in a rich golden color; and since blue glass stained would appear green, blue flowers could be sprinkled among the green grass.

First Period: to the Close of the Thirteenth Century. Various periods of medieval glass are distinguished. During the first period, from the beginning down to the close of the thirteenth century, glass was noteworthy for its rich color and its mosaic-like nature. The very imperfections of early glass — the unevenness of its surface, which caused light to be transmitted at different angles, and the lack of uniformity in tint — added to its brilliance and beauty. A rich blue and red were the dominant colors, yellows, greens, and purples being employed to relieve them. Enamel or paint was used sparingly, so that the windows of this period were truly *stained* rather than *painted*. They were the product of the glazier's rather than of the painter's art. During the thirteenth century there grew up, alongside of richly colored windows, a different type. Largely of white glass, studded with bits of colored glass and often with a colored border, these were known as grisaille windows.

The windows of the cathedrals of Chartres, in France, and Canterbury, in England, afford the finest examples of the glass of this period.

Second Period: the Fourteenth Century. The second period roughly coincided with the fourteenth century. Although a time of improvement in technique, especially in the use of silver stain, its work was inferior to that of the preceding period. The old ideals, the religious zeal, the mystic symbolism, had gone. With the decline of the religious motive, the artist emphasized the technical side of his art.⁹ He paid more attention to the canopies enshrining the saints than to the saints themselves, who became conventionalized.

Drawing, however, especially that of drapery, became freer and less conventionalized. Grisaille was widely used, and figures were combined with it, sometimes in alternating panels. More light was thus let in. Paint was more freely employed, and green and yellow became as important as the red and blue of the earlier period. The glass of York Minster and of the church of Saint-Ouen, at Rouen, is typical fourteenth-century work.

Third Period: the Fifteenth Century. In the third period (fifteenth century) glass largely lost its mosaic character; painting became more important, and glazing subsidiary. The artist sought to do on glass what the painter did on canvas. There was a gradual tendency to employ larger pieces of glass; leads were more sparingly used and were frequently concealed by the ironwork. Consequently the jewel-like character of the early glass disappeared.¹⁰ The use of silver stain was perfected, particularly in England. The canopy was overworked and made to imitate stone work, with slender pinnacles and the lines of Perpendicular Gothic. All Saints', York, contains good examples of fifteenth-century glass. In France it was not until the latter part of the century, when the country had recovered from the ill effects of the Hundred Years' War, that much glass was produced. The influence of the painters of the period, especially of the Van Eyck school, was pronounced. Saint-Ouen and Saint-Maclou, at Rouen, offer good examples.

IV. PAINTING

Antiquity, especially Greece, had developed a high degree of artistry and skill in painting, as in the other arts. But the hostility of the Christian church, — the fathers branded painting as pagan, — as well as the decline of ancient civilization and the barbarian invasions, led to the almost total disappearance of this art. The main form of pictorial representation that survived was the mosaic, in which the

Byzantines became especially skilled. Byzantine churches were accordingly noted for their mosaics, some of the finest of which, in Constantinople and Ravenna, date from the age of Justinian. "As once in the temples of the Hellenic world the gold-gleaming statues of Zeus and Pallas had shone, so now from the apses of the basilicas the images of Jesus and of his court look down in solemn splendor."¹¹ But this form of art had its limitations: the figures are stiff and motionless, the eyes staring and cold, lacking the warmth and joyousness of the antique art.

Aside from mosaic, the chief form of pictorial representation that survived was the illumination of manuscripts, but this, beautiful though it was, was less painting than calligraphy.

With the revival of panel painting by the twelfth century, artists imitated the rigid, spiritless, aged figures of Byzantine mosaic. They were unable to draw accurately and had little knowledge of either anatomy or perspective. Although done in brilliant colors, the figures have all the solemnity of Byzantine types. The Madonnas, frequently the theme of this early painting, have large heads, almond-shaped eyes, pointed noses, and long, bony hands, and they hold the child in an indifferent manner. But by the thirteenth century, under the influence of the Gothic movement in architecture and sculpture as well as that of Saint Francis, with his emphasis upon love of nature, a new epoch began. The first Italian painter of genius was Duccio (c. 1255-1319), a native of Siena, who, although faithful to Byzantine traditions, combined a sense of grandiose composition with a feeling for color and individuality. In his *Madonna of the Cathedral* the Virgin is no longer severe and dignified but has become mild and gracious. In his *Christ before Pilate* and the *Kiss of Judas* he revealed his ability to translate Biblical scenes into true pictures.

About the same time, painting attained a similar degree of power and perfection at Rome under the lead of Pietro

Cavallini, who treated Biblical themes dramatically and realistically. A third important center of Italian painting was Florence. Cimabue was long regarded as the originator of Florentine painting; but there is little that is certain about his career, and no authentic pictures by him are known. The real founder of the Florentine school was Giotto, who probably owed more to Cavallini than to Cimabue.

Giotto (c. 1266–1337). The humanizer of painting, Giotto early emancipated himself from the Oriental conventionalism inherited from Byzantine art. He was inspired by the Pisan school of sculptors and, above all, by nature, which he introduced into his pictures. He was the first to attempt to represent animals and birds in fresco painting, as he does in his famous picture of Saint Francis' sermon to the birds. But his perspective is incorrect and his drawing frequently inaccurate. He made no attempt to depict the nude and went as far as it was possible for a painter to go by general observation, without a detailed and scientific study of the human frame and of nature. Though many of his faces are hard and impersonal, as if sculptured in wood, though he retains the conventional costume for the saints, — the toga, tunic, and sandals, — though his art is subservient to the religious spirit of the age, yet he introduces realistic touches and genre figures. Thus the Christ child plays with birds, sticks his finger into his mouth, or climbs on his mother's lap. His most famous works are his frescoes in the church of St. Francis at Assisi, depicting the life of the saint as recorded by Bonaventura; his paintings representing the lives of Christ and the Virgin in the church of the Madonna dell' Arena, Padua; and the frescoes in the church of Santa Croce at Florence. Giotto was a friend of Dante, and we are indebted to him for a portrait of the great Italian poet.

The work of Giotto created a school of painting that spread throughout Italy but underwent little change or development for a hundred years. It was a prolific school and produced

many "ingenious and inventive illustrators," such as the unknown executors of the great frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The school of Giotto, however, gave rise to but one great artist, Fra Angelico of Fiesole (1387-1455). A Dominican friar of the convent of San Marco, Florence, Fra Angelico's art reflects the influence of the cloister. Says Reinach:

The joys of belief, the happiness of suffering for the faith, the beatitude of the elect, have never been more eloquently expressed than by him. . . . There is a certain insipidity in his genius, the reflection of a somewhat puerile soul, whose outlook was bounded by the walls of the cloister. His suave virgins and angels delight us at first, and finally pall on us; we long for a few wolves in this impeccable sheep fold.¹²

Fra Angelico painted nothing but religious subjects, among which his favorites were the Last Judgment and the Virgin. One of the most famous of his pictures is the *Coronation of the Virgin*, now in the Louvre. *The Infant Christ*, from San Marco, gives a good idea of "the exquisite sweetness and delicacy" with which he handled the subject of the child Christ.

V. MUSIC

The Middle Ages laid the foundation of modern music as well as of modern painting. Music was fundamental in the ritual of the church and consisted in the intoning of the service by the priest and the chanting of responses in unison by a choir. There was no such thing as the singing of parts; in the chant all sang the same melody. The reason for this was the lack of any method of teaching music except by ear. There was no system of reducing pitch and time to writing. If a musician composed a tune, the only way to perpetuate it was to teach it to others. Music could be sent from place to place only by means of a skilled chanter. Consequently the music teacher was a very important figure. Bede tells

us that when Benedict Biscop returned in 680 to England from Rome, he took with him, by papal consent, a certain skilled singer, Abbot John,

that he might teach in his [Benedict's] monastery the system of singing throughout the year as it was practiced at Saint Peter's at Rome. The Abbot John did as he had been commanded by the Pope, teaching the singers of the said monastery [that is, Wearmouth] the order and manner of singing and reading aloud. . . . The said John not only taught the brothers of that monastery, but such as had skill in singing resorted from almost all the monasteries of the same province to hear him, and many invited him to teach in other places.¹³

From a very early period boys were trained in special schools or in monasteries for church singing, and Gregory the Great is said to have instructed Roman boys in the art. That the discipline of these schools was harsh we learn from the life of Saint Stephen of Obazine (near Limoges).

Stephen was strenuous in discipline, and most severe to correct the failings of delinquents. For if any raised his eyes but a little in church, or smiled but faintly, or slumbered but lightly, or negligently let fall the book which he held, or made any heedless sound, or chanted too fast or out of tune, he received forthwith either a rod on his head or an open hand upon his cheek, so loud that the sound of the blow rang in all men's ears; a punishment that was especially inflicted on the younger boys, to their own correction and the terror of the rest.¹⁴

The most revolutionary advance in music during the Middle Ages was the invention of a system of notation in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. This invention has been attributed to the monk Guido of Arezzo (d. 1050), but probably he only perfected a system that had been evolving during the preceding century. At any rate, Guido first systematically utilized the staff of five parallel lines on any one of which or between any two of which a note may be placed to indicate pitch. Coinciding with this was the use of square

black notes which were given tails to indicate differences in time. Guido asserted that by his method boys could learn in a month what had formerly required ten years. Now for the first time it became possible for the composer to reduce his composition to writing, to give it to others to play or sing at sight, and to send it to distant places without the medium of a chanter. Singing by note developed in place of singing by ear.

By means of the Guidonian notation it was possible to develop counterpoint, the art of combining melodies, harmoniously blended. Instead of plain song, with all voices singing in unison, choral music with different voices rendering different parts became feasible. From the eleventh century to the fifteenth a great deal of experimenting was carried on, not always with success. Attempts to blend melodies, or to extemporize variations of a central theme (*cantus firmus*), called descant, often disregarded the laws of harmony, then imperfectly known, and produced terrible results. John Cotton, in the eleventh century, compared the singers to drunken men "who indeed find their way home, but do not know how they get there." John of Salisbury, in the twelfth century, was no more complimentary. And Jean de Muris, a theorist of the fourteenth century, declared:

How can men have the face to sing descant who know nothing of the combinations of sounds! Their voices roam around the *cantus firmus* without regard to any rule; they throw their tones out by luck, just as an unskillful thrower hurls a stone, hitting the mark once in a hundred casts. . . . They cannot tell a consonance from a dissonance. They are like a blind man trying to strike a dog.¹⁵

Such complaints against the new music led Pope John XXII in 1322 to forbid its use in church services. For a time this edict was obeyed; but counterpoint could not be excluded from the church. Out of all this experimenting there evolved the laws of harmony and a great enrichment of the music of

the church. The encouragement of laymen, especially in France and the Netherlands, did much to build up church music.

~~Music in the Middle Ages was not, however, a monopoly of the church.~~ Folksong and songs of goliard, minstrel, and troubadour were all important. The goliards often sang their compositions, and to them "we owe the first notation of secular music."¹⁶ Monarchs surrounded themselves with musicians, and towns had their minstrels, who were often organized into guilds.

The wandering minstrel [under which term may be classed not only musicians but acrobats, jugglers, storytellers, and entertainers of all kinds] was indispensable to a society that possessed neither books nor newspapers and which rarely left its home except for wars and pilgrimages.¹⁷

Musical instruments likewise played an important part in medieval music.

The ancient world had developed the organ, but because of its association with the theater, gladiatorial combats, and other pagan amusements its use was not permitted in the early Christian church. Yet its utility in Christian worship was obvious, and by the seventh century organ music was recognized as a fitting accompaniment of the music of the church. An organ presented by the Byzantine emperor to Charlemagne in 812 had hide bellows and bronze pipes. Its tone was as "loud as thunder and as sweet as the lyre and psaltery." By the tenth century, organs had been widely introduced into churches. Monks constructed organs and wrote treatises on them. In 981 an organ having four hundred pipes, twenty-six bellows, and forty-six sliders (in place of keys, which were as yet unknown) was set up in Winchester Cathedral. As it had no stops, it is scarcely to be wondered that it gave forth a noise "like thunder" and that all the listeners "stopped their ears with their hands and were unable to draw near or bear the sound."¹⁸ Keys, to

take the place of sliders, were invented either late in the twelfth century or early in the thirteenth, and seem to have been first used on the small portable organs called *portatives*. Somewhat later, keyboards as well as stops were introduced into larger stationary, or *positive*, organs. The fifteenth-



A MEDIEVAL ORGAN (FOURTEENTH CENTURY)

Redrawn from a manuscript in the British Museum

century painting of Saint Cecilia by the Van Eyck brothers, at Ghent, shows a modern-looking keyboard.

Other wind instruments besides the organ were the trumpet, the flute, the sackbut, the cornet.

Stringed as well as wind instruments developed in the Middle Ages. The Greek kithara, or cithara, a stringed instrument played by the fingers, was inherited from antiquity; it differed from the harp in that all its strings were of the same length. In the early Middle Ages, probably in the Christian East, this instrument evolved a neck and became a guitar.

By the tenth century the bow had been introduced, possibly also from the East, and was used to play various stringed instruments which heretofore had been played by twanging the strings with the fingers. Used on the guitar, it produced the guitar fiddle, or troubadour fiddle, the precursor of the modern violin. The viol may be traced to the German minnesinger fiddle of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The fitting of the keyboard of the organ to stringed instruments in the thirteenth century produced the clavichord, an ancestor of the modern piano.

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CHAPTER XXVII

Medieval Literature

THE language of learning during the Middle Ages, as we have already seen, was Latin, and in that language a vast literature grew up. The Roman classics were more widely known and studied than has frequently been supposed, and they were the models which were imitated in the schools. From the end of the tenth century at the latest, pupils learned to turn Latin verses after the fashion of Vergil, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan, or to compose letters in imitation of those of Pliny or Cicero. About the middle of the tenth century a nun of the German monastery of Gandersheim, Roswitha, wrote, in the style of Terence, a series of plays extolling the celibate life and depicting the conflict between early Christianity and paganism. Latin was largely the language of biography, history, philosophy, theology, and science. An abbot such as Guibert of Nogent composing his autobiography, a chronicler like Matthew Paris, a theologian like Albert the Great or Thomas Aquinas, and a scientist like Roger Bacon wrote in Latin. Not only was it the official language of the church, in which Mass was said, but (at least until the thirteenth century) it was also that of the royal courts. It was the language in which official documents were drawn up and diplomatic or personal correspondence was carried on. The great medieval hymns of the church were in Latin, as well as much of the poetry. Special mention should be made of the poems of the wandering scholars, the goliards.

Goliardic Literature. The wandering students, whose acquaintance we have already made, in their travels from

university to university in search of knowledge often amused themselves or a chance audience by their parodies, satires, or songs. Their instincts and interests led them to form an order, or brotherhood, which, like other associations, chose a patron saint; but as they were anything but religious, he had to be of a Rabelaisian character. He was called Golias. Hence his flock received the generic name of *goliards*. "Golias [probably an imaginary character] was father and master; the Goliardi were his family, his sons, and pupils."¹ Condemned by the church, the goliards repaid her by satires in which they lampooned the clergy and especially the papal court. Often flippant, irreverent, and even obscene, they sometimes composed delightful lyrics in praise of love or nature. Some of the goliards were impressed with the vanity of this world:

This vile world
In madness hurled
Offers but false shadows;
Joys that wane
And waste like vain
Lilies of the meadows.²

Others were determined to drain life's pleasures to the dregs:

In the public-house to die
Is my resolution;
Let wine to my lips be nigh
At life's dissolution:
That will make the angels cry,
With glad elocution,
"Grant this toper, God on high,
Grace and absolution!"³

The goliards reveal that spirit of humanism, of which we have spoken elsewhere, that was opposed to the other-worldliness of medieval Christianity.

Besides this Latin literature, the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the rise of an extensive literature in the ver-

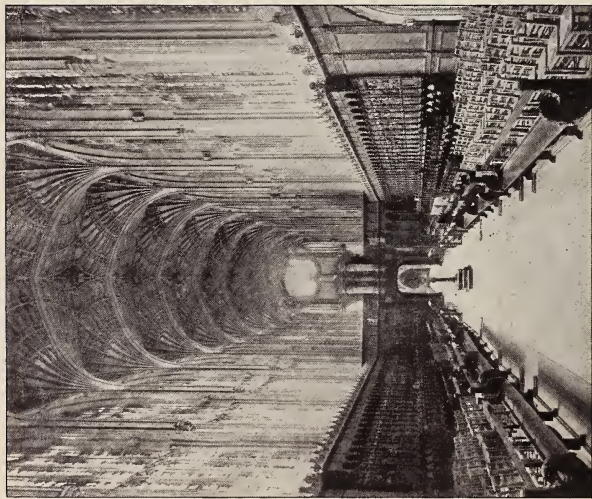
naacular tongues that laid the foundation of modern national literatures. In this France was the leader, as in so much else during the Middle Ages.

The Chansons de Geste. The earliest vernacular literature of importance was the *chansons de geste* ("songs of heroic deeds"), the heroes of which were Charlemagne, the members of his house, and the feudal lords. The French scholar Bédier has demonstrated that these epic songs originated in the eleventh century and were composed by pilgrims who thronged the great pilgrimage routes to Compostela (in Spain), Rome, and Jerusalem. Bédier's theory rests upon the fact that the *chansons* are localized along these great pilgrim routes, especially that of Compostela, and exploit the local legends and monkish chronicles preserved at places on these routes.⁴ Scarcely any places figure in the *chansons* except those located along the great highways of pilgrimage. The historical element in them is very slight, but they admirably reflect the feudal society of the age in which they were born — the turbulence of the lords, their rebellions, their brutal barbarity, and the beginnings of the conflict with the Moslems in Spain. Indeed, such scholars as Gautier and Luchaire have largely drawn on the *chansons* for their description of feudal society. The *chansons* were essentially popular romances and appealed to all classes: lords, before whom jongleurs, strolling from castle to castle, sang of the valiant deeds of famous heroes; pilgrims, rallied from all parts of Europe to pray over sacred relics; and merchants, who loved to listen to the recital of marvelous feats of arms. There are some eighty of these epics extant, twenty-four of which constitute a cycle depicting the career of William of Orange, the hero of the Spanish crusades. The most famous of all, however, is the *Chanson de Roland*, the hero of which is the knight Roland, who perished in the attack on the rear guard of Charlemagne's army as he was retreating through the pass of Roncesvalles, in the Pyrenees. The most realistic pictures

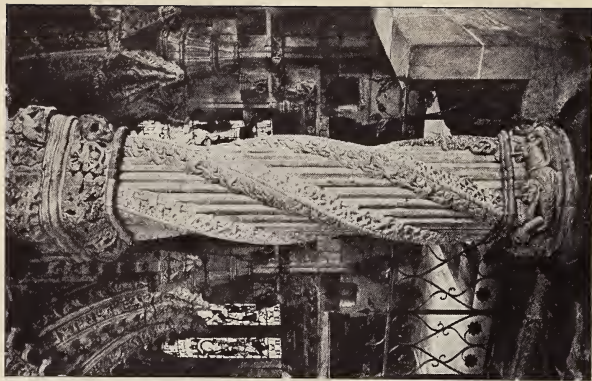


Innocenti Chapel, Florence

Ghirlandaio's *Adoration of the Magi*. (See page 777)



King's College Chapel. Cambridge. (See page 562)



F. C. Inglis

*Prentice Pillar. Rosslyn Chapel.
Scotland. Fifteenth Century*

of the barbarity of feudal society are those contained in *Girart de Roussillon* and in *Garin le Lorrain*. One could scarcely have a more vivid description of the terrible devastation wrought by feudal wars than the following :

He may attack us, the cruel coward. He will chop down our vines and our trees, he will undermine our walls and our fish ponds, he will open our water-mains. . . . He sees a stronger come and attack him, cut off his vines, root up his trees, lay waste his land, and make it a desert ; he sees his castles taken by storm, his walls broken, his moats filled up, all his men captured or killed. . . . He does not leave a good knight alive . . . nor treasure, nor monastery, nor church, nor shrine, nor censer, nor cross, nor sacred vase. . . . He makes so cruel a war that he does not lay hands on a man without killing, hanging, or mutilating him.⁵

The Troubadours. As the *chansons de geste* depict the brutality of the feudal society of the north, so the songs of the troubadours reflect the more refined civilization, the gentler manners, and the more delicate tastes of the south of France. The troubadours were often members of the nobility and frequently composed the tunes as well as the words of their songs. They flourished in the twelfth century, until the Albigensian Crusades abruptly interrupted the social and intellectual life of the south. Inspired by *courtoisie*, they sang chiefly of romantic love, of the chivalrous knight, of his love and worship of woman. Less often were their themes satirical. They made much of beautiful scenes of nature as settings for their love songs. The hero endeavored to merit his lady's love by rendering himself illustrious in war or on a crusade and by showing all the virtues and qualities of chivalry. One of the earliest of the troubadours was William IX, duke of Aquitaine, from whom we have eleven lyrical compositions. Some of these poets were sons of serfs, like Bernard of Ventadour, or simple professional players, like Peire Vidal. Many were noble castellans, like Bertrand de Born, Rambaut d'Orange, and Alfonso of

Aragon. The names of some five hundred troubadours are known, and at least half belonged to the noble class.

The Romance. Perhaps under the influence of the *courtoisie* of the south, the *chansons de geste* were supplanted in favor, at the courts of the Plantagenets, of the Capets, and of Flanders and Champagne, by romances of the Arthurian cycle, or the Round Table. Unlike the *chansons*, these moved in a world of pure romance, of illusion and fancy, where knights war with demons of another world, pursue a fantastic quest such as that of the Holy Grail, or contend for the love of women of surpassing beauty, the like of which never was on land or sea. These romances center around the court of King Arthur, one of the legendary kings of Britain. Arthur may possibly have been an historic personage, but the stories of the Round Table and of the exploits of his knights are pure fiction. These legends were given definitive form by the French poet Chrétien de Troyes, of whom we know little save that he wrote in Champagne, between 1160 and 1180, under the patronage of the countess Marie, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Louis VII of France, at whose court (at Troyes) he was possibly a herald-at-arms or a lawyer. In his *Érec and Énide*, *Lancelot*, *Yvain*, and *Perceval*, or the *Holy Grail*, we find the Arthurian tales, later used by Malory in his *Morte d'Arthur* and, in the nineteenth century, by Tennyson in his *Idylls of the King*. These romances, as well as *Cligés*, which does not belong to the Arthurian Cycle, contain Chrétien's doctrine of courtly love, which may be summed up in the sentence "Each day saw their love grow stronger: he never doubted her, nor did she blame him for anything."⁶

Marie de France. Contemporaneous with Chrétien de Troyes was the Anglo-Norman poetess Marie de France, who wrote her charming romances, or "lays," at the court of Henry II of England. Based on Breton originals, the

scene being laid now at the court of King Arthur and again at that of some other legendary king, the lays of Marie contain a strong fairy element and are gems of narration. The most famous is the *Lay of the Honeysuckle*, describing the love of Tristan and Iseult, the queen. "Was it not with them as with the honeysuckle and the hazel tree!" exclaims Tristan. "So sweetly laced and taken were they in one close embrace, that thus they might remain whilst life endured." ⁷ Marie was an incomparable storyteller, as the *Lay of Sir Launfal* or the *Lay of the Thorn* reveals, and her stories were immensely popular in the Middle Ages. They are invaluable for the light they throw on the social life of the time.

In addition to the Breton Cycle, romances of antiquity enjoyed a certain popularity, though less important as literature than the Arthurian Cycle. These were more or less direct imitations of great classical themes. The chief ones were the *Romance of Alexander* and the romances of Troy, Aeneas, and Thebes.

Besides these cycles dealing with specific themes, there were many romances of adventure or of love that fit into none of the cycles. Many of them are anonymous or are attributed to authors of whom we know little or nothing. But one of the known authors was the count of Beaumanoir, of a noble family of Beauvais. After passing part of his youth in England and Scotland, he entered the service of a son of Louis IX as bailiff of Clermont. He was an administrator, lawyer, and one of the best prose writers of the thirteenth century. His finest romance of adventure is his *Jehan et Blonde*, of which it has been said that "better than learned dissertations it depicts the details of the private life of the thirteenth century." ⁸ It is the tale of a poor French youth of noble family, Jehan, who goes to England in search of adventure, becomes a squire at the court of the earl of Oxford, secretly loves his daughter Blonde, and on the day of her betrothal to the earl of Gloucester elopes with her.

The fugitives are caught at Dover, where Jehan defeats his rival in single combat. He then takes Blonde to France, where he weds her and enters into possession of his ancestral fief, Dammartin. He receives many favors from King Louis IX, who effects a reconciliation between the earl of Oxford and the lovers. The moral of the romance is that it is necessary to "seek honor" abroad and to raise oneself in the world not by usury or slander but by being agreeable, courteous, and loyal; then, having acquired much, to be liberal and dispense freely. One of the most exquisite of these romances is the anonymous *Aucassin and Nicolette*, written in prose interspersed with songs. It is a tale of the love of Aucassin, the son of the count of Beaucaire, for the captive maid Nicolette, the vicissitudes through which their love leads them, and, finally, its triumph when it is discovered that Nicolette is the daughter of the king of Carthage. The story is told with vivacity, with imagination, and with incomparable grace.

Romances of the Rose and the Fox. The romances most characteristic of the century of Louis IX and Philip the Fair are the *Romance of the Rose* and the *Romance of Reynard the Fox*. Begun by Guillaume de Lorris, probably during the regency of Blanche of Castile, the *Romance of the Rose* was completed by Jean de Meung half a century later. The first part deals with *courtoisie*, the "art of loving," and has been called the finest flower of that literature which was fashionable at the courts of Queen Eleanor and of the countess Marie of Champagne. The second part is realistic rather than idealistic, and satirizes women, the new religious orders, monarchs, and nobles to such a degree that Jean de Meung has been called the Voltaire of the thirteenth century. Of a similar nature is the *Romance of Reynard the Fox*. The earliest romance of Reynard, dating from the end of the twelfth century, is a gentle parody of society and of the epic poem. But the three romances of the thirteenth century,

under the traditional form of the adventures of Reynard, are learned discourses and coarse satires.

The Fabliaux. The realistic touch, apparent in the romances of the Rose and of the Fox, dominates another type of literature, the *fabliaux*, which may be defined as amusing tales in verse, usually satirical, and often pointing a moral. There are some hundred and forty-seven of these tales extant which were in vogue between 1159 and 1340. Composed for the most part by jongleurs, the *fabliaux* were written primarily for the bourgeoisie of the towns. Indeed, the jongleurs lived not only by the liberality of the nobles but also by that of the bourgeois, who were their favorite patrons. Although satirical in nature, the satire of the *fabliaux* has frequently been exaggerated: it was a satire calculated not to offend or insult but to amuse. If the *fabliaux* are often coarse or even obscene, they are merely reflecting a characteristic of the age. It was the intention of the authors to raise a laugh at the expense of all classes,—clerks, villeins, merchants, bailiffs, lords, knights, monks,—but a laugh in which all could join. Yet the urban and lower classes figure in them more often than lords or bishops; and if a few of them reveal class sympathy, it is for the serf against the master. The only animus that they betray is directed against women and priests. But if they are misogynic, it is because the Middle Ages regarded women as inferior beings and mischievous⁹; if they seem to be hostile to the clergy, the picture that they draw of them can be substantiated from other sources. The realism of the *fabliaux* is not necessarily born of hatred.¹⁰ As the romances are invaluable for the picture they give us of the life of the upper classes, so are the *fabliaux* for their delineation of the bourgeois and villeins.

Typical of the *fabliaux* is the story of the trick that the penniless clerk played on the innkeeper. When the latter demanded payment for lodging, the clerk promised that the

village curé, a friend of his, would pay for him. So together they went to the church. There the clerk drew the curé to one side and said to him :

"I have taken lodging with this good fellow, your parishioner ; since last night a cruel ailment troubles him : he has a slight attack of insanity. Here are ten pence ; read a gospel over him." [There-upon the curé said to the innkeeper :] "Wait until I have said my mass and I will attend to your affair." The latter, thinking that he was going to be paid, was reassured and patient, but in the interval the clerk made his escape. The mass finished, the curé desired his parishioner to kneel ; but the latter stoutly declared that he wanted money, not exorcisms. What could be a better proof of his malady ! Held by the strongest swains of the parish, he protested in vain ; he was sprinkled with holy water, a gospel was read over him, but of the sum owing him he obtained not a mite.¹¹

Scientific and Historical Works. The thirteenth century also saw historical and scientific works made available in French for the common man. Not only did Jean de Meung, in his part of the *Romance of the Rose*, pass on the substance of many Latin works, but all sorts of compilations were translated or composed for the laity. About 1247 Walter of Metz composed his *Image du Monde*, in which he presented in abridged form the works of the clergy relative to cosmogony, astronomy, and geography. A little earlier the *Fontaine de Toutes Sciences*, a work in the form of a dialogue, served a similar purpose. Superior to either of these was the *Trésor*, a compendium of knowledge for the laity, written about 1265 by Brunetto Latino, an Italian living in France. By the beginning of the fourteenth century the books of instruction for the laity in the vernacular were very numerous — works on history, law, medicine, surgery, and politics. Most remarkable of all was the *Livre des Secrets aux Philosophes*, a summary of all knowledge in dialogue form.

Germanic Literature. The Germans, like the French, produced during the Middle Ages a body of literature in the

vernacular. The closer contacts with their western neighbors that the Crusades brought enabled them to appropriate many of the romance themes: those of the *chansons de geste*, of the Arthurian Cycle, and of the troubadours. About 1130 a priest named Konrad produced the *Lay of Roland*, which is essentially the *Chanson de Roland* with the French patriotism omitted. In appropriating the romances of the Arthurian Cycle, Hartmann von Aue, Gottfried of Strassburg, and Wolfram von Eschenbach led the way and made the German language a finer vehicle of artistic expression. Hartmann, who lived at the close of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, produced two romances, *Erec* and *Iwein*, based on the work of Chrétien de Troyes. Little is known about Gottfried except that he was the author of a romance entitled *Tristan*, on which his fame rests. Most important of the three was Wolfram von Eschenbach, a Bavarian knight who enjoyed the patronage of Hermann, landgrave of Thuringia, at his court at the Wartburg. His chief work was *Parzival*, which, while based on Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval*, or *Quest of the Holy Grail*, embodied modifications of his own. In his work *Perceval* has become a knight of noble lineage who, deprived of his birthright, grows up in ignorance of the ways of the world and commits all sorts of absurd blunders. But through his errors he learns wisdom; he performs great feats of arms, becomes a distinguished knight of the Round Table, a model of chivalry, and a successful searcher for the Holy Grail. It was reserved for Wolfram to transform the entire legend into a symbolism of the struggle of man through error, ignorance, and doubt upward to inner peace, light, and happiness. "Now the planets favor thee; thy grief is spent," *Parzival* is told. "The Grail and the Grail's power shall let thee have no part in evil. When young, thou didst get thee sorrow, which betrayed thy joy as it came: thou hast won thy soul's peace, and in sorrow thou hast endured unto thy life's joy." ¹²

The Minnesingers. The troubadours of southern France had their counterpart in the minnesingers of Germany (from *minne*, "courtly love"), who had their beginnings in the latter part of the twelfth century at the Austrian and Bavarian courts. The most famous of the minnesingers was Walther von der Vogelweide (died c. 1230), renowned for his charming love songs. Many of Walther's songs convey the idea that love of woman uplifts a man and ennobles his character. He was something of a German patriot, and not only praised German women as the best in the world but also championed the imperial cause against Innocent III. Wrathfully he inveighs against the treachery of the Pope: "Woe is thee, German tongue; ill stand thy order and thy honor!—I hear the lies of Rome betraying two kings!"¹³ The Pope's attempt to raise money for a crusade provoked a satirical outburst from Walther in which he made Innocent soliloquize gleefully: "Their German silver is flowing into my Italian coffers; ye priests, eat fowl and drink wine, and let the silly Germans starve."¹⁴

The Nibelungenlied. The Germans had also a literature that was independent of Romance models. The period of the great migrations was particularly rich in poetic creations and provided a body of material on which the Germanic imagination was to feed for centuries. One of the most famous of these epics of early German literature was the *Nibelungenlied* (Lay of the Nibelungs), a primitive story of greed, murder, and vengeance, which in its final form (twelfth century) embodies reminiscences of the Franks on the Rhine. It is a tale of the hero Siegfried, who by his might slew the Nibelungs and obtained their hoard of treasure; of his journey to the court of the Burgundians; of his winning the Burgundian princess, Kriemhild; of the jealousy of her brothers, Hagen and King Gunther; of the prowess of Siegfried; of his treacherous murder by Hagen; and of the revenge of Kriemhild. While the epic received its final

shape under Christian influence, it retains much of the old pagan German feeling and sentiment.

Beowulf. Another product of primitive Germanic legend was the epic of Beowulf. Although it was written on English soil, in the West-Saxon dialect, the scene is laid in Denmark, and the poem contains many survivals of primitive Germanic thought and custom. The epic centers around the heroic deeds of the valorous and mighty Beowulf, from the land of the Geats (probably the southern part of Sweden). The Danish king, Hrothgar, and his court are afflicted by the depredations of the ferocious monster, half demon, half bear, Grendel. Angered by the revelry in the hall of the Danish king, Grendel stole from his lair in a haunted pool in the forest and fell upon the warriors as they lay asleep after feasting, devouring his victims and drinking their blood. No Danish warrior was a match for the monster. Many attempted to slay him, but night after night witnessed the same scene of bloodshed until the hall was deserted. Hearing of their plight, Beowulf, the mighty hero of the Geats, came to the Danish court, feasted in Hrothgar's hall, and slew the monster Grendel when he came to renew his bloody deeds. In revenge for the death of her son, Grendel's dam, the following night, came to the hall and slew one of Hrothgar's favorite knights. Thereupon Beowulf followed her to her lair beneath the waters and slew her also. After these exploits Beowulf, loaded with honor by the Danes, returned to the land of the Geats, where he ultimately became king and ruled gloriously for fifty years. His final exploit was the slaying of the dragon that guarded a priceless treasure in a rocky cavern. The struggle was a terrific one, and the dragon was on the point of prevailing when, in the hour of his need, a young warrior came to the aid of the old hero. But Beowulf himself had received a mortal wound. Amid the mourning of the Geats his body was cremated on a huge funeral pyre, on which were placed

"helmets, and harness of war," and over his ashes they raised a "barrow broad and high," beneath which they buried the dragon's hoard.

Fundamentally pagan in spirit, the poem has acquired a Christian veneer, which, however, cannot obscure the earlier outlook. The world in which Beowulf moves is one of dragons, monsters, spells, and supernatural powers. Although the hero has been transformed into a good Christian, and pious phrases are often upon his lips, at heart he is still a good deal of a heathen and frequently forgets his new religion. Even though his exploits are undertaken to deliver the people from the curse of demon or dragon, yet Beowulf seems to think primarily of his own glory. "In aiming to show," says Lawrence, "that Beowulf was distinguished as a sovereign, the epic often mentions his royal virtues, but it only partially succeeds in suppressing the earlier conception of his character as a hero of mere brute force." ¹⁵

Der Arme Heinrich and Meier Helmbrecht. Of a different character are two thirteenth-century German epic poems, Hartmann von Aue's *Der Arme Heinrich* and Wernher der Gartenaere's *Meier Helmbrecht*. They are based not on a theme drawn from primitive legend or borrowed from French romance, but on German peasant life, and have been called "the first unified national stories, German in theme and in setting, developed in German literature." ¹⁶ *Meier Helmbrecht* is a satire on the well-to-do peasant who aspires to rise out of his class. It portrays the unfolding of character and points a moral. *Der Arme Heinrich* gives a fine picture of inner personal conflict and religious motivation. Both poems are invaluable for the light they shed on medieval German social life, often, as in *Der Arme Heinrich*, by means of realistic details.

The Norse Sagas. In the period between 890 and 1030 — the Viking age — the Norse were colonizing Iceland and sail-

ing as far west as Greenland and the coast of North America. These exploits gave rise to the *sagas* (literally, "sayings" or "stories"), tales of the deeds of the early settlers which the Norse loved to recount in the long winter evenings of their northern clime. Based on historic fact and on the careers of actual persons, these tales were handed down by word of mouth, gathering accretions of legend and interpretation in the retelling, and were finally reduced to writing after the middle of the eleventh century.

Many of these sagas have come down to us, though many more have doubtless been lost; but by common consent the finest is the *Njala*, or the *Story of Burnt Njal*, which takes its name from Njal, one of the central characters of the saga, who was renowned for his wisdom and his knowledge of law. The most dramatic episode in the tale is the burning of the aged Njal and his family in their house by their foes, with whom they have a feud. Possibly next to the *Njala* should be placed the *Gretla*, or *Story of Grettir the Strong*, a series of tales which center around the figure of Grettir, a ne'er-do-well and outlaw of early Icelandic history, whose trials of strength made a great impression on his contemporaries. Mention should also be made of the *Saga of Eric the Red* and the collections of sagas known as the *Flatey Book* and *Hauk's Book*, for they contain the evidence of the early discovery of America by the Norse.

Although there are naturally great differences among the sagas, they have certain common characteristics. An almost bewildering number of characters enter into them, and the unity of action is loose. The oral traditions out of which the sagas were formed consisted of separate anecdotes strung loosely together by association with a particular family or district. "The element of history in them," says Ker, "and their close relation to the lives of those for whom they were made, have given them a substance and solidity beyond anything else in the imaginative stories of the Middle Ages."¹⁷ The characters are very sharply drawn, and the society of a

pioneer community in which there was little to think about or know except other people's affairs is very vividly portrayed. It is an agricultural and pastoral society with some trading, in which there is scant respect for law or the rights of others. Bloodshed and robbery are the order of the day. Feuds between families are numerous and bitter, and murder is avenged by murder, according to the law of the sib.

Dante (1265-1321). Unlike France and Germany, Italy produced little literature in the vernacular until the beginning of the thirteenth century. Sicilian lyric poets were active at the court of Frederick II; and the emperor and his son Manfred not only encouraged the Italian love song but also added their contribution. The century produced a number of poets whose names are familiar only to specialists in Italian literature and whose chief merit was that they prepared the way for Dante.

A native of Florence, belonging to an influential burgher family, Dante Alighieri was well educated in Latin literature, science, and philosophy. He was a romantic youth and wrote love poetry in the Provençal style. His inspiration was a beautiful lady, Beatrice Portinari, with whom, however, he seems never to have been intimate, for she married another and died young. But he cherished her memory, and one of his earliest works, the *New Life*, tells of her:

"She seemed not to be the daughter of a mortal man, but of God." And albeit her image, that was with me always, was an exultation of love to subdue me, it was yet of so perfect a quality that it never allowed me to be overruled by love without the faithful counsel of reason.¹⁸

Little is known about the career of Dante after he wrote the *New Life*. He married a Florentine lady, Gemma Donati, and had four children. He became a member of the council of Florence and was involved in the factional strife. Because he was a Ghibelline, opposed to the Pope, with the rise to

power of the Guelfs he was driven from Florence (1302), his property confiscated, and he himself forbidden to return under penalty of being burned. The remainder of his life he spent in exile, wandering from city to city, experiencing the bitter taste "of others' bread" and the "rugged path descending and ascending others' stairs."¹⁹ His exile was a bitter affliction, which he felt keenly. "Verily I have been a ship without sail and without helm, drifted upon divers ports and straits and shores by the dry wind that grievous poverty exhales."²⁰

Yet exile taught Dante the difference between the things that are ephemeral and those that abide: it led him to find peace within, that peace of soul which the world could not take away; and it was this experience that gave the world the *Divine Comedy*.

The Divine Comedy. The *Divine Comedy* (the adjective was added by admiring posterity), based upon the scientific views of the time and the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, is the best synthesis of medieval learning that the Middle Ages produced, and ranks with the greatest literature of all time. It is divided into three parts: Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, through each of which Dante passes in imagination. Throughout the poem the allegory is all-important. Hell, the result of choice, is the absence of God. Souls in hell cry, "Dismal we were in the sweet air, which the sun gladdens, nursing in our hearts the sullen fumes; now we are dismal in this black mud."²¹ But the pathos of it is that, tortured though they are, souls in hell are in a fitting environment. They do not want to get out. Evil is their choice still. The *Inferno* burns into our minds, as it were, the awfulness of sin.

The physical mount of Purgatory rises on an island in the Southern Hemisphere, opposite Jerusalem. It represents the struggle of the soul upward, from inadequacy to perfection. Round and round the mount the path rises, over nine terraces on each of which a different sin is expiated: pride, anger,

envy, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and sensuality. At last, having gained the top, the pilgrim, washed clean even from the memory of his sins, is ready to enter Paradise.

Paradise is the goal of all desires, the achievement of all striving. "In the realm of perfection," says Vossler, "where every earthly thing presents itself in inverse order, death appears in the kindly guise of birth, strife as the game of childhood, and martyrdom as a smiling birth-gift of destiny."²² Here is nought but peace, all striving has ceased, and the soul lives in perfect harmony with the divine will.

Brother, the quality of love constrains our will,
And lets us only wish for what we have,
And thirst for nothing more.
If we should wish to be up higher than
We are, our wills would be at discord
With His will, who put us here,
And that within these circles cannot be,
Since to live in Love is here necessity,
If you consider well Love's nature.
Rather it is the law of this life beatific
To keep ourselves within the Will Divine,
So that our several wills shall make but one.
And so, being as we are, from sphere to sphere
Throughout this realm, gives joy to all the realm
And to our King, who makes our wills like His,
And His will is our peace.²³

Boccaccio (1313-1375). Besides Petrarch,* the poet laureate of Italy, whose fame rests primarily upon his Italian sonnets, the fourteenth century produced Boccaccio (1313-1375), one of the greatest storytellers of all time. He did for Italian prose what Dante did for Italian poetry. His greatest work was the *Decameron*, a collection of one hundred tales. The introduction is one of the most vivid descriptions of the Black Death that we possess. In the midst of its ravages Boccaccio imagines a group of seven maidens and

* See page 769.

three youths of Florence retiring from the plague-stricken city to a villa on the outskirts, where they amuse themselves by telling stories — ten stories each for ten days. Investigation into the sources of these stories shows that Boccaccio picked them up wherever he found them, many doubtless in conversation. Some he gleaned from the *fabliaux*; others were stories current in various countries, mostly Oriental in origin; and still others were founded on incidents in real life in Italy. Some are broad, others are critical of clergy and monks, and all reflect that humanistic attitude toward life of which we have already spoken.

Chaucer (c. 1340–1400). England also, owing to the use of the French language, produced little literature in the vernacular until the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It was the fourteenth century, when English became the language of the courts and of Parliament, that witnessed the rise of a great national literature. The most famous name in this development was unquestionably that of Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1340–1400). A Londoner by birth, and the son of a merchant, Geoffrey, owing to the acquaintances and influence of the family, became a page at court. He took part in the expedition of 1359 to the Continent, and later was attached to the person of Edward III as *valet de chambre*. In 1370 he began a series of diplomatic missions in the royal service which took him to Flanders, France, and Italy. He learned Italian and familiarized himself with the writings of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Later he became comptroller of customs in London and member of Parliament for Kent. He thus had an opportunity to know not only life on the Continent but also English life, which he depicts vividly in his works.

More important than his diplomatic and political career was his literary activity. As a page at court he read the romances that were fashionable in the society in which he moved, and wrote poetry. During the twelve years that he was comptroller of customs — a post that required a vast

amount of labor — Chaucer devoted his evenings to reading, contemplation, and writing. In this period he wrote *Lyf of Seynt Cecyle*, *Compleynt of Mars* (a prose translation of Boethius), *Parlement of Foules*, *Troilus and Criseyde*, *Hous of Fame*, and *Legende of Good Women* — works in which the ideal was a Latin or an Italian one. The greatest of these earlier works was *Troilus and Criseyde*. Although Greek in setting, it is the product of Chaucer's imagination, a semi-epic poem in which the art of the novel and that of the drama are combined. "The first great poem of renewed English literature," it has been called.²⁴ At the close of his life, while sitting as member of Parliament for Kent, he produced the work for which he is chiefly known, the *Canterbury Tales*. Although most of the tales are borrowed,— Chaucer rarely took the trouble to invent,— they are put into the mouth of English men and women. A group of pilgrims of every sort and description — a poor but worthy parish priest, a gossipy wife of Bath, a fat monk, a degenerate friar, a tricky physician, a pardoner, a reeve, a miller, a knight — are gathered at the Tabard Inn, at Southwark (London), to undertake a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury. Mine host joins them and proposes, in order to make the journey pass merrily, that each pilgrim shall tell two stories and that the troop, on their return, shall reward by a supper the best teller. This is the setting that enabled Chaucer to reveal his profound knowledge of English life.

Spanish Literature. The roots of Spanish as well as of the other national literatures go back to the Middle Ages. By the twelfth century the Castilians were producing, partly under French influence, epics of which only fragments survive. The most complete of these is the *Poema del Cid*, in which an unknown author celebrates the deeds of Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar. The poem is marked by its simplicity, its realism, and its martial spirit. It gave definitive form to the picture of the great national hero.

The earliest Spanish poet whose name has come down to us was Gonzalo de Berceo (died c. 1247), who related tales of miracles and pious legends with a naïve faith. A writer of much greater genius was Juan Ruiz (died c. 1350), the arch-priest of Hita, who has been compared to Chaucer and Boccaccio. He drew from French, Italian, and Latin sources, yet stamped his borrowings with his own originality. Moorish dancers, renegade priests, libertine nuns, Jews, peasant maids, and great ladies stand out in sharp relief in his pages. Ruiz was a keen observer, a humorist, and a bit of a cynic.

Of fundamental importance in the development of Spanish prose was the contribution of Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1252-1284). No mean writer himself, especially in verse, he inspired the *Estoria d'España*, a history from the creation to 1252. Other important chronicles were those of Juan Manuel (1282-1348), the nephew of Alfonso, and Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407), the chancellor of Castile.

The fifteenth century was noteworthy for the development of the ballad and the widespread influence of Italian literature upon Spanish writers.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

The Hundred Years' War (First Phase)

THE later Middle Ages were dominated by a colossal struggle between France and England, in which recent historians are inclined to find the key to an understanding of the period, "the essential and determining factor in western history."¹ Its consequences, political, economic, and social, were profound. All western Europe was affected, directly or indirectly, church as well as state. Even the events in the Near East could scarcely have taken the turn they did if western Europe had been free to throw her strength on the side of Constantinople and Venice in their conflict with the Turk.

The Hundred Years' War was primarily the last phase of the long struggle of England for her Continental possessions, of which, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, only part of Gascony and Guienne remained. And of this portion, the center of her wine trade, continual aggression on the part of the Capetian monarchy threatened to deprive her. Bordeaux, the capital, on the Garonne, was the center of export for the greatest wine-producing country in Europe. The revenue derived from the high export duty on this product was one of the most important sources of income of the English monarchs, comparable to that derived from the export of wool from England. In return for fine wines, England supplied Gascony and Guienne with grain, wool, and cloth. It was this commercial interdependence between the Gascon towns and England that doubtless explains why she retained this territory long after Normandy, over which she seemed to have a greater political hold, had been lost. The Gascons, said Froissart, "have more trade in wine, wool and cloth with the English than with the French; they are inclined towards them naturally."² On the other hand, this territory, highly

desirable from an English economic point of view, was essential to the rounding out of Capetian boundaries. Accordingly, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries there had been repeated acts of aggression on the part of the French.

Anglo-French Rivalry in Flanders. A second cause of the Hundred Years' War was the Anglo-French rivalry in Flanders. Until the time of Philip Augustus, Flanders, though nominally a fief of the French crown, had been virtually independent. But that monarch and his successors (especially Philip the Fair), in order to gain control of the rich revenues of the county, sought to bring it more completely under French rule. In this endeavor they sometimes had the support of the count and the aristocracy, but were opposed by the bourgeoisie of the towns, who felt their liberties and economic position menaced. The economic relations of Flanders were with England; for the prosperity of the county was built upon her textile industries, such as those of Ghent, Bruges, Douai, and Ypres, which were dependent upon the importation of English wool. England, largely a grazing country and dependent upon her export of wool, in turn had need of a free market in Flanders and looked askance at the domination of that county by the French.

France and Scotland. In her relations with Scotland, England likewise perceived the cunning hand of French intrigue. Ever since the struggle between England and Scotland under Edward I the Scotch had been the allies of the French king. It was the French policy to support Scotch independence against England, and Philip VI in 1333 championed the cause of David Bruce against Edward Balliol, whom the English wished to place upon the Scottish throne. English hostility toward the Scotch tended to transfer itself to their allies, the French. This Franco-Scottish alliance may be said to constitute a third cause of the Hundred Years' War.

The activity of pirates, privateers, and freebooters in the Channel also did much to stir up ill-feeling between the two countries. French privateers attacked English merchantmen or sacked the Channel ports, and the English retaliated in kind.

The Succession to the French Crown. Another factor in setting the stage for the Hundred Years' War was the question of succession to the French throne. In 1328 the death of Charles IV, the third son of Philip the Fair, without male issue, raised the problem of succession in the House of Capet. The French barons immediately recognized Philip of Valois (descended from the second son of Philip III), first as regent and shortly afterwards as king (Philip VI). But the claim was now put forward that Edward III had a better right to the throne, on the ground that his mother Isabella was the daughter of Philip IV, whereas Philip of Valois was the son of a younger brother.* The French lawyers replied that a woman was incapable not only of ruling but also of transmitting a right to her son. Besides, Philip was French, while Edward was not only a foreigner but an hereditary enemy.

The new king was not slow in sending a representative to England to summon Edward to do homage for Gascony, held as a fief of the French crown. Whereupon the Dowager Queen Isabella haughtily replied: "My son, who is the son of a king, will never do homage to the son of a count."³ The threat of seizing Gascony, however, soon brought the English court to its senses; and when a second summons was sent, Edward promised to comply and apologized for the delay. In the following year (1329) he crossed the Channel, and in the cathedral of Amiens did homage to the French king and recognized him as the legitimate monarch.

From 1328 to 1336 the relations between England and France, owing to their conflicting interests, were strained to

* Compare genealogical table, p. 613.

the breaking point. Boundary adjustments in Gascony, promised in 1327, had not been carried out, and the parlement of Philip VI was interfering in the English administration. Moreover, the French were giving support to David Bruce and the party of independence in Scotland, and the English king bitterly complained of acts of hostility committed by the French and Flemish sailors in the Channel. But it was in Flanders that the most serious trouble arose.

The industrial cities of Flanders, led by Bruges, had rebelled against their new count, Louis of Nevers, who had obtained French aid in suppressing the revolt (1328). The insurgents were defeated at the battle of Cassel, and harsh terms were imposed upon them by the count and the French king. This re-establishment of the authority of the count and the predominance of France compromised English interests. The count of Flanders, more loyal to his French liege lord than considerate of his subjects' interests, in 1336 ordered (probably at the request of the French king) the cessation of all commerce with England and the arrest of English merchants. Edward retaliated in kind. He imprisoned Flemish merchants found in England and seized their goods; he placed an embargo on the export of wool, lest it should be smuggled into Flanders in spite of the count's orders; and he prohibited the importation and wearing of foreign cloth. To make this embargo the more keenly felt, Edward permitted the export of thirty thousand bales of wool to Brabant on condition that it should not be sold outside the duchy. At the same time he held out tempting offers to Flemish weavers to settle in England. Thus was laid the foundation of a textile industry in England that, within half a century, proved a formidable competitor to that of Flanders.

Jacques van Artevelde. These retaliatory measures had the desired effect: an acute industrial crisis was created in the Flemish cities. Deprived of their raw material, the crafts in

Ypres, Bruges, and Ghent shut down, and multitudes of workmen were thrown out of employment. The unrest that followed was intensified by English agents sent to Flanders to stir up hostility toward the count. At Ghent crowds of workmen gathered on the streets and squares crying "Work and liberty!" and denouncing the count. Some dispersed into the country to beg bread from the peasants; others stirred up insurrection in the cities. By the beginning of 1338 Ghent was in full revolt. In this crisis the leadership of the people of Ghent was assumed by Jacques van Artevelde, a wealthy merchant prince, who sought to save the imperiled industry of his city and to free commerce from feudal domination. He conceived the plan of uniting all the communes of Flanders and adjoining countries in the defense of their commercial interests. The leading cities now conspired with Ghent in resisting their count and in making overtures to England. As a result a commercial treaty was signed with Edward III whereby, in return for their neutrality in the forthcoming wars with the "lords of Flanders," the Flemish cities were to be supplied with wool. Later Edward succeeded in converting this neutrality into an active alliance. This he did by assuming the title and prerogatives of the king of France, so that the Flemish cities would be free from the ecclesiastical penalties and the dishonor that war against the king of France, their suzerain, would entail. Early in 1340 Edward therefore renewed his claim to the throne of France and entered Flanders as its rightful feudal lord. Philip VI obtained from the Pope an interdict, "an excommunication so great and so terrible that no priest should dare to celebrate divine service." But Edward promised his allies "that he would bring them priests from his country who would sing masses in Flanders whether the Pope would or no." ⁴

The Beginning of the War. Thus the war with France was precipitated. Already Gascony had once more been declared

forfeit and invaded, and French sailors had plundered the Channel ports. But the first decisive struggle was the battle of Sluys. An English squadron surprised the French fleet in the port of Sluys, in Flanders (June, 1340), and annihilated it. Out of one hundred and eighty-nine French ships only thirty-four escaped. French commerce was ruined, and there was no longer a French fleet in the Channel. The result of this victory was to reinforce among the Flemish their anti-French sentiments. Its effects were largely lost, however, by the fruitless land campaign that followed. After a vain attempt to capture Tournai, Edward signed a truce and withdrew to England. This tended to weaken Artevelde's position, and shortly afterwards he was killed in a popular revolt against his authority. The Flemish period of the war was at an end.

The Campaign of Crécy. By 1346 Edward was ready with a new army for the invasion of France. His original intention seems to have been to make for Gascony, where the earl of Derby had succeeded in restoring a measure of authority for the English king; but head winds prevented all attempts to round the Breton peninsula, and it was decided to make a landing in Normandy instead. Disembarking at Barfleur, the army marched on Caen, a rich and populous city, which they captured and plundered, sending to England, as spoils, forty thousand pieces of cloth which they found there. Then, following the Seine, plundering, burning, and slaying as they went, they began a march toward Paris. The French followed them along the right bank, watching their movements and destroying the bridges. At Poissy, seventeen miles from Paris, Edward decided to repair the bridge and take his army across the Seine. Rather than lay siege to Paris, he began a retreat toward Picardy, pursued by a large French army. Having crossed the Somme, he selected a strong position at the village of Crécy and prepared to give battle to the French. Here was fought (August 26)

the famous battle of Crécy, at which the French suffered a complete defeat. The English archers, with their longbows, proved a fighting force superior to the French knights. Further confusion was created by three small cannon which the English had dragged with them. This was perhaps the first use of artillery; but doubtless it did little damage beyond terrifying the horses of the French knights. Complete as the victory was, the English were too exhausted to make much use of it, and they continued their retreat to Calais, burning villages and laying waste the countryside.

The Siege of Calais. Arrived before Calais, Edward swore that he would capture the town, and established a siege that lasted eleven months. Efforts to bring relief, both by land and by sea, failed, and the populace, after being reduced to eating dogs and cats, capitulated. Edward resolved to make the town English and accordingly dispossessed the French inhabitants. The fine houses of the burghers were given to English settlers. Calais was made a distributing center for English wool and a base which for two centuries troubled Paris and the French king.

The Black Death. After the capture of Calais both parties, their resources exhausted, were glad to listen to the overtures of two cardinals whom the Pope had sent and to sign a truce. In England there was a growing disinclination to meet appeals for extraordinary taxes and to assume responsibility for the king's policy. In France the ravages of war had led to a decline in prosperity throughout the entire western part of the kingdom. In addition, the year 1347 witnessed the beginning of the Black Death, which, entering Europe from the Orient, swept over Italy, France, England, and Germany. The high mortality (variously estimated from a fourth to a half of the entire population) that everywhere attended its ravages created too many problems to permit the carrying on of the war. Not until 1355, after prolonged negotiations

and the vain endeavors of the papacy to effect a lasting peace, was the struggle again seriously renewed.

Poitiers (1356). The chief theater of the war was now in the south. The Prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince from the color of his armor, landed at Bordeaux and undertook an expedition through Armagnac and Languedoc, as far south as Narbonne, plundering as he went. The chief result of this expedition was the devastation of some five hundred towns and villages. A counselor of the Black Prince admitted that since the beginning of the war such destruction had not been witnessed. The following year (1356) he undertook a similar expedition into central France, through Périgord, Limousin, Berry, and Touraine. Meeting the French forces at Poitiers, as he was retiring toward Bordeaux he inflicted on them a defeat that rivaled that of Crécy. The French king, John the Good, was taken captive and sent to London, where he was held for ransom. But, as after Crécy, the victors were too weak to press forward the campaign and profit by the advantages they had won. The Black Prince continued his retreat toward Bordeaux, where a papal envoy induced him to negotiate a truce.

The Treaty of Calais (1360). In 1360 peace was made by the Treaty of Calais. King John ceded to England Calais and the entire southwestern part of France, substantially the old duchy of Aquitaine, and agreed to pay a ransom of three million gold crowns (two million five hundred thousand dollars). Edward consented to renounce all claim to the throne of France, while John abandoned all feudal rights over the territories ceded. But it was stipulated that these mutual renunciations should not be effective until the principal clauses of the treaty had been executed. This provision was later to afford the French an excuse for breaking the treaty.

In the interval between the defeat at Poitiers and the Treaty of Calais a crisis in the French monarchy was



THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

created by the attempt of the bourgeoisie of Paris to introduce a more popular element into the government. The Valois dynasty was not popular. Its extravagances, its taxes (one of which was the *gabelle*, or salt monopoly, which was to become notorious in later history), the disasters of the war, the devastation of the country, the decline of commerce, the Black Death, — all tended to discredit it.

With the king a captive, the Dauphin Charles (later Charles V), a youth of eighteen years, took over the government as regent. Of delicate constitution, which prevented him from distinguishing himself, like his forebears, as a knight, he was learned, pious, and a lover of books, preferring a sedentary life in his palaces of Vincennes and the Louvre to one of action. But he was a youth of high intelligence; he had had some experience in government as ruler of Normandy, and as "Charles the Wise" was to prove one of the best and most capable of the medieval French monarchs. The situation that now confronted him was one of gravest difficulty. On his arrival in Paris, after Poitiers, Charles was soon made to feel the opposition of the bourgeoisie, who were indignant over the misgovernment of the country and perhaps jealous of the insolent parvenus who had found favor at court. Influenced by the example of the Flemish bourgeoisie, they resolved on an opposition that was little short of revolutionary.

Stephen Marcel. The leader of this movement was Stephen Marcel, provost of merchants of Paris.* Marcel belonged to a family of wealthy bankers that had enriched itself by lending money to the king. He himself was a cloth merchant who, by his close contact with Flanders, had developed a great ad-

* The office of provost, by the fourteenth century, had become one of great importance; for the provost practically controlled the commerce of the city. He supervised weights and measures; he had jurisdiction over the Seine, the gates, and the markets; he collected taxes for the maintenance of bridges, streets, and markets; and he had under him a host of officials.

miration for the Flemish communes and their independence. After the battle of Poitiers he had assumed the government of the city and had begun extensive works of fortification.

Besides the opposition of the bourgeoisie attached to Marcel, there was a group of disaffected nobles who sympathized with Charles the Bad of Navarre, a pretender to the throne, who claimed that his right to the French throne was better than that of Edward III,* and who, for his disloyal conduct, had been imprisoned by the king. The archbishop of Lyon and the counts of Harcourt, Foix, and Namur, in addition to many nobles of Normandy and Picardy, were his supporters and secretly hoped to place him upon the throne. After Poitiers their opposition became bolder and more pronounced.

The States-General. The opposition of these two groups manifested itself at a meeting of the States-General summoned by the Dauphin at Paris, in 1356, in order to procure money. From the beginning the assembly was dominated by Marcel, seconded by Robert le Coq, bishop of Laon, who had become a partisan of Charles the Bad of Navarre, probably because the king had not made him chancellor. First they complained of the extortion of the royal officials who had enriched themselves at the expense of the people, of the growing impoverishment of the masses by the debasing of the currency, of the inability of the people to obtain justice, and of the oppression by ecclesiastics. Then they formulated their demands. The Dauphin was to be assisted by a "great and secret council," chosen from the three estates, consisting of three groups: one to be advisory, a second to control all royal officials, and a third to be a council of war. If this scheme had succeeded, the government would have been taken out of the hands of the king and vested in the States-General. But Charles refused to sanction such drastic changes, dis-

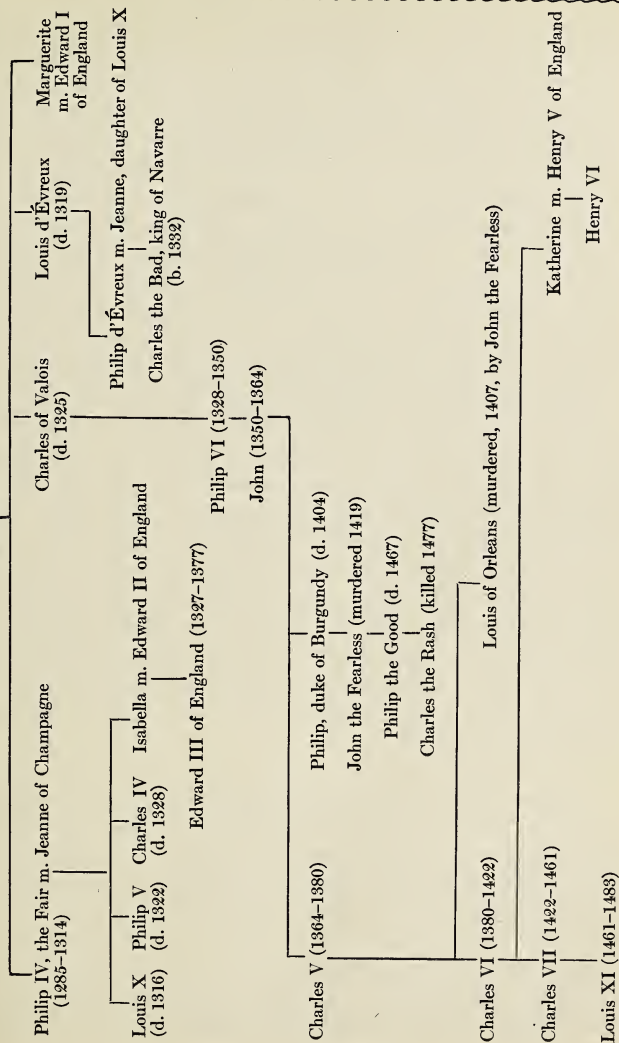
* Compare genealogical table, p. 613.

solved the assembly, issued more debased money, and sought the aid of his uncle the emperor. As he failed in this, the States-General was again (1357) convoked, and the Dauphin was obliged to submit to the *Great Ordinance*, which promised a reorganization of the government, though one less sweeping than that demanded in 1356. The entire administration was to be reformed, and a measure of financial control was to be exercised by the States-General. Marcel and his followers were triumphant, and it appeared as though a democratic element were about to be introduced into the government.

Yet for several reasons Marcel's triumph was short-lived. His connections with the great Peasants' Revolt,—the *Jacquerie* (so called from *Jacques*, a name for "peasant"),—with Charles the Bad, and with the English discredited him. Furthermore, Charles V was a man to be reckoned with, and he soon discovered that Marcel had little support in the provinces.

The Jacquerie. The ravages wrought by the numerous invasions and by armed bands of marauders that pillaged at will had caused great havoc in northern and western France. By the middle of the fourteenth century Normandy, formerly prosperous, was devastated. Tenants were unable to pay their *cens*, and farmers their rent. The Black Death had contributed to the depopulation. Towns and castles could defend themselves against brigands, but the peasants and their crops lay exposed and defenseless. Sometimes the village church had been converted into a place of defense; but frequently the peasants had been obliged to take refuge in forests, quarries, caves, or islands, removing with them what effects, provisions, and cattle they could. Besides, they were embittered against the nobility, who, instead of protecting them, had increased their burdens.

Since the kingdom was a prey to anarchy and there was no king to protect them (King John was still a prisoner in England), the peasants took up arms to defend themselves



and their rights. Originating near Beauvais, the revolt rapidly spread, under the leadership of one William Karle, throughout southern Picardy and Champagne, a territory equivalent to about fourteen departments of modern France. Everywhere châteaux were attacked, pillaged, and destroyed; and the nobles who fell into the insurgents' hands were tortured and slain. In some instances the townsmen made common cause with the peasants. Although Marcel had not instigated this movement, he sought to make use of it for his own ends. But under the leadership of Charles the Bad the nobles quickly suppressed the movement; they slaughtered the peasants in wholesale numbers — some twenty thousand between the Seine and the Marne, say the chroniclers.

With his influence waning, Marcel drew closer to Charles the Bad, whom he proclaimed Captain of Paris and sought to make king; but he was leaning on a frail prop. Charles the Bad was suspected of having made a definite treaty with the English. The bourgeoisie were weary of revolution; and when the Dauphin began the siege of the city, they slew Marcel and opened the gates to the prince. This reaction was probably the result of a royalist plot in Paris in co-operation with the Dauphin himself. Owing to its lack of support in the provinces, as well as to the firm and clever conduct of the Dauphin, the Parisian revolution failed, and with it the most notable attempt of the Middle Ages to give France a popular government.

Failure of the Treaty of Calais. The Treaty of Calais could be executed only with difficulty. Many territories resisted or reluctantly renounced allegiance to King John. The consuls of Cahors made their submission to the English with weeping and groaning: "Alas! How odious it is to lose our natural lord," they declared, "and to pass over to a master we know not. But it is not we who abandon the king of France. It is he who, against our wishes, hands us over, like orphans, to the hands of the stranger."⁵ The final date

for the execution of the treaty, November 30, 1361, passed, and the English had been unable to take possession of Limousin, Périgord, Quercy, and Rouergue, which had been ceded to them. At the same time the French had experienced difficulty in getting English garrisons to relinquish strongholds in northern France. Charles V, who, in the meantime, had succeeded King John, took this failure to conform to the letter of the treaty as an excuse to retain sovereignty over the territories ceded to the English.

Another ground of complaint was the presence in the country, in spite of the formal promises of the treaty that they would be removed, of mercenary bands of soldiers brought in by the English. They pillaged the richest provinces; they captured castles, occupied them until the resources of the locality were exhausted, and then moved elsewhere.

A third source of friction was the alleged misgovernment of the Black Prince in Gascony, which had been entrusted to his rule after the Treaty of Calais. A fruitless expedition into Spain having proved financially disastrous, the Black Prince sought to levy heavier taxes on his new domain and aroused the opposition of a group of Gascon lords. Led by the count of Armagnac, they refused the levy and appealed to Charles V. Soon they were joined by the clergy and a multitude of towns. This was the opportunity for which Charles V, determined to break the Treaty of Calais and restore French power, had been looking. Early in 1369 he cited the Black Prince to appear in Paris to answer for his conduct. "Gladly will I go to Paris, since the King of France commands," replied the prince, "but it will be with helmet on my head and sixty thousand men at my back."⁶ It was an empty boast, as events were to show.

Renewal of the War. War broke out once more when Edward III resumed the title of "King of France." An expedition to Normandy and Picardy under the duke of

Lancaster, beyond effecting great destruction, accomplished nothing. The astute Charles V pursued the policy of wearing his enemy out without coming to grips with him. In the south the French troops were employed in the systematic recovery of the territory ceded to England. The great French leader was the Constable du Guesclin, who by 1373 had achieved the conquest of Poitou. Indeed, in many places the populace spontaneously declared for Charles V. Afflicted with a mortal disease, the Black Prince was advised by his physicians to return to England, where he died in 1376. By 1374 the English power had so far collapsed that it was confined to Calais and the coast lands around Bayonne and Bordeaux. The following year a truce was signed for one year, but, thanks to papal mediation, it was extended to 1377. Before its expiration Edward III as well as the Black Prince had died, and the situation in England militated against the serious renewal of the war.

Richard II (1377-1399). The heir to the English throne was a boy ten years of age, Richard, the son of the Black Prince. The government was now taken out of the hands of John of Gaunt, the son of Edward III who had dominated the last years of his father's reign, and placed in the hands of a council of twelve members. In the very nature of the case this was not a government well suited to pursue a vigorous policy. The best that could be hoped for was "to muddle along somehow." Not only was Gascony largely in French hands, but the French fleet, now allied with that of Castile, was virtually master of the Channel, so that the voyage from Dover to Calais was dangerous. Boulogne privateers captured English vessels just outside the harbor of Calais, and French ships landed in Sussex and Kent and raided the countryside. The seacoast towns of Rye and Hastings were sacked and burned, and the Isle of Wight was ravaged.

The situation was aggravated by the bankrupt state of the government. Parliament was obliged to meet twice in the

year 1380, and both Houses did a good deal of grumbling when a second appeal for money was made in the one year. The chancellor stated that £160,000 was the least that would suffice for the king's needs. After some debate it was decided that £100,000 should be raised by a poll tax and the rest by the clergy. The commons felt that a poll tax, levied on all classes, would be the most equitable; for it was suspected that the lower classes were not contributing their share. "All the wealth of England" has "gone into the hands of the labourers and workmen," they complained.⁷ The clergy, probably fearing lest their enemies should hearken to Wycliffe and suggest some sort of disendowment of the church, contributed their quota with alacrity. The attempt to collect the poll tax, on the other hand, was the occasion of the Peasants' Revolt, when all the pent-up, seething discontent of the lower classes burst forth.

The Peasants' Revolt (1381). A series of circumstances culminated in the Peasants' Revolt. First of all, there was the transformation that the fourteenth century was witnessing in the medieval manor. As early as the thirteenth century the lords of the manor had found it advisable, on the ground that forced labor was not profitable, to commute the services of villeins and serfs into money payments and to hire labor to till the demesne. Between 1300 and 1348 this movement was becoming popular. At the same time this tended to place the serf more on the footing of the free tenant, and he frequently obtained his freedom through purchase. The Black Death, with its great destruction of the population, created a shortage of agricultural labor, and peasants took advantage of this to demand higher wages. Double and sometimes treble the customary wages had to be offered by the lord's bailiff to procure labor for the demesne farm, which otherwise would have reverted to waste. Gower, whose sympathies were with the lords, was scandalized at the wages that laborers received after the Black Death.

The shepherd and the cowherd demand more wages now than the master bailiff was wont to take; and, whithersoever we look, whatsoever be the work, laborers are now of such price that, when we must needs use them, where we were wont to spend two shillings we must now spend five or six.⁸

Parliament, largely composed of landowners, attempted to meet the situation by passing the Statute of Laborers, which forbade peasants to demand or employers to pay more than the wages customary before the plague. This law could not be enforced, as its re-enactment by almost every Parliament between 1351 and 1381 shows. "The effect of these statutes," says Trevelyan, "was to teach the free labourer lawlessness and the nomadic habits which increase it; constituted authority became his enemy; he was driven to the life of the outlaw."⁹ If serfs did not think that they received high enough wages on the manor to which they belonged, they ran away and hired themselves out elsewhere. The scarcity of labor thus made them more independent and more prosperous and led them to aspire toward greater freedom. The greed of the peasant became almost proverbial, as Langland shows.

This improvement of the economic condition of the peasant classes made them feel the more keenly the irksome restrictions of the medieval manor. Medieval preachers complained of the wrongs of the peasants and proclaimed the idea of equality.¹⁰ There consequently began a strong agitation against serfdom. Popular leaders pointed out that serfdom was inconsistent with Christianity. One of the most notable of these was John Ball, "the mad priest of Kent," who for twenty years had been going about the country preaching social equality. If we can believe the chronicler Froissart:

He was accustomed, every Sunday after Mass, as the people were coming out of the church, to preach to them in the market place, and assemble a crowd around him; to whom he would say:

"My good friends, things cannot go on well in England, nor ever will until everything shall be in common; when there shall neither be vassal nor lord, and all distinctions levelled; when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. How ill they have used us! and for what reason do they thus hold us in bondage? Are we not all descended from the same parents, Adam and Eve? and what can they show, or what reasons give, why they should be more the masters than ourselves? except, perhaps, in making us labor and work for them to spend. They are clothed in velvets and rich stuffs, ornamented with ermine and other furs, while we are forced to wear poor cloth. They have wines, spices, and fine bread, when we have only rye and the refuse of the straw; and, if we drink, it must be water. They have handsome seats and manors, when we must brave the wind and rain in our labors in the field; but it is from our labor they have wherewith to support their pomp. We are called slaves; and, if we do not perform our services, we are beaten . . . !¹¹

Such was the situation when Parliament, in 1381, sought to raise the poll tax among the lower classes. The first returns from the collection were disappointing and revealed an extensive evasion of the tax. Accordingly the government decreed that a new group of collectors should go the rounds and attempt to reach those who had escaped. To the discontented populace this seemed to be a new levy, and they rose in revolt against a ministry which they regarded as corrupt and against a society which they felt was oppressive.

Beginning in Essex at the end of May (1381) the revolt speedily spread to Kent and soon extended over all the eastern and southern counties of England. As in the *Jacquerie*, in France, the nobles and landlords bore the brunt of the attacks. Manor houses were plundered and destroyed, their records burned, and many of their owners murdered. Unpopular landlords and lawyers especially were singled out for vengeance, although on the whole the number of victims was not great. Particular odium seems to have been directed

against anyone connected with John of Gaunt, to whose misrule the disasters of the past were attributed.

In the great towns and, above all, in London the revolt of the peasants was accompanied by a rebellion of journey-men and unskilled laborers. This was especially directed against Flemings and Lombards; for foreign weavers and merchants were believed to be depriving English laborers of work and draining the country of its wealth.

Under the leadership of one Wat Tyler, "an adventurer of doubtful antecedents," joined by John Ball, the peasants of Kent, in June, 1381, marched on London. Their progress met with little opposition; for the army was about to embark from Plymouth for France, and the nobles were isolated and apparently helpless. "The lords," said Walsingham, "remained quietly at home as though they were asleep, while the men of Kent and Essex swelled the ranks of their army."¹² Since there was no force in London to meet the insurgents, the king agreed to treat with them — for the peasants made a distinction between the king and the government — and promised that serfdom and all feudal services should be abolished throughout the kingdom. Charters were drawn up as a guarantee of these promises. During a scuffle that ensued at Smithfield, a market square outside the walls of the city, Tyler was mortally wounded, and the king would probably have been murdered had he not shown great presence of mind. Waving the rebels back, he cried: "Sirs, will you shoot your King? I will be your chief and captain. You shall have from me that which you seek. Only follow me into the fields without."¹³ On the open meadows north of Smithfield he persuaded them, with promises of pardon, to disperse. How little Richard II sympathized with the aims of the rebellion is shown by his attitude when a deputation was sent to him asking for confirmation of the charters that he had granted. Maintaining that promises given under compulsion were of no value, he exclaimed, "Villeins ye are still, and villeins ye shall remain."¹⁴ When, after several battles, the

peasant forces were routed, assizes were held in Essex and Kent; but comparatively few suffered capital punishment (one hundred and ten names being all that have been brought to light), and those only after a formal trial.¹⁵

The immediate consequence of the rising seems to have been a reassertion on the part of the landlords of their old rights and a tightening of the bonds of serfdom. Was the time of repression not an opportune one to reclaim all the old privileges? In Suffolk, for instance, a lord obtained twenty-eight years' arrears of villein services owed him by a recalcitrant tenant. But it is probable that many were taught caution by the rising and were inclined to moderation. If during the next half century, villeinage was largely transformed into free tenure, it was owing to the operation of natural economic forces rather than to the insurrection of 1381.

The weakness of the English government militated against the energetic prosecution of the war with France as well as against the signing of a permanent peace. Expeditions that came to nought but disaster were occasionally dispatched to the Continent. At the same time the death of Charles V (1380), and the accession of his son Charles VI, a minor, left the French government in much the same plight as that of England. Elaborate preparations were made for an invasion of England, but they came to nothing. By 1388 a new era of truces was begun, which in 1396 gave way to a more permanent peace. To bind the agreement, Richard, whose wife, Anne of Bohemia, had died several years before, married Isabella, the seven-year-old daughter of Charles VI. But instead of reviving the thorny questions over Guienne, Gascony, and Calais, both the English and the French simply agreed that the status quo should be maintained for thirty years, leaving to the next generation the task of permanent settlement. England held Calais and a strip of the coast of Guienne and Gascony, including Bordeaux and Bayonne.

In 1389 Richard II declared himself competent to ad-

minister the kingdom, and there followed a period of eight years during which the country was at peace and prosperous. But in 1397 the king, who was a man of uncertain temperament and given to fits of uncontrollable passion, began a policy of tyrannical government, overriding the rights of both nobles and Parliament. Henry of Lancaster, the son of John of Gaunt, he banished from the kingdom without due cause, and then, after John's death, contrary to his pledge, he confiscated Henry's estates. During the king's absence in Ireland, Lancaster landed in England, and the country, weary of Richard's tyranny, rallied to his standard. On his return Richard was forced to abdicate "on account of his perjuries, cruelties, and many other crimes" (so read the articles of deposition), "for the greater security and tranquillity of the nation and the good of the realm."¹⁶ Henry of Lancaster, although not the next in succession, thereupon claimed the throne, and was elected by lords and commons. Richard, whose life they had promised to spare, was shut up in Pontefract Castle, where, shortly afterwards, he was murdered. The new regime presaged a break in the peace with France.

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CHAPTER XXIX

The Papacy in the Later Middle Ages

THE triumph of the Popes over the Hohenstaufen had been complete; but it was a triumph that brought them little good. The papacy compromised itself by its attempt to keep the Angevins on the throne of Naples, and by so doing lost the respect of much of Europe. A new force was arising, the national state, that could ill brook the idea of a papal theocracy. When, therefore, Pope Boniface VIII (elected 1294) sought to assert the highest papal prerogatives, he brought down disaster upon the papacy.

Boniface was an ambitious, overbearing, arrogant ecclesiastic with a reputation for learning in both civil and canon law. Scarcely was he elected when he became embroiled in a quarrel between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, the two factions which in Rome, as well as in other Italian cities, contended for the mastery. He was the great foe of the Ghibelline leaders, the Colonnas, several of whom were cardinals. He had them deposed from their ecclesiastical position, excommunicated, and driven from Rome, and their property confiscated. Thus they became the Pope's implacable foes, ready to participate in any plot against him.

During his struggle with the Colonnas, Boniface became embroiled with Philip the Fair of France over the French king's claim of the right to levy contributions from the clergy. Philip, engaged in a war with England and in financial difficulties, — a chronic condition with monarchs of the time, — turned to the clergy for a fresh contribution. Although the majority voted the required sum, a few complained to Rome. Inasmuch as the English king, Edward, was at the same time levying taxes upon his clergy to defray the ex-

penses of his kingdom, Boniface felt called upon to pronounce upon the matter. In the celebrated bull *Clericis Laicos* (1296) he forbade clergy to pay taxes without papal permission, and princes to demand taxes from the church. Offenders were liable to excommunication. Philip's retaliation was decisive. Not only did he threaten to withdraw protection from the church, but he forbade the export of gold and silver from the kingdom, and, as a consequence, the delivery of the money the Italian bankers had collected in France for the papacy. In England, when Archbishop Winchelsea and his clergy, in obedience to the papal bull, refused to pay the levy, Edward I outlawed them and seized the temporalities of Canterbury. Boniface fumed with rage; but he was obliged to give in and formally recognized the right of Philip, in case of necessity, to tax the French church without consulting Rome.

The Pope received some compensation for his humiliating defeat in the jubilee of the year 1300. Pilgrims flocked by thousands to Rome to obtain the promised indulgences — Italians, French, Hungarians, Slavs, Germans, Spaniards, and English. One chronicler tells us that two clerics stood day and night by the altar of Saint Paul's Without the Walls, with rakes in their hands, gathering in the offerings of the pilgrims.¹ The jubilee, bringing, as it did, the allegiance of Europe, was a splendid triumph for Boniface and seemed to justify his claim that he alone sat upon an imperial throne wielding the two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. But one fact was ominous for the future: no monarch of Europe, except Charles of Naples, came as a pilgrim to Rome or sought a papal blessing.

A series of circumstances were making for a fresh rupture between the Pope and the French king. In his exultation during the jubilee, Boniface boasted of the supremacy of the papacy over kingdoms and princes. Complaints were brought to Rome against Philip, and Boniface was bitter in his recriminations against the king's encroachments on the

liberties of the French church. At the same time the advisers of Philip were nourishing the king's indignation against the Pope. The occasion of the break was the affair of Bernard Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, a close friend of Boniface, who was accused of participating in a conspiracy to undermine French rule in Toulouse, of making slighting remarks about the French monarch, and of prophesying the end of the dynasty of Saint Louis. In a series of bulls dispatched to France, Boniface revoked all the privileges he had conceded to the French king, especially those concerned with the levying of taxes. He asserted that God had set him above kings and kingdoms, and he denounced the king for his conduct. These bulls aroused at the French court a storm of indignation which was fostered by the activity of two lawyers, Pierre Flote and William of Nogaret (the latter of whom was an irreconcilable opponent of papal theocracy), who, by their speeches and forged papal letters, inflamed both king and people.

The upshot of these recriminations was that a plot was hatched at the French court by Nogaret and the exiled Colonnas to seize Boniface, bring him before a council at Lyon, and depose him as unworthy. The execution of this plot was entrusted to Nogaret and Musciatto de' Franzesi, an eminent Florentine banker living in France. Aided by the discontented barons of the Papal States, under the leadership of Sciarra Colonna, the conspirators appeared one morning (September 7, 1303) at Anagni, where the Pope was residing, broke into the papal palace, and took the Pope a prisoner. (This was known as the "Crime of Anagni.") But the fickle crowd, which had at first sided with the Pope's assailants and participated in the sack of the palace, now rose in his favor, drove out his captors, and released him. A few days later Boniface returned to Rome and shut himself up in the Vatican, where he died some weeks later, broken in spirit and exhausted by the experience through which he had passed (October, 1303).

Clement V and the Avignon Residence. After the brief pontificate of Benedict XI, the successor of Boniface, the cardinals, divided into two factions, — the champions of Boniface and the partisans of France, — were unable to agree upon a candidate for almost a year. Finally their choice fell upon an outsider, Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bordeaux. The story that he had previously had an interview with Philip the Fair and accepted his policy is now regarded as legendary; nevertheless, the placing of one of the most devoted French prelates upon the throne of Saint Peter was a signal triumph for French diplomacy. On hearing of his election, instead of hastening to Rome he summoned the cardinals to Lyon, where, he declared, he should be free from the Italian factions; and there (November 14, 1305) he was crowned Pope Clement V. The so-called Babylonian Captivity (1305–1378) had begun. For several years Clement made his abode alternately in Lyon and Bordeaux, and then, in 1309, he removed the curia to Avignon, to await a favorable opportunity to cross the mountains. But this favorable opportunity did not come. Besides, ten new cardinals were appointed, of whom nine were French, or rather Gascons, members or friends of the family of Got. With the Italian element thus reduced to a minority in the College of Cardinals, the French papacy and the Avignon residence were assured.

The policy that Clement V now adopted showed his subservience to France. Impressionable, irresolute, and continually suffering from a fatal malady, he was unable to resist a Francophile policy. He restored the Colonnas to their former rank and dignities; he ordered expunged from the registers of the church the sentences that Boniface had directed against the king and his agents; and he declared “good and just” the zeal of Philip against Boniface. What Philip had done, he affirmed, he had done as a champion of the faith and for the good of the church. The humiliation and subjection of the papacy at the hands of the French

king seemed complete; yet in still another matter Clement V was to reveal how totally subservient he was to Philip. This was the affair of the Templars.

The Templars. The Templars, from the time of their foundation at the close of the First Crusade, had amassed great wealth in every country and had become famous for their financial transactions. Their wealth and power aroused envy; and the secrecy that shrouded all their deliberations and transactions created the suspicion that the order was afflicted with corruption, vice, and even infidelity. The greed of the Templars had become proverbial. Rumor said that they speculated in grain and starved the people; that they were guilty of intemperance and infidelity; that they denied Jesus and indulged in pagan or Mohammedan practices.

The early relations of Philip the Fair with the order had been cordial. They had advanced him large sums of money; they had been entrusted with the collection of the royal revenues throughout France; and they had sided with the king in his struggle with Boniface VIII. On this account it is difficult to perceive any motive on the part of the French king save cupidity. He was in desperate financial straits. He had adulterated the currency until he had become notorious as a counterfeiter, and he had taxed his subjects until they were on the verge of revolt. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that the idea of laying hands on the property of the Temple should have suggested itself to the mind of Philip or of his advisers. This was the more likely since the order was no longer fulfilling the original purpose of its foundation. Popular suspicion against the order provided him with a weapon.

As early as the coronation of Clement at Lyon, Philip had urged the matter upon the Pope, and Nogaret was busy, by means of delation and espionage, preparing a formidable array of accusations against the Templars. Since Clement

was incredulous and unwilling to take action, Philip took matters into his own hands and, under injunctions from the inquisitor-general, ordered the arrest of all members of the order in France and the seizure of their property. Official propaganda sought to foment popular sentiment against them by retailing the enormities of which they were supposed to be guilty, and Dominican preachers denounced them to their audiences. The unfortunate victims were handed over to the Inquisition, which endeavored by every means of intimidation to wring confession from them. At Paris, out of one hundred and thirty-eight accused, only three — so efficacious were the methods employed — stoutly refused to admit some of the charges.² Under torture they confessed that the order was guilty of sacrilege, obscenity, unnatural lust, idolatry, and heresy. But not a shred of evidence that would be considered in a modern court of law substantiated the confessions that were wrung from the victims of the Inquisition under the most exquisite torture.

Clement V, still reluctant to believe the charges against the Templars or to co-operate in their destruction, was finally coerced by Philip, and their fate was sealed. In every land proceedings were begun against them. But it is instructive that in England, where the laws did not recognize the use of torture, little incriminating evidence could be elicited. Moreover, it is highly significant that it was in France, where torture was most freely employed, that the greatest number of confessions was obtained. Finally a council was called at Vienne (1311) to decide on the final disposition of the order. The Pope did not dare give the members a hearing, and the council refused to condemn them unheard until Philip appeared at Vienne with an army. Then the council simply decreed the suppression of the order. Their property was to be transferred to the Knights Hospitalers, although much of it was retained by Philip. The Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, and many of its members perished at the stake.

John XXII (1316-1334). After a dispute of over two years following the death of Clement V, the cardinals finally selected Jacques Duèse, bishop of Avignon, a feeble old man of seventy-two, who assumed the title of John XXII. But the new Pope deceived his supporters, who looked for his speedy demise, by living eighteen years and manifesting surprising energy. During this time he sought to reorganize the papacy and to restore its prestige in the eyes of Christendom. History has scarcely been just to him in representing him as a grasping prelate intent only on amassing wealth. The riches that he left in his treasury have been greatly exaggerated—750,000 florins, instead of the 25,000,000 florins formerly estimated. He was a man of simple manners and tastes, who banished luxury from his court without incurring the reproach of meanness. Besides, he sincerely sought to reform some of the abuses he found in the church (notably *pluralities*) and to increase the efficiency of episcopal administration by reducing the size of the bishoprics. For two reasons his pontificate is especially noteworthy.

First, he condemned the Spiritual Franciscans, who, claiming to follow the rule of Saint Francis, criticized the wealth of the church and asserted that Christ had enjoined poverty. To hold the opinion that Christ and his disciples possessed no property John XXII now declared heretical. Secondly, to a large degree he was responsible for the reorganization of the papal financial system.

Like the secular monarchs, the Popes were finding it increasingly difficult to finance their court. The decline in the purchasing power of money, the increased cost of living due to the Hundred Years' War, the chronic rebellion within the States of the Church, which made it difficult to collect the papal revenues, and the disinclination of vassal states to pay tribute to French Popes obliged the Avignon Popes to seek new sources of revenue.

One of these new sources of papal revenue was the *annates*, consisting of a part (usually half) of the first year's

revenue of a benefice after the appointment of a new incumbent. In the earlier centuries Popes had occasionally granted annates to ecclesiastics or princes for a specific purpose; but in the fourteenth century they began to appropriate them for themselves. Pope Clement V, obliged to assume heavy debts incurred by his elaborate coronation ceremonies, and confronted with a depleted treasury, in 1306 reserved to himself for three years the annates from all benefices falling vacant in the British Isles. What Clement introduced as a temporary expedient, John XXII and his successors developed into a permanent source of revenue. So many benefices were exempted that it would be an exaggeration to say that every important benefice paid annates; yet by their system of "reservations" the Popes of the fourteenth century extended the system and made it very remunerative.

Then there was the *spolia*, or right of spoils. Originally the right to seize the movable property of a deceased bishop was enjoyed by relatives or neighbors, but in the fourteenth century the papacy began to reserve this right to itself. John XXII and his successors made the practice universal, so that it became one of the most considerable sources of revenue. Costly ornaments, precious jewels, or rare books frequently came into papal possession in this way.

One of the most important sources of papal revenue was the tithe. Consisting of a tax of 10 per cent on the net revenue of ecclesiastics, it was at first levied for extraordinary purposes, such as a crusade, and was sometimes granted to a monarch to help him out of a financial difficulty. But by the close of the thirteenth century the papacy began to claim for itself what it had freely granted to others. During the fourteenth century this tax was universally levied. Only the cardinals and the Knights of Saint John were formally exempted from it.

Other more or less regular sources of papal income were revenues derived during vacancies from reserved benefices;

visitation fees; Peter's pence, or hearthpenny (levied chiefly in England, the Scandinavian countries, and Poland); proceeds from indulgences; and fees for dispensations and for the settlement of lawsuits brought before the curia.³

All this necessitated a great extension of the financial machinery of the papacy, which became concentrated in the Apostolic Camera. At the head of this institution was the *Camerarius*, assisted by a treasurer, clerks, and collectors. Europe was divided into collectorates, over each of which was placed a collector, appointed by the *Camerarius*. It was their duty to collect the papal taxes from the various sources and send them to Rome. The Camera virtually received its final form under John XXII when a uniform system of book-keeping was introduced, the duties of the cameral officials were more sharply defined, and the activities of the collectors were more carefully supervised.

Besides the regular papal officials, bankers — or cameral merchants, as they were called — played an important role in papal finance. The great Florentine banking firms had their representatives in Avignon and controlled a large part of the papal business. These bankers served several purposes. They changed the money, kept it on deposit, transmitted it from the collectors in various parts of Europe, or made advances. This last function was an important one; for when a bishop, priest, or abbot could not pay his taxes he borrowed from a banker whose representative often accompanied a collector and offered to lend money, at an exorbitant rate of interest, to those who needed it. Like the collector, the banker could invoke excommunication on those who refused to pay their debts; for the papacy protected those who did it such good service.

Avignon, because of its situation on the Rhône, was an important commercial center; but its importance was greatly enhanced after it became the seat of the papacy. Merchants, bankers, artisans, adventurers, professional robbers, usurers, and even prostitutes flocked to Avignon to

batten on the veritable army of officials and retainers that constituted the entourage of the Pope.

It need not surprise us, therefore, that the outside world came to regard the Avignon papacy as overwhelmed by worldly affairs. "I have frequently entered into the office of my lord Pope," complains Álvarez Pelayo, the confessor of John XXII, "where I have seen bankers, tables loaded with gold, ecclesiastics occupied in counting piles of crowns! May Christ, who was poor, deign to cast out now and forever this business from His church."⁴ The Good Parliament of 1376 branded the papal seat as "the sinful city of Avenon," where "a caitiff who knows nothing and is worth nothing shall be promoted to churches and prebends of the value of a thousand marks."⁵ Petrarch called Avignon "the Babylon of the West," "filled with every kind of confusion, the horror of darkness overspreading it," and containing "everything fearful which had ever existed or been imagined by a disordered mind."⁶ And Boccaccio's tale of the Jew's conversion to Christianity when he saw the papal court at Avignon has become a classic.* Such an institution must have divine support, he argued; otherwise, with such corruption as he beheld there, it could not continue to exist.

Unpopularity of the Papal Financial System. Throughout Europe protests were heard against the oppressive exactions of the papacy. These protests, it is true, were nothing new, but they became more pronounced in the fourteenth century. In some respects they were the reaction of nascent nationalism against the increasing tendency toward greater centralization in the church. Particularly acute was the antipapal sentiment in England. In 1307 the Parliament of Carlisle protested "against annates and other papal exactions"; and Testa, the papal collector in England, was

* First day, second story. Boccaccio says that the Jew went to the "court of Rome," but of course the court of Rome was at Avignon throughout the life of Boccaccio (1313-1375).

brought before them, his activities declared "subversive of English law and custom," and the money that he had collected ordered to be kept within the realm.⁷ English opposition to papal taxation became the more keen after the beginning of the Hundred Years' War, when it was suspected (not without some justification) that the money was passing from the papal coffers into those of the enemy. In 1346 the king confiscated all the benefices possessed by foreigners. The following year Parliament uttered bitter complaints against the papacy, and in 1351 passed the Statute of Provisors, forbidding papal appointments or reservations. This was followed in 1353 by the Statute of Praemunire, which prohibited English ecclesiastics from appealing to the tribunals of Avignon any cases cognizable in the king's courts. But the king and the court obtained too many favors from the papacy to permit this legislation to be thoroughly enforced. The climax came when, in 1366, Parliament ceased payment of the tribute promised by King John. The English church tended to become national.

Literary Attacks on the Papacy. The fourteenth century witnessed also the appearance of a number of treatises attacking the position and claims of the papacy. The first were those of Pierre Dubois, a hot partisan of Philip the Fair in his contest with Boniface VIII. In these writings Dubois attacked the temporal power of the Pope, the renunciation of which, he declared, was essential to the peace of Europe. "If he [the Pope] should surrender his temporal domain, he would be all the freer to devote himself to the proper functions of his office, and a main cause of strife would be removed."⁸ The Englishman William of Occam likewise, in a series of dialogues and tractates, poured forth a flood of erudition against papal claims, especially as they were represented by John XXII. He assailed the temporal power of the Pope and his claim to supremacy. Christ made men free, he declared, — not slaves of the Pope. It is not even necessary

that there should be one primate of the church, for Christ is the head. There might just as well be several heads of the church as there are kings over different nations. The most thoroughgoing attack on the claims of the papacy, however, came from that "most original political treatise of the Middle Ages,"⁹ the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua. According to Marsilius, not only does the Pope not possess temporal authority or jurisdiction, but even spiritual authority rests not with him but with the general council of all Christendom.¹⁰ Thus Marsilius carried his doctrine of popular sovereignty over into the realm of the church.

Return to Rome, and the Great Schism. In the middle of the fourteenth century the Pope began seriously to consider returning to Rome. With the restoration of the States of the Church to papal obedience by Cardinal Albornoz,¹¹ this was seen to be imperative if papal authority was to be maintained. On the occasion of the election of Urban V (1362) an embassy was sent from Rome to urge upon the new Pope the necessity of returning to Italy. Some years later, in spite of the opposition of the French court and of the cardinals, who preferred the charms of their native land to the ruins of Italy, he actually did return, much to the rejoicing of the Italians. But the dilapidated condition in which he found both churches and palaces, the discomfort of Rome compared with the luxury of Avignon, and the menacing attitude of the Visconti of Milan, led to his return to the papal seat on the Rhône. Popular opinion attributed Urban's death, shortly afterwards, to the avenging hand of heaven. His successor Gregory XI, under the influence of St. Catherine of Siena, realizing that if he did not go back to Rome the Papal States would be lost to the church, also resolved on return. But he too was disillusioned by his stay in Italy, and probably he would likewise have moved back to Avignon had not death overtaken him.

Owing to pressure from the Romans, who desired a Roman

or an Italian Pope who would reside at Rome, and to a split among the French cardinals, the conclave (1378) resulted in the election of a Neapolitan, Bartolommeo Prignano, archbishop of Bari, as Urban VI. The character of the new Pope was not such as to retain the support of those who had elevated him to the papal throne. Although he had a reputation for learning, piety, and zeal for reform, Urban VI was essentially a headstrong, passionate, and uncompromising ecclesiastic, with little knowledge of the world or of men, who sought to reform the manners and morals of the cardinals. The French cardinals were speedily disillusioned. The Pope, instead of gradually winning them over by wise measures, alienated them completely by his harshness. When the cardinals discovered that he had no intention of returning to Avignon, and that he intended to make the Italian element predominant in the college of cardinals, they withdrew. Asserting that the conduct of the Roman mob had prevented free deliberation, they declared the election of Urban VI null and void. Accordingly they proceeded to elect a rival, Robert of Geneva, a young prelate with powerful connections, who had shocked even the mercenaries of Italy by his heartless cruelty in butchering the inhabitants of Cesena. The following year, as Clement VII, he took up his residence at Avignon. Europe was now treated to the spectacle of two popes, each with his college of cardinals, launching anathemas at each other.

Effect of the Schism on Europe. The effect of this schism—which is known as the Great Schism—was to divide Europe into two camps, the one recognizing Urban VI as the legitimate pope, the other supporting Clement VII. France, glad to have a pope at Avignon once more, declared for Clement. England, at war with France, gave her adherence to Urban, while Scotland, hostile to England, sided with Clement. Urban won the support of the Empire by promising Charles IV to recognize his son Wenzel as his successor. Northern Italy, stirred by hatred of the “butcher

of Cesena," supported Urban; but Joanna of Naples championed Clement. This was sufficient reason for her enemy, Louis of Hungary and Poland, to adhere to Rome. Because of hostility to France, Flanders followed the lead of England. For a time the Spanish kingdoms remained neutral, but ultimately they joined the supporters of Clement.

But these nations were far from being unified in their support of one pope or the other. Even in France there was hesitation, and the University of Paris never gave a whole-hearted allegiance to Clement. In Germany principalities changed from one allegiance to the other as the spirit or their advantage moved them. The religious orders likewise were split on the question of allegiance. The Knights Hospitalers had two grand masters, one acknowledging each pope; and the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carthusians were similarly afflicted. The English Cistercians broke away from Cîteaux, whose abbot recognized Clement. Bishop and chapter were sometimes at variance over the question of which pope was legitimate; and in many instances there were two rival bishops, each contending that he was the legal bishop and attempting to oust his opponent as a "son of damnation."¹² A change of allegiance was a bludgeon that monasteries or rulers held over the head of their pope to coerce him into granting a coveted privilege or dispensation. The laity were naturally perplexed, uncertain which pope or his representatives possessed the keys of the kingdom of heaven. How were they to know whether the priest who ministered to them the sacraments possessed valid orders? Thus endless confusion and strife were caused in every country in Europe.

The national hostility created by Avignon and intensified by the Great Schism found expression in the career and thought of John Wycliffe and of his follower John Hus.

John Wycliffe (c. 1320-1384). John Wycliffe, whose early career is wrapped in great obscurity, was educated at Oxford, and at one time was master of Balliol. He held various bene-

fices, but seems to have been an absentee rector until at the close of his life he settled at Lutterworth, where he died in 1384. He first comes into the clear light in 1374, when he was a member of the mission to Bruges to treat with envoys of Gregory XI concerning the papal failure to observe the Statute of Provisors. The mission came to nought, but it brought Wycliffe to the attention of John of Gaunt and probably helped to make him more antipapal. He seems also to have supported Parliament in its refusal to continue the payment of tribute to the papacy.

Wycliffe unsparingly denounced the evils in the church and traced them to the wealth that it possessed; he maintained that the church should renounce all temporal authority; he asserted that the individual was dependent directly upon God, and thus needed no priestly hierarchy. The danger of these doctrines was speedily perceived by the ecclesiastical authorities, who brought him to trial in London for heresy. But, as Wycliffe was supported by the citizens of the capital, by many nobles at court, and especially by John of Gaunt and the London mob, the trial came to nought. On two occasions the London mob rescued him. "In this way," says the angry Walsingham, "that slippery John Wycliffe deluded his inquisitors, mocked the bishops, and escaped them by the favor and care of the Londoners, although all his propositions are clearly heretical and depraved."¹³

The beginning of the Schism in 1378 still further intensified the opposition of Wycliffe to the papacy, which he now wanted to overthrow altogether. "So far from the Pope being necessary for the church, the church without Popes and cardinals would enjoy a greater peace."¹⁴ In his later treatises he welcomed the Schism, as it proved to him that Christendom must reject the Pope and restore the church to its primitive poverty.

From his rejection of the papacy Wycliffe went much further and attacked the medieval church itself. Accepting the Augustinian doctrine that the church consisted of the elect,

or predestined, he rejected the necessity of priestly ministrations for salvation. Consequently pardons, indulgences, pilgrimages, the use of images, the veneration of the saints, fasting, and the like were absolutely useless; for salvation was dependent upon God's grace and not upon merit. The sacramental system he likewise attacked. He rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation and declared compulsory confession to be "the bondage of antichrist." Preaching, he said, "is of more value than the administration of any sacrament."¹⁵

The culmination of Wycliffe's attack on the medieval church was his appeal to the Bible as the supreme authority, which he set over bishops and Pope. "Neither the testimony of Augustine nor of Jerome," he declared, "nor any other saint should be accepted, except in so far as it was based upon Scripture." "Christ's law is best and enough, and other laws men should not take, but as branches of God's law."¹⁶

As the logical outcome of this teaching, Wycliffe insisted that the Bible should be in the hands of the laity. "The New Testament is full of authority," he declared, "and open to the understanding of simple men as to the points that be most needful to salvation." To the criticism that the Bible was too difficult a book for the laity, Wycliffe replied, "The Holy Ghost teaches us the meaning of Scripture as Christ opened its senses to His Apostles."

Because of this conviction Wycliffe was led to undertake the translation of the Bible from the Vulgate into the vernacular. The actual work of translation was performed not by Wycliffe alone but by a group of Oxford scholars collaborating with him, between 1380 and 1384.¹⁸

Wycliffe also inaugurated the Lollard movement. As early as 1377, like his predecessor Saint Francis, Wycliffe had sent out his "poor priests" to preach to the lower classes on the highway and the village green. Their purpose was to supply a deficiency in the parish priesthood of Wycliffe's

day — those “dumb dogs,” as he called them, who were unable to teach the people. Dressed in long garments of coarse red woolen cloth, a symbol of poverty and toil, they went barefoot, with staff in hand, like pilgrims. Wycliffe was opposed to their settling down in parishes lest they adopt the habits of the parish clergy. Their activity soon extended throughout England, but their triumphs were greatest in the towns and their environs. Soon alarmed by their teachings, the church sought to destroy them as heretics.

John Hus (c. 1369–1415). The chief influence of Wycliffe’s teaching outside England was in Bohemia. Oxford, from an early period in its history, seems to have had a close connection with Prague. This relationship was made more intimate by the marriage (1383) of Richard II with Anne of Bohemia. Scholarships were established for Czech students at Oxford, where they came under the influence of the teachings of Wycliffe, whose works they carried back with them to Prague. In this way a strong Wycliffite influence grew up at the University of Prague, where John Hus, a Czech student from southern Bohemia, came under its spell. Although Hus eventually became rector of the university, it was as a preacher that he attained his greatest fame. Prague had had a series of great preachers; but Hus outshone them all by his eloquence, by his proclamation of a Scriptural message that stirred his hearers to their depths, and by his championship of Czech nationalism. His sermons, it has been said, belonged to the “chief events of his age.”¹⁹

Beginning as the leader of the Czechs against German domination, both in the state and in the university, and as an exponent of reform among the clergy, Hus, under the influence of Wycliffe’s teachings, was impelled to attack the Pope. The occasion of this was an indulgence to raise money for a crusade against the king of Naples. Under Hus’s influence the indulgence met with great opposition. Three artisans cried out in a church, declaring that indulgences were

lies and saying, "John Hus has taught us better than that."²⁰ They were executed. When Hus was excommunicated and Prague laid under an interdict by the Pope, the king, who had supported him, asked him to withdraw. This he reluctantly did (1412), remaining in retirement until 1414, when he went to the Council of Constance.

In his teachings Hus was not an original thinker but a close follower of his English precursor, Wycliffe. Not only did he follow him in the movement of his ideas, but large sections of his works are copied almost verbally from Wycliffe's writings. Hus's heresy was that of Wycliffe.

Council of Pisa (1409). At the close of the fourteenth century and early in the fifteenth there was a widespread demand throughout Europe for the healing of the Schism and for the reform of the church, both of which were held responsible for the rise of heresy. Moralists denounced the abuses in the church and clamored for reform; but it was recognized that the healing of the Schism was a preliminary step toward that end. Neither pope would abdicate, and neither college of cardinals would forgo its right to elect. Several good opportunities for bringing the Schism to an end were therefore allowed to pass. The University of Paris made an appeal for suggestions regarding the best method of healing the Schism. ✕ It placed a large chest in the cloister of the Mathurins in Paris and requested all those who had a remedy to drop a memorandum of it into the chest. Ten thousand answers, it is said, were received. These, on analysis, reduced themselves to three principal methods: (1) the simultaneous abdication of both popes; (2) arbitration between the two popes; (3) the calling of a council of the universal church.²¹ As it soon became apparent that neither of the first two methods was feasible, opinion more and more inclined toward the expedient of a council.

First suggested as early as 1380 by Conrad of Gelnhausen, this method of settlement was strongly advocated by Pierre

d'Ailly and Jean Gerson; but it was not until 1408 that the two groups of cardinals could be induced to combine in issuing a manifesto calling a general council. The following year the council met in the famous cathedral at Pisa and was attended by large numbers of ecclesiastics and laity from all parts of Europe. When the rival popes did not appear, they were declared contumacious. After formulating the theory that, under the circumstances, the council was superior to the pope, the members of the assembly proceeded to depose both popes, branding them as schismatics and heretics who might be excommunicated and deprived of their rights. They then elected a new pope, Alexander V. The question of reform, urgently demanded by ecclesiastics from every country, was postponed to a future council.

Unfortunately, neither of the deposed popes recognized the authority of the council or accepted his deposition. There were now three popes instead of two, each with a sufficiently large following to maintain him. Accordingly, when Alexander V died the next year, the champions of Pisa elected the notorious Cardinal Baldassare Cossa, who took the title of John XXIII.

Council of Constance (1414-1418). Under pressure from the emperor Sigismund, John XXIII was prevailed upon to summon a new council to meet at Constance in 1414, though he did so with many misgivings. "I am aware that the council is not in my favor," he declared; "but how can I contend against my fate?"²² "This is how foxes are caught!" he is said to have exclaimed as he came in sight of Lake Constance. It was a motley throng of princes, ecclesiastics, doctors in law or theology, and scribes, followed by the off-scourings of Europe eager to batten on the distinguished assemblage that, late in the year 1414, gathered at Constance. The program before the council was a threefold one: to heal the Schism, to reform the church, and to extirpate heresy. John XXIII soon realized that his worst fears were justified.

The council decided to vote by nation instead of by head; and, finding that he could not sway a majority in his favor, John fled from Constance disguised as a groom and commanded his cardinals to follow him. Amid the consternation that followed, the emperor Sigismund assumed the leadership and declared that he would protect the council. The theory of the council was definitely formulated: it represented the universal church, it possessed the power of the keys to bind and to loose, it could suspend papal laws, it was able to depose a pope.²³ When John XXIII, cited to appear before the council, failed to respond, he was suspended from office, and a list of charges against him was drawn up. Broken in spirit, he at length submitted and was confined in the castle of Heidelberg, where he spent his days writing verses on the transitory nature of all earthly things.²⁴ After the deposition of Pope John, Gregory XII, the Roman pope, whose representatives were already in attendance at the council, submitted his abdication. Benedict XIII, the Avignon pope, refused to follow his example and was formally deposed by the council. Until his death in 1423 he obstinately refused to yield. Ensconced in a Spanish fortress at Peñíscola on the Mediterranean he continued to fulminate excommunications against the whole world.

The way was now prepared for the election of a new Pope; but opinion was divided as to whether that or reform of the church, the necessity for which was universally recognized, should come first. The Germans, led by Sigismund, and the English, were determined that before a new pope was elected a serious attempt at reform should be made. But the French, against whom Henry V of England was beginning a new aggression, opposed and, rallying the support of the Italians and the Spanish, clamored for the election of a new Pontiff, which they declared the first article of reformation. The cardinals, apprehensive lest their incomes or their powers be reduced, sided with them. After a long struggle, characterized by much political bickering, during which all became

wearied with the long stay at Constance, the cardinals won. Accordingly Cardinal Deacon Oddo Colonna, "the simplest and poorest of the cardinals,"²⁵ was elected as Martin V. The Schism had been healed, and Europe returned to the allegiance of one Pope.

Once the new Pope was elected, reform fared badly. Martin V himself had little interest in it, and the various groups in the council were at loggerheads. The attitude of the new Pope was soon shown by his confirmation of most of the practices of the curia that the council had designated as crying abuses. Except for the abolition of the *spolia* and one or two other financial abuses and the curtailment of papal rights over vacant benefices, the papacy was left virtually as it had been before. Each nation, it was decreed, should be left to settle its grievances with the Pope by a concordat. Nevertheless, the exponents of the conciliar theory triumphed in the passing of the degree *Frequens*, which called for the periodic holding of councils. The first was to be held within five years, the second seven years after the first, and councils were to be held every ten years thereafter.

One thing more the council achieved: the burning of John Hus. Under the protection of a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund and confident in the truth of his doctrines, Hus had gone to Constance, only to be thrown into a noisome dungeon. Sigismund could not have saved him even if he had so desired. Informed by ecclesiastics that promises given to a heretic were void, the emperor declared that he did not want to defend any heretic. "If a man persisted in his heresy, I would rather with my own hands light the faggots and burn him,"²⁶ he affirmed. Hus's fate was sealed. His execution was followed by that of his disciple Jerome of Prague. A few months later Bohemia was in open revolt.

The End of the Councils. In accordance with the decree of Constance a new council was called to meet at Pavia in 1423;

but excuse was soon found to transfer it to Siena, where it would be more completely under papal control. It was not largely attended; and its members, unable to agree on reform, separated without arriving at any decision. Its sole achievement was a renewed condemnation of the errors of Wycliffe and Hus.

Pope Martin V, hostile to councils, fearing the triumph of the conciliar theory of the church, and lukewarm toward reform, long hesitated to summon a new council. But finally, under pressure of public opinion, the victories of the Hussites, and the requests of the princes, he consented, with many misgivings, to call a new council to meet at Basel in July, 1431. Before this date, however, Martin had died and been succeeded by Eugenius IV. After some delay the council was opened and held its first session under the presidency of Cardinal Julian Cesarini, who declared its purpose to be the reform of the church, the extirpation of heresy (the Hussites were invited to attend), and the healing of the schism with the Greek Church. In the meantime the new Pope, unwilling to cross the Alps, fearful lest a council on German soil might get out of control, and influenced by the demands of the Greeks who were delegated to negotiate with the Latins for a meeting place in Italy, suspended the council and transferred it to the city of Bologna.

But the Council of Basel refused to be suspended. Under threat of revolt against his authority, Eugenius was obliged to revoke his bull of suspension and recognize the council, which proceeded to treat with the Hussites and to pass decrees for the reform of the church. When it attacked papal authority, however, Eugenius again announced his intention of suspending it. This he did in 1437, transferring its sessions to Ferrara. The papal action split the council: some yielded to Eugenius; others defied him. For twelve years the intransigents continued to hold their sessions at Basel and even elected an antipope, Felix V. But, gradually deserted by its members and rent by dissensions, the Council of Basel

declined in influence and came to an end in 1449, even the antipope abdicating.

In the meantime the Council of Ferrara — opened in 1438, and, on account of the plague, transferred the following year to Florence — carried on negotiations with the Greeks for the healing of the schism between the East and the West. The Greeks, hoping to gain assistance against the Turks, accepted the *filioque** clause in the creed, recognized appeals to Rome, and, saving the rights and privileges of Oriental patriarchs, the primacy of the Pope. On the other hand, the Greeks were to be allowed to retain their ritual and married clergy. But the union thus agreed upon on paper was never carried out. The Greeks refused to sanction the action of their plenipotentiaries, and the agreement remained a dead letter. After the Greeks had departed, the council continued to sit and annulled the antipapal decrees of Basel. How and when it came to an end is unknown.

In the struggle with the councils the Popes had come off victorious. No reforms were accomplished, the idea of the council was discredited in the eyes of Europe, and in 1459, by the bull *Execrabilis*, Pius II prohibited and condemned appeals to the general council as heretical. In the absence of a universal policy, the various countries were obliged to fall back on individual negotiations with the papacy. Particularly significant was the Concordat of Vienna (1448), which the emperor Frederick III negotiated with the curia. By it the emperor virtually sold the rights of the German church to the papacy, for it confirmed with little modification the power of the curia to exploit the church. The failure to obtain reform led the church in Germany to sink into a servitude that prepared the way for the revolt of the sixteenth century. Menacing but prophetic words were uttered at Frankfurt as early as 1457:

* The *filioque* clause declared that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father "and from the Son." It had been one of the original causes of the schism.

This nation, formerly free and powerful, is now impoverished and reduced to a state of servitude. But the nobles of the empire have resolved to shake off the yoke and to recover their former independence. If they persist in this determination, the blow struck at the court of Rome will not be a feeble one.²⁷

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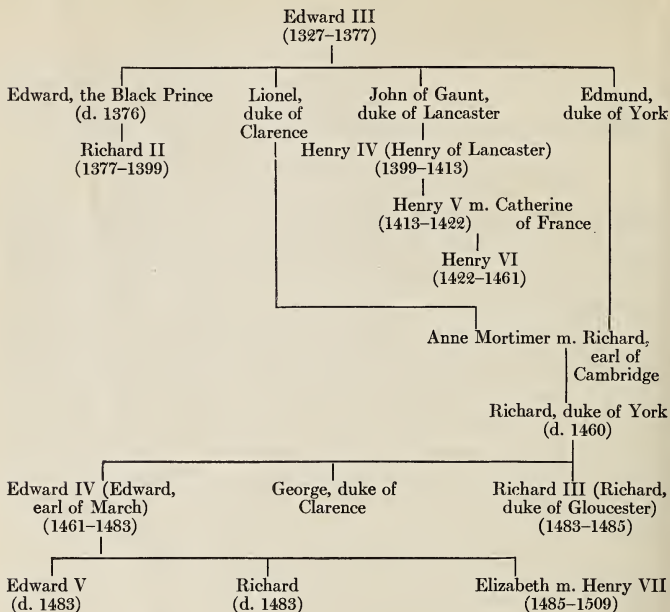
CHAPTER XXX

The Hundred Years' War (Second Phase)

HENRY IV, placed upon the throne by one of those revolutions that have not been uncommon in English history,* owed his title to consent of Parliament rather than to hereditary right.† A wide measure of parliamentary control of the government was thus assured, and the king was made definitely subject to the law. Besides, Henry was obliged to placate various forces in English political life. He courted the support of the church by persecuting the Lollards (*De Haeretico Comburendo* was passed in 1401), and he pleased the patriots by renouncing the Francophile policy of Richard II. The French court, on its part, was not disposed to be friendly to a monarch who had risen to power through the deposition and murder of the French king's son-in-law. The duke of Orleans immediately sent a personal defiance to the new king, raids were organized against the English coast, and disaffection was again fomented among the English subjects in Gascony. But Henry IV was too busily engaged in quelling insurrections at home and in consolidating his position, at first none too secure, to undertake a foreign war. Worn out by his task, he died in 1413, leaving a firmly established throne to his son Henry V. Although only twenty-five, Henry V was a trained warrior, fired with ambition to win renown by restoring the military grandeur of the England of his great-grandfather Edward III through the reconquest of the Plantagenet empire on the Continent. Conditions in

* For instance, the deposition of Edward II (1327), Henry VI (1461), and Edward V (1483); the execution of Charles I (1649); and the dethronement of James II (1688).

† Compare genealogical table, p. 650.



France, as well as the strong position of the Lancastrians in England, favored such an enterprise.

Armagnacs and Burgundians. During the minority and early reign of Charles VI there were not only numerous insurrections against the oppressive fiscal policy of the government but also a growing hostility between two rival factions of the nobility, the Orleanists (later known as Armagnacs) and the Burgundians. On attaining his majority, Charles was under the influence of his younger brother, the handsome and frivolous duke of Orleans. Opposed to him was Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, the king's uncle, who had added the county of Flanders to his Burgundian inheritance and whose extensive territories

were in sharp contrast with the meager domain of Louis of Orleans. Underlying the rivalry of these two houses was a struggle between the aristocratic and patrician elements, represented by the Orleanists, and the democratic and popular elements, represented by the Burgundians. The feud was intensified by the incapacity of the king, who in 1392 was suddenly seized with insanity. Although he recovered, his fits of lunacy recurred at intervals. When he was in his right mind, he relied upon the duke of Orleans; but during his attacks, which tended to become more frequent and to last longer, the duke of Burgundy usually had the upper hand. The death of Philip the Bold of Burgundy (1404) and the advent of his son John the Fearless, an unscrupulous and overambitious youth, aggravated the conflict. In the royal council there were frequently bitter quarrels between the two cousins, the taking up of arms being followed by theatrical but temporary reconciliations. Finally, in 1407, the duke of Orleans was assassinated, and John the Fearless acknowledged that "under the inspiration of the devil" he had committed the deed. Great was the indignation at court, but not among the people, with whom Louis was unpopular. Obligated to flee for a time, John the Fearless soon returned to Paris, where he put himself at the head of a popular movement that demanded reforms.

On the other hand, the Orleanist cause was championed by one of the greatest lords of Aquitaine, Bernard d'Armagnac, the leader of a confederation against England in the south, whose daughter had married Charles of Orleans, the son of the murdered duke. Supported by formidable bands of Gascons, the Orleanist party henceforth became known as the *Armagnacs*. The civil war that ensued provided a favorable situation for the intervention of Henry V.

Renewal of the War: Agincourt. Shortly after his accession Henry V renewed the English pretensions: he arrogantly summoned Charles VI to surrender to him the French

crown and entered into an alliance with John the Fearless. Even if the claims of Edward III had been justified, those of Henry V were not, for he was not the nearest heir. His claims and the negotiations that followed were intended merely as a pretext for a rupture of the peace. Having obtained the necessary subsidies from Parliament, Henry began his preparations for an invasion of France, and in August, 1415, landed an army near Harfleur, at the mouth of the Seine. After a siege of over a month Henry captured Harfleur, which he intended to make "a new Calais." Then, as the season was advanced, he determined, for no particular reason, to imitate the strategy of Edward III in 1346 and retreat along the coast to Calais. The French attempted to block his passage across the Somme, but the English discovered an unguarded ford and succeeded in crossing almost unmolested. Meeting a vastly superior army near Agincourt, Henry inflicted upon it a severe defeat. The French repeated the tactics of Crécy and Poitiers, opposing a heavily armed feudal army to the skilled archers of the English. Henry, however, did not pursue his advantage. He continued his march to Calais, whence, in the middle of November, he re-embarked for England, where he was received with great enthusiasm.

Conquest of Normandy. The following year Henry spent in making preparations for the conquest of Normandy. Parliament readily granted money,—for the victory of Agincourt had silenced criticism,—a new army was raised, and Continental alliances were sought. The emperor Sigismund, who visited England and France to make peace between the two countries in the interests of the Council of Constance, was induced, largely by the magnificence of his entertainment in England, to make a treaty of alliance against France. (Incidentally, this alliance may have had something to do with the French opposition to Sigismund's designs at the council.) He even spoke of invading France

with an army, but fortunately the affairs of the council prevented him. Then John the Fearless came to an understanding with Henry, whom he recognized as King of France.

Finally, in August, 1417, his preparations completed, Henry crossed to Normandy to begin the systematic conquest of the country. Landing on the left bank of the Seine he inaugurated a campaign of sieges which, within a few months, reduced Caen, Bayeux, Argentan, Alençon, and Falaise. In the spring of 1418 he crossed the Seine and began the subjugation of upper Normandy. Rouen, the capital, fell after a siege of six months, the inhabitants first having been reduced to the greatest extremity. By the close of the following year all Normandy, save the fortress of Mont-Saint-Michel, was in the possession of the English. The inhabitants who submitted were not disturbed; of those who resisted, a few were executed, the rest were banished and their property was confiscated. But the great majority quietly accepted the new régime. An English administration was organized, new money was coined bearing the device *Henricus rex Franciæ*, and the neighboring princes, notably the duke of Brittany, made their peace with the conqueror. Within two years the work of Philip Augustus in Normandy had been undone.

Concurrently with the English offensive, the Burgundians made war on the Armagnacs, who controlled the government, and laid siege to Paris. With the complicity of the bourgeoisie and the people, who hated the oppression of the Armagnacs, the gates were opened to the Burgundians, who inaugurated a terrible massacre of their opponents. The Dauphin, Charles, a youth of sixteen years, escaped, but Armagnac himself was slain. Master of the king as well as of Paris and the north of France, John the Fearless began to consider whether it would be more advantageous to ally himself openly with the English or with the Dauphin, now the leader of the Armagnacs. He was inclined to be suspicious of Henry, whose demands, now that he was in control of Nor-

mandy, were constantly growing. Accordingly, in 1419 he entered into negotiations with the Dauphin for an alliance against the English and at the same time continued to negotiate with Henry V. If he could gain control of the Dauphin and drive out the English, he would be master of France. Prince and duke agreed to combine forces — “to be good and loyal kinsmen to each other” and “to resist the damnable enterprises of our ancient enemies the English, for the honour of God, the love of peace, and the relief of the poor people of France.”¹ But the lack of good faith on the part of the duke John, whose negotiations with the English were well known, and the treachery of the followers of Charles, who had not forgotten the assassination of Duke Louis of Orleans, led to disaster. At a meeting between the prince and the duke on the bridge of Montereau, John the Fearless was murdered.

Treaty of Troyes (1420). This foul deed had fatal consequences, for France as well as for the Dauphin. The new duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, and his followers, in revenge threw themselves into the arms of the English. On May 21, 1420, Henry V and Charles VI signed the “disastrous” Treaty of Troyes. Henry obtained the fulfillment of his long-cherished desire, the hand of Catherine, the daughter of Charles; and their heirs were to inherit the French crown. The Dauphin was disinherited, because of his “horrible and enormous crimes,” and both the king and the queen renounced all further relations with him. Charles VI was to retain during his lifetime “the crown and royal dignity of France with all its revenues,” but Henry V, conjointly with the duke of Burgundy, controlled the government of the country, with the title of “heir of the king of France.”² At the same time Henry was to retain the territory he had conquered as a sort of appanage. The Treaty of Troyes assured the union of France and England under the rule of the Lancastrians and spelled the downfall

of the Valois as well as the end of French independence. In December, Henry V was solemnly received by the populace of Paris and recognized by the States-General. "Paris," said Chastellain, "the old seat of the French royal house," became "a new London."³

After a brief visit to England, Henry began the conquest of his future kingdom. The Treaty of Troyes had made the Dauphin the champion of the French party, and around him rallied all those forces that were opposed to the English. After the murder at Montereau he had fled south of the Loire, and his opponents contemptuously spoke of him as "King of Bourges." But most of France south of the Loire remained faithful to him, as well as numerous strongholds in the north. It was to break down this resistance that Henry V, in the spring of 1421, began a campaign. Meaux, a strongly fortified refuge of the Armagnacs, was reduced after a lengthy siege, as well as numerous other fortresses in the vicinity of Paris. But it was apparent that Henry's task was greater than he had anticipated. Besides, he was seized with a fatal illness, a form of dysentery doubtless brought on by the hardships of the campaign, and he died in August, 1422, at the age of thirty-five. A few weeks later Charles VI also died.

Regency of the Duke of Bedford. According to the treaty of Troyes, the heir of the French crown was now Henry VI, the six-months-old son of Henry V. The latter, before his death, had entrusted the regency to his brother John, duke of Bedford, who devoted himself to carrying out his brother's plans. A capable administrator and able general, he was, however, calculating, greedy, and cruel. At first he directed his energies toward extending English rule in the rich territory between the Seine and the Loire. By 1428 success had attended his efforts, and he inaugurated a campaign to conquer the south by laying siege to Orleans. Northern France was organized as an English dependency, although no attempt was made to substitute English for French institutions.

Order was maintained by English garrisons. Where the allegiance of the inhabitants was doubtful, an oath of fidelity was exacted from them, and they were compelled to purchase immunity. The country was largely ruined by the taxes and the forced contributions, by the devastation wrought by war, and by the rapine of the English, who regarded the possessions of the French as legitimate plunder.

The "King of Bourges." Meanwhile the Dauphin, regarded by the Armagnacs and their supporters as the legitimate ruler and hailed as Charles VII, passed his time in his favorite châteaux in the valley of the Loire. His cause was by no means desperate; but, obsessed by a sense of inferiority, he seems not to have believed in the possibility of success. Delicate in health, diffident, loving solitude, hating war, and feeble of will, he surrounded himself with favorites who were self-seeking, indifferent to the welfare of the country, and incapable of pursuing an energetic policy. To prolong a situation favorable to themselves, these favorites kept Charles in semi-captivity. Under pretext of watching over his health, they prevented him from making public appearances and encouraged his timidity, which forestalled his every good intention.

Joan of Arc. At this juncture, as Bedford was laying his plans for a campaign south of the Loire and inaugurating it by the siege of Orleans, and as Charles and his court seemed paralyzed and unable to send effective relief, aid came from an unexpected quarter.

In the village of Domremy, on the Meuse, in the eastern part of Champagne, lived a peasant maid, Joan of Arc, who was destined to play an important role in the delivery of France from the oppression of the English. Joan was totally illiterate, but had been reared in fervent piety and was familiar with the legends of the saints, especially with those of Saints Catherine, Margaret, and Michael. Her father was

a well-to-do farmer; and as a child she had tended the cattle and helped in the fields. Remote as Domremy was from the center of war, travelers brought tales of the terrible devastation wrought. Besides, Vaucouleurs, a fortress held by the Armagnac captain Robert de Baudricourt against the Burgundians, was not far from her native village. The villagers had even had a taste of the war themselves, for in 1425 they had had their cattle driven off by the Burgundians. Until the age of thirteen Joan seems to have lived a normal life, with nothing out of the ordinary happening to her. She keenly felt the sorrows of France, and prayed to her favorite saints to send relief. Soon she began to see visions and to hear voices, which she identified as those of Saints Catherine, Margaret, and Michael, and became convinced that she was summoned by God to restore the Dauphin to his throne.

Commanded by her voices, which had become imperious, Joan visited Robert de Baudricourt, requesting him to send her to the Dauphin. This, after some difficulty, she induced him to do, and, provided with an escort, she traveled to Chinon, where the Dauphin was residing. Charles and his favorites were even more skeptical than Baudricourt had been. Not until she had been examined by ecclesiastics for sorcery and found harmless was she admitted to his presence; for persons who claimed divine inspiration were suspected of the "black art." "King," said Joan to him, "be ever humble and gentle towards God and He will help you."⁴ After further examination, in which there was found in her "no evil, nothing but good, humility, virginity, devotion, honesty, and simplicity,"⁵ she was permitted to join an expedition for the relief of Orleans. Her enthusiasm and courage speedily won her the support of a number of French captains, among them the young duke of Alençon. So effectively did she impart her enthusiasm to the troops that they entered Orleans and forced the English to raise the siege (May 8, 1429).

The relief of Orleans had an extraordinary effect. The morale of the troops was raised, new hope was instilled into the people, and even the Dauphin began to have faith in his cause. Joan followed up her initial success by a campaign that led to the capture of one stronghold of the English after another, until the banks of the Loire were completely freed from their domination.

The Coronation at Reims. Taking advantage of these successes, Joan induced the king to march on Reims for his coronation. With an army of twelve thousand troops they set out, capturing Troyes on the way, and crossing territory still subject to the English. On July 16 they entered Reims, where Charles VII was anointed king with the holy oil of Clovis. Joan threw herself at his feet with transports of joy, exclaiming, "Noble King, now is the will of God fulfilled, that you should come to Reims to receive your due consecration, showing that you are the true King." ⁶ The moral effect of this event was very great. The monarchy recovered its prestige. The flag of the Armagnacs reappeared in the country of the Oise, and cities such as Laon and Compiègne offered themselves to Charles. In Normandy the agitation against the English increased. The fame of Joan spread into foreign countries, and her name struck a superstitious fear into the hearts of the English soldiers.

Capture of Joan. But inertia once more seized upon Charles VII and his advisers. Instead of grasping the advantage they had won, they hastened to return to Touraine and] Poitou. Joan, with her faithful supporter the duke of Alençon, began an attack on Paris; but when she was repulsed in an assault during which she was wounded, Charles VII forbade her to continue the siege. He signed with the duke of Burgundy a truce which prevented all further undertakings in Picardy, where Joan's success had met with such enthusiasm. On her own responsibility she undertook

to relieve Compiègne, which the Burgundians had beleaguered; but she was captured by the enemy during a sortie and sold to the English by the Burgundian captain, John of Luxemburg.

Trial and Execution of Joan. King and court met the capture of Joan with shameful indifference. They made no attempt to rescue or ransom her, and allowed the English to take her to Rouen, where she was subjected to a trial that was a horrible travesty of justice. Her case was entrusted to Peter Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, a fanatical partisan of the English, who had been driven from his see by the victories of Charles VII. Determined to secure her condemnation, in accordance with the demands of the English, and thus to destroy her influence and prestige, he selected prejudiced ecclesiastics (mostly French) to conduct the trial. All who were suspected of sympathy with her were excluded or intimidated. She was accused of sorcery, but neither investigation into her childhood at Domremy nor the most grilling cross-examination afforded substantiation of the accusation. In spite of prolonged detention and privations she showed remarkable presence of mind, an extraordinary astuteness in her answers, and a firm belief in the righteousness of her cause. Finally, confronted with death, she submitted to the church and recanted the errors of which she was accused; but she soon regained her courage, repudiated her recantation, and was handed over to the secular arm and burned at the stake as a relapsed heretic.

The execution of Joan apparently caused little concern at the French court, where Charles VII and his courtiers fell back into lethargy. The English to a certain degree recovered their morale, but the career of the maid had revealed the weakness of their cause. It had given the "King of Bourges" a prestige that not even the coronation of Henry VI at Paris (1431) could efface. The struggle against the English was continued by adventurers and even by bands of peasants.

In 1434 the Normans rose in revolt. The fidelity of the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, to the English also began to waver, and in 1435 he made peace with the Armagnacs by the Treaty of Arras. Charles VII was subjected to the humiliation of repudiating the murder of Montereau and promised to punish the perpetrators of the deed. The French were now united against a common enemy.

The English cause was still further weakened by the death (1435) of the duke of Bedford. While the English were embarrassed by the insurrection in Normandy, the French began the conquest of the Ile de France. In 1436 the duke of Richemont captured Paris, and all the fortresses of the valleys of the Oise, the Marne, and the Seine, within the Ile de France, one by one fell into French hands. The weakness of the government in England, internal dissensions, and a weariness with the war favored the French cause. Nevertheless the struggle dragged on for fifteen years longer. For this the apathy of Charles VII and, more especially, the complete exhaustion of the country were responsible. A vigorous offensive would have required a financial backing which the population, so often bled by friend and foe, was unable to afford. The ten years following the capture of Paris were perhaps the worst of the entire war for France. There was neither disciplined army nor capable leaders. Captain adventurers, many of whom were French, and badly paid mercenaries ravaged the country. Known as *écorcheurs* (flayers) because they did not leave even a shirt to their victims, they spared none of the provinces. Much of the devastation they wrought was wanton destruction.

They cut down the vines and the grain in the blade; they destroyed fruit trees and beehives; they threw grain and wine on the roads or into the rivers; they smashed plows and other implements; they demolished or burned houses and mills and transformed churches into stables. At their approach the peasants made haste to flee to the nearest fortress.⁷

Rejuvenation of the French Monarchy. In 1444 a truce was signed with England which left her Normandy and a large part of Guienne. During the respite which this afforded (it lasted until 1449) Charles VII, having shaken off his lethargy, made preparations for the final expulsion of the English. His evil councilors, who had so effectively paralyzed his action, were replaced by more capable advisers, chiefly bourgeois, who restored all the traditions of the government of Charles V. The army was reorganized and placed on a firm basis. One of the most significant features of this military reform was the organization of an artillery service, which was largely due to the genius of Jean Bureau, "a Parisian of plebeian family,"—so a contemporary described him,— "small in stature but great in intrepidity and thought. He furnished the fortresses held by the French with an artillery which rendered them impregnable."⁸ Bureau made use of foreign inventors, one of whom, a German Jew, Louis Girault, invented an artillery carriage. The bands of *écorcheurs* were dispersed or brought under royal discipline. The finances of the country likewise were reorganized. The *taille*, for the most part a land tax although based on the condition of the person rather than of the land, was regularly levied and fixed each year by the king. Tariffs were laid on commerce, and the *gabelle*, or salt tax, founded on the government monopoly of salt, was regularly imposed. In its main lines this fiscal reform laid the basis of the financial system of France that lasted until the Revolution.

Expulsion of the English. Charles VII himself was now anxious for the expulsion of the English, whose infractions of the truce afforded an excuse for its rupture. Accordingly, in 1449 it was decided to attack Normandy, where there was hostility toward the English and where the English administration was badly weakened. The new French army, punctually paid and strictly disciplined, was almost everywhere

welcomed as a deliverer. The new artillery service also gave the French a superiority. At the battle of Formigny (April 15, 1450), near Bayeux, an English army was almost wiped out, and within a year Normandy was completely conquered.

The conquest of Guienne was a more difficult matter. If the Gascons did not love the English, they preferred their distant authority to the exactions of the French officials. Edward III, Richard II, and the Lancastrians had bestowed many privileges, both political and commercial, upon them. Wine producers and wine merchants had received benefits, and possessed surer markets in England than in France. But no attempt had been made to Anglicize the country. There were few English there, and neither English manners nor language dominated. Nevertheless, the Gascons were loyal to the English kings, who respected their independence and assured them wealth through trade. Bordeaux, the center of the English administration, was determined to resist the French aggression.

A French expedition which had been sent into Guienne after the breaking of the truce in 1449 succeeded in capturing Bordeaux and Bayonne in 1451. But the severity of the French officials provoked a revolt among the Gascons, who welcomed the relieving army of the English. Guienne had to be reconquered. Bordeaux was captured again in 1454; and this date marks the end of English rule on the Continent. Calais was their sole surviving possession in France.

Effects of the Hundred Years' War. The political and social effects of the Hundred Years' War were profound. The population had been decimated by epidemics and by soldiers; whole tracts of land had been left uncultivated and reverted to waste and forest; villages had been destroyed, and highways were unsafe. Towns, while not suffering as keenly as the country, had frequently been besieged and sacked. They felt the general impoverishment of the times. Great fairs had declined owing to the loss of their markets. The church had

been particularly hard hit. Its buildings, rarely fortified, had been plundered and often destroyed. Its revenues, derived from rents and tithes, had been reduced to almost nothing. Many country parishes were without a priest, and the clergy had often become vagabonds; monasteries were frequently deserted, their buildings in ruins. The moral and spiritual tone of both regular and secular clergy had been greatly lowered. Superstition had increased, and magic and witchcraft made great headway among both the peasants and the upper classes.

Politically the war had resulted in strengthening the monarchy. The memory of Joan of Arc was rehabilitated, and her "royalism" became that of popular opinion. It was the king who in the end had effected the rescue of the country, and this redounded to his credit. Patriotism became attachment to the king. Then, with the exception of certain great families, the old feudal nobility were ruined. Their châteaux had often been destroyed, and they themselves imprisoned or killed in the wars. The peasants took advantage of the situation to emancipate themselves from serfdom and to become free proprietors. On the other hand, the war witnessed the rise, in the northeast of France, of the Burgundian state, which was a serious menace to the French monarchy.

Burgundy. With the extinction of the Capetian line of dukes in the middle of the fourteenth century, Burgundy, hostile to incorporation within the royal domain, was bestowed by King John upon his youngest and favorite son, Philip the Bold (1363). By his marriage some years later with Marguerite of Flanders, Philip acquired Flanders, Artois, and Franche-Comté (the county of Burgundy). Instead of being a mere appanage of the French crown, possessed by a loyal member of the House of Valois, Burgundy became a rival power, the evil effect of whose diplomacy we have already seen. Burgundian territories were still farther extended by the acquisition, under Philip the Good (1419—

1467), of Holland, Zeeland, Brabant, and Luxemburg. Philip's "goodness" was "purely conventional," for he was immoral, a harsh and exacting ruler, an ambitious and faithless diplomat; but he established a splendid court at Bruges, noted for its feasts and its pageants, and sought to revive the old chivalry by founding the Order of the Golden Fleece. The contrast between the prosperity of the Burgundian territories and the war-devastated lands of the royal domain was very marked. This heritage Philip passed on to his more famous but less capable son Charles the Rash (1467-1477), who was ambitious to fill the gaps between his scattered territories by seizing Alsace and Lorraine, and to extend his dominions by conquering the Swiss cantons and to obtain the title of king from the emperor. Had he succeeded, there would have been created a buffer state between France and Germany bearing a striking resemblance to the kingdom of Lothaire of 843. But he was completely defeated by the Swiss and lost his life while endeavoring to capture the town of Nancy (1477), leaving his dominions to his daughter Mary.

Louis XI (1461-1483). The menace of the power of Burgundy constituted the chief problem of Louis XI, the successor of Charles VII. In appearance unprepossessing, Louis XI was ambitious, cold and calculating, cruel, revengeful, and faithless. A lover of plots and tortuous diplomacy, he was superstitiously religious, wearing leaden images in his hat, constantly purchasing Masses, and bestowing great gifts upon churches. A clever and wary politician, who generally got the better of his enemies, Louis, however, scarcely deserves the excessive praise that historians have bestowed upon him. Although he added territory to France and strengthened the central administration, his government remained corrupt and oppressive.

In the early part of his reign Louis was confronted with a formidable insurrection of the great nobles,—the "League

of the Public Weal," they called themselves,—ostensibly to secure reforms but in reality to obtain pensions for themselves. The military campaign was indecisive, and Louis made concessions rather than continue the struggle. But, in his customary treacherous fashion, the king did not carry out his promises, and when opportunity presented itself wreaked vengeance on individuals involved in the insurrection. On the whole, he came out of the struggle very well, with the authority of the crown intact.

Louis's greatest struggle, however, was with Charles the Rash of Burgundy, who allied himself with Edward IV of England as well as with powerful nobles of France. But the designs of the confederates were defeated as much by their own difficulties and incompetence as by the strategy and diplomacy of Louis. The fruitless designs of Charles against Lorraine and Switzerland also served Louis well. On the death of the duke in 1477 Louis seized the duchy of Burgundy and Picardy, and for a time played with the notion of marrying the Dauphin to Mary of Burgundy, the heiress of Charles the Rash's dominions. But attempts to gain Flanders were unavailing. The Flemings would have none of the Dauphin; and in August, 1477, Mary was married to Maximilian of Hapsburg. For this failure to gain the Netherlands in 1477 France was to suffer bitterly in modern times. A recent French writer goes so far as to add, "Perhaps even the consequences of this fault still weigh upon us today." ⁹

In addition to reclaiming the duchy of Burgundy and Picardy, Louis obtained Anjou, Maine, and Provence. By the time of his death Brittany was the chief territory of feudal France that had not been annexed permanently to the royal domain, and that was added by the marriage of his successor Charles VIII with the heiress Anne of Brittany.

Louis XI hated democracy and strengthened the position of the bourgeoisie against the artisans, whose revolts against the royal imposts were pitilessly repressed. But the bourgeoisie were obliged to pay for such favor by giving freely of

their wealth to the crown. Louis, interested in the economic development of the country, sought to negotiate commercial treaties and established the silk industry at Lyon.

The Wars of the Roses. The conclusion of the Hundred Years' War was followed in England by civil war, known as the Wars of the Roses from the white and red roses, the badges of the houses of York and Lancaster, around which the struggle centered. Primarily it was a war between two factions of the nobility, and it seems to have affected the commercial life of the country comparatively little. During the Hundred Years' War the nobles had profited by the struggle to build up their territorial and political power, until the land of England was concentrated in the hands of a few great feudal families, such as the Percys, the Nevilles, the Beauforts, and the Mortimers. With veritable armies of liveried retainers they waged private war against each other, to the detriment of law and order.

Not only had the conduct of the war in France been a financial drain on the country, but great dissatisfaction was felt over the loss of the Continental possessions, especially of Guienne, the important commercial relations with which were now broken. In addition to the discredit thus brought upon the Lancastrians, Henry VI was weak, easily led by favorites, subject to fits of insanity, and unable either to hold the turbulent barons in check or to secure good government for the country. The malcontents rallied around Richard, duke of York, who, since Henry had no son, not only was heir presumptive but, owing to his descent through the female line from the third son of Edward III, had a better claim to the throne than the king. At first the duke of York was content with the regency, but later, after the birth of a son to Henry, he laid direct claim to the throne itself. On his death, in the battle of Wakefield, his claims were taken up by his eldest son, Edward, a youth of nineteen years, who, with the support of Richard Neville, earl of

Warwick, later known as "the King-Maker," became king in 1461 as Edward IV. Warwick, however, turned traitor after Edward married Elizabeth Woodville, a lady of poor family, whose numerous relatives the king favored with lands, titles, and positions. Warwick allied himself with the deposed queen and placed Henry VI back on the throne. But it was only for a few months. Edward soon recovered his crown, Warwick was killed in battle, and the pious and insane Henry VI was murdered in the tower. Edward's brother, the duke of Clarence, who had conspired with Warwick against him, likewise perished, drowned, it is said, in a butt of his favorite beverage, Malmsey wine. The close of Edward's reign was a period of comparative peace. All opposition was ruthlessly repressed. His geniality, his promotion of commercial interests, and his improved administration of justice made him popular. When he died, in 1483, the Yorkist dynasty seemed consolidated.

The heir to the throne, Edward V, was a boy of twelve years. The brother of the deceased king, Richard, duke of Gloucester, was made protector. But it was not long until, having secured possession of the young king and his brother, Richard declared them illegitimate and, supported by the more unscrupulous elements, had himself proclaimed king as Richard III. The murder of his two nephews in the Tower shocked even the callous conscience of the age, and many of the Yorkists rallied to the support of the Lancastrians, led by Henry Tudor, the nearest Lancastrian heir, against the tyranny. With the aid of French troops and money Henry won a decisive victory at Bosworth Field (1485), where Richard was slain. Promptly securing the sanction of Parliament, Henry Tudor ascended the throne as Henry VII. He greatly strengthened his position by marrying Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV. The extinction of a large number of noble families in the Wars of the Roses, as well as the discredit of parliamentary government, enabled Henry VII to build up the Tudor tyranny.

The overthrow of the Lancastrians was not without its constitutional significance. Their accession in 1399 began what has been termed the "Lancastrian Experiment." Since they owed the throne to Parliament, that body played an increasingly important role in the government. The king's advisory, or privy, council was nominated in Parliament—a practice that anticipated the modern cabinet system. Freedom of speech was recognized within Parliament, and in 1407 the Commons secured the exclusive right to initiate money grants. But parliamentary control failed to give England a strong government. Disorder was on the increase; individual life and property were insecure; justice was perverted. Parliament had weakened the monarchy without providing an adequate substitute for a strong monarch. The nation did not yet possess the qualities necessary for a high degree of self-government. "Constitutional progress," said Stubbs, "had outrun administrative order." The Yorkists, on the other hand, inaugurated a new regime. They claimed the throne by hereditary right, not by parliamentary title, and began a practice, later followed by the Tudors, of manipulating Parliament for their own ends. Parliaments were summoned less frequently, and the kings resorted to illegal means of raising money, such as benevolences and forced loans. The continuity of constitutional development was broken, not to be taken up again until the seventeenth century.

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CHAPTER XXXI

Germany in the Later Middle Ages

THE period between the fall of the Hohenstaufen (1254) and the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg (1273), usually known as the Interregnum, was characterized by certain changes within the Holy Roman Empire. One of the most important was the decline in the power of the emperor. To a large degree the strength of the medieval emperors had rested upon their financial power, which was measured by the extent of the fisc. In spite of many gifts under the earlier Hohenstaufen, the imperial fisc, at the close of the twelfth century, was still extensive; but during the contest between Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick both the rival claimants, with lavish hand, had bartered crown lands to gain followers. Then Frederick II, much more interested in Italy and Sicily than in Germany, had allowed the dissipation of the fisc. What fragments remained at his death were seized, during the Interregnum, by ecclesiastical and secular princes alike.

A second reason for the decline of the imperial office was the increasing power of the princes, each of whom sought to make himself independent of his feudal lord, the emperor. Frederick II, in order to purchase the support of both secular and ecclesiastical princes, granted them many regalian rights at the expense of the power of the crown.

A third change in the empire was the breaking up of the great duchies which had characterized the empire in the early Middle Ages. All that remained of the great duchy of Saxony was a small territory around Wittenberg; for the eastern part was divided up into the margravates of Brandenburg, Lusatia, and Meissen, and the western part into the

archbishoprics of Cologne and Bremen and a host of bishoprics. The great house of Guelf, powerful in the previous century, was now confined to the duchy of Brunswick. The duchies of Swabia and Franconia also came to an end with the fall of the Hohenstaufen, and both underwent the most complete disintegration. Besides a multitude of ecclesiastical principalities, the two important states of Baden and Württemberg appeared. In the southwest the kingdom of Arles, or Burgundy, founded in the tenth century, had split up into a number of quasi-independent provinces, chief of which were Franche-Comté, Savoy, Dauphiné, the Lyonnais, and Provence, on some of which France was casting covetous eyes. The duchy that had maintained its integrity best was Bavaria. It had passed into the hands of the Wittelsbachs, who henceforth were to play an important role in Germany. Yet even from it the dukes of Carinthia and Styria and, above all, the archbishop of Salzburg had seized extensive territories.

The most powerful prince within the empire was Ottokar, king of Bohemia, who, by marriage and diplomacy, had added to his inherited domains Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He thus assured to himself, for the time being, the predominance in southeastern Germany.

Another important aspect of the period in Germany was the existence of a multitude of free imperial cities. No other country had so many free cities or so vigorous a burgher population, which shows that political disintegration had by no means brought social or economic decline. These cities, grown wealthy through trade, had succeeded by one means or another in shaking off allegiance to prince or ecclesiastic and were immediately subject to the emperor. Along the Rhine were Basel, Speyer, Worms, Strassburg, Cologne; in the north, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck; and in the south, owing their importance to their situation on the overland route from Italy, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Ravensburg, Ulm, and Ratisbon. They were autonomous

states, making their own laws, administering justice, coining their own money, and making war or peace at pleasure. In the absence of a strong central government, they formed alliances or leagues for the protection of their commercial interests. One of the earliest of importance was the Rhine League (1254), the members of which pledged themselves to settle their differences by arbitration, to punish disturbances of the peace, and to aid each other in obtaining redress of their grievances, one of the most vexatious of which was the tolls on the Rhine. Another of these leagues of city-states was that of the Baltic cities, which had its origin in an agreement between Hamburg and Lübeck as early as 1230. Similar agreements were made in 1241 and 1259. That of 1241 declared: "If robbers or other depredators attack citizens of either city anywhere from the mouth of the Trave River to Hamburg, or anywhere on the Elbe River, the two cities shall bear the expenses equally in destroying and extirpating them."¹ This, as we have seen, was the origin of the famous Hanseatic League.

Rudolf of Hapsburg (1273-1291). The so-called Interregnum was characterized by strife between rival candidates for the imperial crown, of whom the two most important were Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III of England, and Alfonso X of Castile, a great-grandson of Frederick Barbarossa. The partisans of Alfonso, who never entered Germany, seized Frankfurt and elected their candidate, while Richard was crowned at Cologne. The latter presided at several diets and confirmed some of the privileges of the princes; but as soon as his resources were exhausted, he was abandoned by his followers. On his death, in 1272, the princes, fond of the measure of independence that they had won, were loath to elect a powerful figure who would lord it over them. They accordingly decided to choose a second-rate prince, and at the suggestion of Frederick Hohenzollern, the burgrave of Nuremberg, they selected his cousin

Rudolf, count of Hapsburg, who was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1273.

The ancestors of Rudolf had acquired important domains in the valleys of the Reuss and the Aar, in northern Switzerland. Toward the close of the eleventh century one of them, Werner I, erected, not far from the junction of the two rivers, a castle which he called *Habichtsburg* (or "Castle of the Hawk"); whence *Hapsburg*. The later Hapsburgs became notorious for their land greed, and by the thirteenth century had become one of the most important families of Swabia. Rudolf III, the emperor, inherited the aggressiveness of his predecessors. The Interregnum had given him an opportunity to fish in the troubled waters of Swabian politics and, like other lords, to reduce his weaker neighbors to subjection. By such means a large part of northern Switzerland had been brought under his rule. "Sit firmly on thy throne, O Lord," the bishop of Basel is said once to have prayed, "or the count of Hapsburg will shove thee off."

In order to strengthen his position, Rudolf pursued a conciliatory policy toward the Pope. He confirmed the Pope in his possession of the Papal States, renouncing all former imperial claims; he surrendered all imperial rights in Naples and Sicily, recognizing Charles of Anjou as the legitimate sovereign of those states; he swore eternal enmity to the heirs of Frederick II, and bound the princes of Germany to follow him in his pledge. In return the Pope induced Alfonso to renounce his claims and invited Rudolf to visit Rome and receive the imperial crown. Though Rudolf accepted the invitation, he never made the journey to Rome.

Papal support enabled Rudolf to turn his attention to his chief opponent, Ottokar of Bohemia. Disappointed in his failure to obtain the German crown, to which he had aspired, Ottokar refused to recognize the new emperor and sought to make trouble for him. He endeavored to establish a confederacy against Rudolf by insinuating that the

emperor would compel the princes to renounce the imperial territory that they had seized under Frederick II and during the Interregnum. When summoned to do homage for the fiefs which he held of the empire, Ottokar haughtily refused. The Diet of Nuremberg in 1274 declared these fiefs forfeit; war was made on Ottokar; and with his decisive defeat and his death at Marchfeld (1278), the fiefs were brought under Rudolf's rule. Thus Austria, Styria, and Carniola passed into the hands of the Hapsburgs, in whose possession they remained until 1918. Carinthia was enfeoffed to the count of Tyrol, but it returned to the Hapsburgs in 1335.

Another aim of Rudolf was to recover the crown lands that had been seized during the reign of Frederick II and the Interregnum. The Diet of Nuremberg in 1274 decreed that he should lay claim to such property and recover it; "that if anyone should resist the king in his attempt to recover his own, he should use his royal power to overcome this illegal resistance to authority and to preserve the rights of the empire."² In a few instances he seems to have been successful, but in the main the recovery of the lost imperial domains was a task beyond his strength. The lack of revenue constituted one of the fundamental weaknesses of the imperial office in the later Middle Ages.

Rudolf's efforts were further directed toward establishing peace. Private warfare was unchecked, and robbers and bandits were numerous. The nobles had erected fortified tollhouses at important points along the roads and rivers, whence they levied heavy toll upon commerce, an economic grievance keenly felt by the cities. Counterfeit money was in circulation, and counterfeiters were often protected by powerful lords. Against all these evils Rudolf struggled throughout his reign. Immediately after his coronation he proclaimed a *Landfrieden* and urged all who had disputes to bring them before the emperor. In this he was indifferently successful, for it was two centuries before a law was passed making it a crime to wreak private vengeance for the inflic-

tion of wrong. Unauthorized tollhouses were destroyed, and war was made against robber barons and knights.

One of Rudolf's cherished designs had been to secure the election of his son Albert, whom he had appointed ruler of Austria, and to make the imperial crown hereditary in the Hapsburg family. But Albert had a reputation for strength and sternness, — "hard as a diamond," one chronicler called him, — and the electors did not want too strong a prince over them. For this reason, on the death of Rudolf they passed him over and selected Adolf of Nassau, whose poverty made him safe. Adolf's rule, however, was brief. When he sought to establish a principality for himself, to which he was driven by the lack of royal revenues, the electors turned against him and substituted Albert of Hapsburg, who defeated and killed his rival in battle. But in Albert, says a chronicler of the time, the electors were even more deceived. His policy, especially the favor that he showed the Rhine cities in abolishing tolls, caused dissatisfaction among the nobility. On his way to suppress a revolt of the Swiss he was assassinated by his own nephew, who claimed that he had deprived him of part of his inheritance.

Henry VII (1308-1313). Once more the Hapsburgs failed to make the imperial crown hereditary in their house; for the electors passed over Albert's heir and chose Henry of Luxemburg, the lord of a small principality in the Ardennes, whose possessions were too small to arouse the fear of the princes. The new monarch (Henry VII) was known for his bravery, his pleasing appearance, and his chivalrous character. Regarding himself as the ruler of the world, and anxious to raise the prestige of the imperial crown, he renewed the policy of the Hohenstaufen by intervening in the affairs of Italy. The Ghibellines hailed his advent with delight and sent envoys to urge him to visit Italy. Dante, wandering in exile, gave expression to the Ghibelline ideal when he summoned Henry:

Come and behold thy Rome, who calls on thee,
Desolate widow, day and night with moans,
"My Caesar, why dost thou desert my side?"³

Accordingly, in 1310 Henry crossed the Alps and appeared in Italy. Welcomed by the Ghibellines, he was opposed by the Guelfs, and instead of reconciling rival factions he was obliged to participate in a "miserable war of partisans." Although he received the imperial crown at Rome from the hands of three cardinals, the Avignon Pope, Clement V, soon became fearful of his designs, especially against Naples, a fief of the church. Henry's career was cut short by his sudden death (1313), brought about — rumor said — by poison. The opposition of the Pope to his Italian policy gave a show of reason to the Guelf assertion that his death was a divine judgment.

The most important aspect of Henry's German policy was the establishment of his family in Bohemia. Ottokar had been succeeded by his son Wenzel II, who had raised the country to a flourishing condition. With the death of Wenzel III (1306) the male line of Ottokar became extinct, and Henry of Carinthia, a brother-in-law of Wenzel III, ruled for a time. But as he favored the German element in Bohemia to the disadvantage of the Czechs, his enemies approached Henry VII and suggested that his son John should marry Elizabeth, the sister of the late King Wenzel III, and receive the crown. The House of Luxemburg ruled in Bohemia until 1437.

Louis of Bavaria (1314-1347). The union of Bohemia and the House of Luxemburg now made this family too powerful to suit the electors, as the possession of the Austrian dominions had made the Hapsburgs unacceptable on Rudolf's death. The majority of the electors instead chose Louis of Bavaria as the candidate most suitable for the imperial office, while a minority championed Frederick the Fair of Austria. The former was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Mainz, the latter at Bonn by the archbishop of Cologne; and

an imperial schism was started. The Hapsburgs possessed the greater resources, but Louis had the most numerous followers. The struggle between the two rivals went on for years, until, at the battle of Mühldorf (1322), Louis of Bavaria defeated Frederick of Hapsburg and took him prisoner. Victorious over his opponent in Germany, Louis turned his attention to Italy, to vindicate imperial rights there and to lend support to the Ghibellines. This embroiled him with the Pope.

At first John XXII had refrained from intervening in the struggle in Germany, contenting himself with inviting the claimants to settle their dispute pacifically. But later he declared the throne vacant. After Mühldorf, conflict was inevitable; for, in Italy as in Germany, Louis was supporting the worst enemies of the papacy. Inasmuch as Louis had assumed the title of king without papal sanction, John XXII called upon him to lay down his royal power within three months. When Louis refused to obey, the Pope excommunicated him and placed Germany under an interdict. In retaliation Louis accused the Pope of heresy (because of his condemnation of the Spiritual Franciscans), issued an appeal to a general council, and denied that the Pope had any right to intervene in the election of a German king. In this struggle Louis received the support not only of the German cities and of Italian Ghibellines but of the antipapal publicist Marsilius of Padua, whose *Defensor Pacis*, with its exposition of the superiority of the civil over the ecclesiastical power, strengthened his cause. At Rome he had himself proclaimed emperor, basing his power on the approval of the Roman people rather than upon that of the Pope; he received the imperial crown at the hands of Sciarra Colonna, notorious for his assault on Boniface VIII; and he set up an antipope.

The triumph of Louis, if triumph it were, was short-lived. The Romans soon became hostile toward their new emperor, especially when he demanded money; they threatened

to expel him and scoffed at his antipope. Louis was obliged to retire in face of this hostility, and his departure resembled a flight. Those who had applauded the emperor and his pope now shouted, "Death to the heretics!" Showers of stones were thrown at them, and their adherents who were left behind were murdered. In the north of Italy the prestige of Louis likewise declined. Milan shut her gates to him, and after a sojourn of several months at Pisa he returned to Germany, called thither by the news that his adversaries were contemplating the election of a rival king.

Thus ended [says Gregorovius] the journey to Rome of [Louis] the Bavarian, more deplorable than Henry VII's and equally unsuccessful. Its actual result was the extinction of the last shadow of respect enjoyed by the empire, and the entire destruction of the dream of Dante and the Ghibellines, who had expected the salvation of Italy at the hands of the Roman emperor.⁴

After Louis's return to Germany the intransigence of the Pope swung the princes to his support. Benedict XII, John's successor, demanded as a price of peace that Louis should lay down his title and office until they should be investigated. This aroused widespread indignation in Germany. The electors met at Rense and Frankfurt, where they emphatically declared that the imperial crown was in no way dependent upon the Pope. Instead of profiting by this situation, Louis completely alienated the nobles by his lack of diplomacy and by his cupidity. It was his intervention in the Tyrol, however, that brought about his undoing. The heiress of this county, Margarete Maultasch ("Margaret of the Ugly Mouth"), had complained of her husband, John Henry, son of John of Bohemia, and Louis had annulled her marriage in order to marry her to his son and thus acquire the Tyrol for his family. This earned him the bitter enmity of the powerful house of Luxemburg; and soon the discontented princes, following the advice of the Pope, elected Charles of Bohemia, the son of King John, as

Charles IV. The death of Louis in the following year led to the collapse of resistance, and by 1349 Charles was universally recognized as emperor.

Charles IV (1346-1378). The new emperor was never popular in Germany. He possessed neither the chivalrous qualities nor the adventurous spirit necessary to restore the old idea of empire. Though not devoid of bravery, he had the cold and calculating temperament of a diplomat and preferred to settle disputes by diplomacy. Decidedly religious, he was an eager relic-hunter and "caused many a tomb to be opened that he might kiss the holy remains."⁵ Charles's interests lay primarily in his own dominions, which he sought to aggrandize, preferring to be a good king of Bohemia at the risk of being a mediocre emperor. Fond of his capital, Prague, he sought to beautify it and, by establishing a university, to make it an educational center.

Like his predecessors, Charles IV felt bound to interfere in Italy. In 1354 he went to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and patriots such as Cola di Rienzi and Petrarch looked to him, as their predecessors had to Henry VII, to restore order to Italy. But Charles's Italian policy was even weaker than that of his predecessors. Wherever he went he sought "to avoid danger, to side with the strongest in the civic disputes, to temporize and to make treaties which he would not or could not keep."⁶ Particularly careful was he to do nothing that would offend the Pope. He declared to Petrarch, and with reason, that the old empire could not be revived. "He is not an emperor," said Petrarch scornfully; "he is only a king of Bohemia."⁷

The Golden Bull (1356). If Charles was inclined to leave Italy to the Pope, he was equally inclined to prevent papal interference in imperial elections for the future. This he did by providing the empire with a constitution, the *Golden Bull* (so-called from the capsule of gold that enclosed the imperial

seal), which did not mention the claims of the papacy to approve and confirm the election of the German ruler. In addition, it was a frank recognition that the old order had passed away; for it transformed the empire into a confederation of states ruled over by virtually independent princes. The Golden Bull was divided into two parts, the first dealing with the election of the emperor, the second with civil legislation, right of succession, public peace. In the thirteenth century the tendency had been to restrict the electoral right to certain leading princes. At the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg, for instance, the seven electors — the archbishops of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, the margrave of Brandenburg, the duke of Saxony, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the king of Bohemia — first come into prominence. The Golden Bull permanently vested the right of electing the emperor in the hands of these seven, and carefully defined their procedure and powers. Within thirty days after an emperor's death the archbishop of Mainz was obliged to summon them to meet at Frankfurt-am-Main for the purpose of electing a new ruler. A bare majority vote constituted a valid election, and the emperor-elect was to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. If they had not arrived at a decision within thirty days, they were to be fed on bread and water and might not leave the city until the election had been decided.

Then the Golden Bull laid down the rights of the electoral princes. The law of primogeniture was recognized, the electorate passing from father to oldest son; and the electors were virtually made sovereign princes within their domains. There should be no appeals from their decisions on the part of subjects or vassals, not even to the emperor, except in case of denial of justice. They were given the right to coin money and to collect taxes, and the exclusive ownership of and right to exploit all deposits of gold, silver, tin, copper, iron, and lead that had been or should be discovered in their own domains. Their persons were declared sacred, and any attempt against them was pronounced to be as heinous as if

made against the person of the emperor. Charters, privileges, or immunities that had been granted to individuals or cities were null and void if they conflicted with the authority of the princes. These sovereign powers thus conferred upon the electors were eagerly sought by other princes, and already in the reign of Charles IV they were extended to many.

The effect of the Golden Bull was to give legal recognition to the disintegration of Germany. Many of the emperor's rights were renounced and passed into the hands of individual princes. Indeed, every petty prince now sought to make himself a sovereign ruler and to aggrandize himself at the expense of the cities and of his weaker neighbors.

Charles IV succeeded in what the Hapsburgs had been hitherto unable to achieve — the continuation of the imperial succession in his house, that of Luxemburg. In spite of his lack of popularity and the slight benefit that his rule had brought, there was a certain halo of glory around his person. On his decease (1378) his eldest son, Wenzel — known, because of his habitual tippling, as "the Drunkard" — became king of Bohemia and emperor. His one redeeming feature was the support that he gave Hus's reform movement. More interested in Bohemian affairs than in the empire, for long periods he did not visit Germany at all. "Under Wenzel," wrote one chronicler, "the Holy Empire became weaker and weaker; there was no right or justice to be obtained, and the powerful might oppress the weak without fear of punishment."⁸ Again and again the electors reminded him of his duties and finally deposed him, electing in his stead Rupert, count of the Palatinate. On Rupert's death, in 1410, Sigismund, the younger brother of Wenzel, was elected. It was under his auspices that the Council of Constance was called, to heal the Great Schism.

Sigismund (1410-1437). At first the reign of Sigismund gave promise of the beginning of a new era. The energy

which he exerted to achieve the Council of Constance, and the success that attended his efforts, seemed to mark him as a capable ruler. When he became emperor he was in the vigor of manhood, brave, handsome, endowed with a gift of oratory, witty, and learned, being able, it is said, to speak seven languages. In addition to Bohemia, he possessed Hungary, which he had acquired by marriage, and the Mark of Brandenburg, with which his father had invested him. He cherished the design of effecting an extensive reform in the empire, and at the Diet of Basel, in 1433, he brought forward sixteen articles for discussion. These were later embodied in a document known as the "Reform of the Emperor Sigismund," which was widely appealed to by champions of reform in the later fifteenth century. Sigismund's good intentions, however, were blocked by the opposition of the princes.

There was a less attractive side to the character and career of Sigismund. He lacked one essential quality — tenacity. Always evolving great projects, he never carried them to execution. His treatment of Hus has left an indelible stain on his career. He had a habit of borrowing and not repaying, a characteristic that did not tend to increase his prestige. At his court, extremes of luxury alternated with extremes of poverty and shabbiness. Sometimes he would go about with patched shoes and tattered clothes that showed the skin. He indulged in nightly carousals and escapades that shocked even the none too sensitive moral standards of the age. From the point of view of imperial politics, his most fatal defect was his tendency to neglect even the most important business. Out of the twenty years of his reign that followed the Council of Constance only two and a half were spent in Germany.

Frederick III (1440–1493). With the death of Sigismund (1437) the male line of the House of Luxemburg came to an end. The electors in 1440 chose Frederick of Hapsburg

(Frederick III), and in his family the imperial crown remained almost without a break until Napoleon brought the empire to an end in 1806.

Advent of the Hohenzollerns. The fifteenth century thus witnessed the consolidation within the empire of the Hapsburgs, who in the thirteenth century had seized the Austrian dominions. The fifteenth century saw also the rise of another family, which was to become quite as important in European history as the Hapsburgs — the Hohenzollerns, who in 1415 began to rule in Brandenburg.

Originally created in the tenth century as a frontier outpost to defend the empire against the Slavs, the North Mark — or Brandenburg, as it was later called — consisted of a small territory west of the Elbe. It comprised sandy plains and impenetrable swamps intersected by sluggish streams. The soil was not productive, but the rivers were plentifully stocked with fish, and the pine forests abounded with bears, wolves, and wild boar. The importance of the Mark dates from 1134, when its rule was bestowed upon Albert of Ballenstedt, — better known as Albert the Bear, from a device on his shield, — who began the Ascanian line (the name is derived from Aschersleben, an ancestral castle). Under the Ascanians the boundaries of the Mark were extended, the Slavs were subdued, converted, and assimilated by German colonists, monasteries were founded, towns sprang up, swamps were reclaimed, and sandy plains were tilled by serfs. By the fourteenth century the state was of sufficient importance to be raised by the Golden Bull to the rank of an electorate. Early in the century (1320) the Ascanian line came to an end; and Brandenburg, as a fief of the empire, reverted to the emperor, then Louis of Bavaria, who bestowed it upon his son. In 1373 the Bavarians sold it for a petty sum to Charles IV, who gave it to his son Sigismund. He, in turn, conferred it (1415) upon Frederick, burgrave of Nuremberg, to reward him for the aid he had given in

furthering Sigismund's election to the German throne. Sigismund at first reserved the right to purchase it back; but this he soon renounced, and Frederick was duly made archchamberlain of the empire.

The new elector of Brandenburg belonged to the family of Hohenzollern, whose name first appears in the time of Henry IV. Their name was derived from the heights of Zollern, in the Swabian Alps, where they possessed a formidable castle from which they levied toll, after the fashion of the medieval nobility, on passers-by and plundered the settlements of the plain. Count Burchard of Zollern was a friend and supporter of Henry IV and of the Franconian house. In 1192 Count Frederick III of Hohenzollern inherited the burgraviate of Nuremberg as the husband of the nearest heir, and it was his descendant who became elector of Brandenburg.

The Teutonic Knights in Prussia. In modern times the Hohenzollerns have been intimately associated with another state, the origin of which also dates from the later Middle Ages—Prussia. Beyond the Vistula, stretching northward along the Baltic, lay a territory inhabited by a people called Prusi, or Prussians, who had remained fiercely pagan until the thirteenth century. Various attempts from the tenth century on had been made to introduce Christianity among them, but with little result save the martyrdom of the missionaries. Early in the thirteenth century a monk Christian, of the monastery of Oliva, made some converts among them and was created Bishop of Prussia. When he organized the order of the Knights Brethren of Dobrzin to compel the Prussians to accept Christianity, they rose in revolt and drove the knights out. Then Christian obtained the assistance of the Teutonic Knights.

By 1224 the fourth grand master of the Teutonic Knights, Hermann of Salza, whose intelligence, moderation,¹ and political astuteness entitle him to rank with the great of his

day, had become convinced that all further attacks against the Saracens would meet with inevitable failure and was looking for a more favorable field of action. The appeal of Bishop Christian accordingly met with a ready response. Frederick II bestowed Prussia upon the order as a fief, subject to none but Pope and emperor. The Prussians were still fanatically pagan and "worshiped as a god," we are told, "every creature, whether it were the sun, the moon, the stars, or thunder, as well as birds, quadrupeds, and toads." ⁹ For fifty years the knights waged a ruthless war against them, and more than once their efforts were on the verge of failure as the Prussians revolted and massacred the Christians, destroying churches and monasteries. But by 1283 insurrection was finally quelled, and what Prussians were left after this cruel warfare was over settled down as serfs and Christians. The territory between the Vistula and the Niemen was thus ruled by the order. Colonists flocked in from Holland and elsewhere, and by 1410 ninety-three new cities and fourteen hundred villages had been founded. Permitted by papal bull (1263) to engage in trade, the order became wealthy and undertook works of some magnitude and requiring skill, such as reclaiming large tracts of land. Castles were built, such as that of Marienburg (with its colossal statue of the Virgin, twenty-six feet high), which became the center of the order. The conversion of Prussia was one phase of the eastward expansion of the Germans. By the fifteenth century, however, decline had set in, and the order was robbed of much of its territory by Poland. Danzig, Elbing, Thorn, and even Marienburg fell into Polish hands. By the Treaty of Thorn, not only was half their territory annexed, but the grand master was obliged to swear allegiance to the king of Poland. At the time of the Reformation the grand master was Albert of Brandenburg, a Hohenzollern prince, who saw his opportunity in following Luther to secularize the order and become a secular ruler.

Rise of Switzerland. Another modern state that arose in the later Middle Ages within the confines of the medieval empire was Switzerland. From a very early time the cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, within the old duchy of Swabia, had been inhabited by groups of free peasants and serfs living chiefly by stock-raising. Situated on the highway leading to the St. Gothard Pass, they felt the influence of both Germany and Italy. The mountainous nature of their country also was conducive to a spirit of liberty and independence. Under the leadership of Schwyz, which finally gave its name to the whole confederation, these three "Forest Cantons" agreed to a "Perpetual Compact" (1291) by which they bound themselves to stand together in resisting oppression. This alliance seems to have been directed primarily against the bailiffs of Rudolf of Hapsburg, who claimed jurisdiction over their territory. It was apparently around this oppression that there grew up the legend of William Tell.

The failure of the Hapsburgs to retain the imperial crown favored the cantons; for in 1297 Adolf of Nassau granted them letters of franchise, making them immediately subject to the emperor. This charter Henry VII confirmed, and the arrival of an imperial bailiff to exercise military and judicial authority was welcomed as a sign of immediacy. But the Hapsburgs were not disposed to relinquish control of the Forest Cantons without a struggle. The support which they afforded Louis of Bavaria led Leopold of Hapsburg to take energetic measures against them. But, ignorant of the country and unable to cope with Swiss methods of warfare, the Hapsburg leader was utterly defeated in the battle of Morgarten (1315). From the overhanging mountainside the peasants hurled down rocks and tree trunks upon the Hapsburg army, which, "thrown into great confusion," was "easily routed by the charge of the men of Schwyz armed with their halberts."¹⁰ The victory of

Morgarten was the occasion of a new league which, though formally acknowledging imperial authority, declared the cantons autonomous.

For the Forest Cantons, union with the neighboring cities was a political as well as an economic necessity. Consequently when, in 1332, Lucerne, their natural market, joined them, it was an important acquisition. Then in 1351 Zurich, engaged in a struggle with the Hapsburgs, entered into a perpetual alliance with Lucerne and the three Forest Cantons. This agreement not only bound the five cantons together for mutual protection but guaranteed local autonomy, defined the powers of the confederation, and provided for a federal diet for the discussion of business common to all. This "perpetual alliance" with Zurich was the basis of the Swiss Confederation. The following years saw the accession of the two rural cantons of Glarus and Zug (1352), and Bern (1353), the chief city on the upper Aar. The confederation now comprised the entire central Alpine area, stretching from the Lake of Neuchâtel on the west to the Lake of Zurich on the east, and from the Rhine Falls at Schaffhausen on the north to the head of the St. Gothard Pass.¹¹

But the Hapsburgs, unwilling to relinquish their rights over the cantons, sought to dissolve the confederation by fraud and by force. Finally, in 1386 Leopold of Austria met their forces at Sempach, and was vanquished and killed. Two years later his son, in spite of the superiority of his army, was likewise defeated at Näfels, and in 1389 signed a truce leaving the Swiss their conquests. A further treaty in 1394 was a virtual recognition of their independence.

In the fifteenth century the Swiss Confederation undertook a policy of expansion and increased the number of cantons to thirteen. They resisted the aggression of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, who endeavored to make them part of the kingdom that he was ambitious to create, and of Maximilian I, who at the close of the century sought to

reassert Hapsburg claims over them. Forced to sign the Treaty of Basel (1499), Maximilian renounced all sovereignty over them. This was tantamount to their separation from the empire, which was not formally recognized, however, until the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648.

The military prowess of the Swiss led to their being much courted by foreign powers, and Swiss mercenary soldiers were to be found fighting for nearly every country and even for the Pope. The constitution remained a loose federation resembling that of the empire. There was a central diet, composed of delegates from the cantons, to consider matters of common interest; but there was no means of enforcing decrees of the diet save the good will of each canton.

The Revolt of Bohemia. The empire in the fifteenth century was still further threatened with disintegration by the revolt of Bohemia. As we have already seen, the reform movement of John Hus was closely connected with a Czechish nationalistic revolt against German domination. Through an extensive infiltration of Germans, German had become the language of justice, of the pulpit, and of education in the cities, to such an extent that the Czech was said to be "an exile in his own country."¹² The Bohemian nobility, after a period of fostering this Germanizing movement, had become nationalistic and assumed the leadership against it. This reaction was fostered, strangely enough, by the House of Luxemburg. Charles IV was so fond of the Czech language that he not only spoke it himself but, in the Golden Bull, recommended the German electors and princes to teach it to their children as "an honorable and useful language." In Bohemia he permitted it to be used in the municipal councils and ordered the bourgeoisie to teach it to their children. Czech literature, art, and preaching were encouraged, and in 1348 the University of Prague was founded. Wenzel IV, as well as his father, favored the Czechs. He was responsible

Requies
National

for driving the Germans out of the university, where they had outvoted the Czechs, and he supported the reform and nationalistic movement of which the Bethlehem Chapel, founded for preaching in Czech, was the center. He sympathized with Hus when the latter declared, "The Bohemians should be first in the kingdom of Bohemia, as the French in the kingdom of France or the Germans in Germany."¹³

The execution of Hus and his follower Jerome of Prague at Constance was interpreted by the Czech nationalists as an insult against their race. The council had believed that it was exterminating heresy by the destruction of its leaders, but instead it incited a Bohemian revolt in which religious and national aspirations were confounded. The vast majority of the nobles vigorously protested against the iniquity of the council and prepared to defend religious liberty. Priests at Prague who had been opposed to Hus and his doctrines were expelled from their parishes, and the lords who held livings in their patronage drove out the Catholic incumbents and appointed Hussites. Bishop John of Litomyšl, one of Hus's most important adversaries, was accused of having incited foreigners at Constance against his country and suffered the confiscation of his estates at the hands of neighboring nobles. Wenzel (who, although deposed as emperor, still ruled in Bohemia) and Queen Sophia were highly indignant when they heard of the execution of Hus, and an assembly of nobles at Prague sent a protest to Constance signed by four hundred and fifty-two lords and knights, declaring that the council had "unjustly executed" "a good, just and Catholic man who consistently loathed all errors and heresies."¹⁴ A few days later they agreed upon a solemn covenant for mutual defense, pledging themselves to protect liberty of preaching on their estates, to accept no decree from the council, and to obey the Pope and bishops of Bohemia only if their commands were in accord with the Holy Scriptures. The University of Prague was declared the supreme authority in all matters of doctrine. The greater part of

Bohemia had virtually severed itself from the Roman Catholic Church.

Unfortunately, the Bohemians themselves were by no means united. Besides the minority that still adhered to the old order, two reform movements sprang up. The first and more moderate was called the Utraquist or Calixtine party. It found great support at Prague, where the university became its champion and rallied to it the majority of the nobles. Their doctrines had been formulated, probably as early as 1417, and were embodied in the Articles of Prague (1420). These articles insisted on Communion in both kinds (*sub utraque specie*; whence the name "Utraquist") and restitution of the cup, or chalice, in the Eucharist to the laity (whence the name "Calixtine"), abolition of the temporal power of the church, secularization of ecclesiastical property, and proclamation of the Gospel without let or hindrance. But the Calixtines avoided setting up a theology to rival that of the Catholics. They affirmed their belief in transubstantiation, recognized the seven Sacraments, admitted the Roman theory of penance, and prescribed auricular confession.

More radical than the Utraquists were the Taborites — so called from the Biblical name of "Tabor," which they gave to their capital south of Prague. They rejected the Mass and all the Sacraments except baptism and the Eucharist; they condemned the belief in purgatory, prayers to the Virgin or saints, fasting, and elaborate ceremonies; they maintained that the Bible was the sole authority in religious matters and that the Christian should live according to Gospel precepts. To them a break with Rome was inevitable. They were more democratic in their views and were prepared to carry their radicalism into the political and social as well as into the religious realm. They condemned the feudal regime, and some of them even advocated a sort of Apostolic communism. The Taborites comprised the mass of the peasants, the lesser nobility, and the knights, who were irritated by

the pretensions of the great families. At their head was John Ziska, a member of the lesser nobility,—zealous, eloquent, and a capable leader,—whose military ability and generalship have caused him to be compared to Oliver Cromwell. Immediately he began disciplining the peasants into a military machine that should be effective against the chivalry of Germany. Characteristic of Ziska's army were the ironclad wagons, which in time of attack were chained together to make a defense, and his trained marksmen, who by the precision of their fire became the terror of the Germans. When he failed to capture Prague, which was dominated by the Utraquists, he transformed the hilltop of Tabor into a permanent fortress.

Wenzel, who had at first sympathized with the Hussites, soon became alarmed at the action and views of the Taborites, and invited Sigismund to come to Bohemia to assist in maintaining royal authority. Before his brother could respond, however, Wenzel was carried off by a fit of apoplexy. Sigismund, as the heir of Wenzel, now prepared to invade Bohemia in order to claim his throne and, as the champion of Catholicism, to conduct a crusade against the Hussites. But the Czechs repudiated allegiance to a prince who had violated his plighted word.¹⁵ Both parties combined to repel a monarch who was regarded as an enemy of their race and of liberty of religion. The soul of the resistance was the leadership of Ziska and the enthusiasm of the Taborites. For eleven years (1420–1431) repeated attempts were made by both the empire and the papacy to overcome the Hussites, but in vain. The terror inspired by the Hussite armies was such that their approach alone was sufficient to strike fear into their assailants.¹⁶

Finally, unable to overcome them, Cardinal Cesarini, the papal legate, proposed a peaceful agreement with the Utraquists. Not only was Bohemia weary of war, but the moderates, or Utraquists, were in favor of reconciliation; the Taborites, however, were bitterly hostile. Religious and po-

litical views, their legacy of hatred, as well as the interest of bands of adventurous warriors who battered on war and formed the following of the Taborites, prevented reconciliation. The rift between the two parties, widened by the intrigues of papal legates, led to open war. The outcome was the defeat of the Taborites at the battle of Lipan (May, 1434). The Utraquists then made peace with the church by the Compacts of Prague; but virtually the only concession given them was Communion in both kinds. Sigismund was recognized as King of Bohemia on his agreement to grant an amnesty and to admit only Bohemians to public office. The Taborite party had been greatly weakened by the defeat at Lipan, and many of the more moderate gradually attached themselves to the Utraquists. Nevertheless, it maintained its identity and, in spite of persecution, continued to exist, particularly under the name of "Communion of Brethren" or "Moravian Brethren." In the latter part of the century, however, it renounced force and became pacifist.

The Holy Vehm. The anarchy within the empire in the fifteenth century is strikingly illustrated by the existence of the Holy Vehm, or peasants' court. Established primarily in Westphalia, it was an attempt to punish crime in the absence of imperial justice. Its sessions were held in secret, and it dealt with crimes against "God, law, and honor." Famed for its speedy justice, it had but one penalty, the death sentence. All persons were forbidden to harbor one who was condemned by it, and anyone was free to slay him. The emperor Sigismund welcomed it as a means of upholding law and order, and himself was one of the initiates.¹⁷ For a long time it remained the most effective remedy against the rapine of knights who, from their castles, pitilessly plundered travelers and peasants alike. Later it became suspected of partiality in its decisions and of being used for the gratification of personal vengeance. By the close of the century its influence had waned.

Reform of the Empire. In the latter part of the fifteenth century there was an almost universal clamor for a reform of the empire — especially one that would put an end to private warfare. In 1439 William Becker of Mainz wrote:

We have a good constitution, good laws, and good traditionary customs. What we want is power to carry out those laws in the supreme and lower courts. We also want a permanent army under the guidance of leaders who, brave and zealous for right, will be ever ready to see that the law is upheld and its sentences executed without flinching; and the robber barons rooted out of the land. . . . As long as the Emperor is dependent on the caprices of the princes, and is without an army and sufficient revenue to carry out his government, neither right nor justice can prevail.¹⁸

But instead of the empire's becoming more centralized, the decentralizing process went on apace. The power of the princes was constantly becoming greater and more consolidated. The great houses that have since played an important part in Germany history — such as the Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg; the Wettins in Saxony, Thuringia, and Meissen; the Zähringens in Baden; and the Wittelsbachs in Bavaria and the Palatinate — were strengthening their positions. In the face of their extension of power, which was greatly furthered by the introduction of Roman law, the lesser counts and barons had difficulty in maintaining their position. Moreover, the entire knightly order was threatened with destruction. The old saying that "the knight earned his position by his sword" had lost its importance with the introduction of firearms and the superior position this gave to the infantry over the cavalry. Artillery had made their castles useless, for they did not have the means to provide them with the costly ordnance that the new method of warfare made necessary. It need scarcely be wondered that the knights were the bitter foes of the princes.

Foreign affairs as well as internal dissensions brought humiliation upon the empire. Imperial troops, as we have already seen, suffered defeat at the hands of the Czechs.

In the north, Schleswig-Holstein had fallen into the possession of Denmark, and in 1466 the Teutonic Knights had been obliged to cede most of their territory to Poland. The French were making encroachments on the western frontier. Worst of all were the invasions of the Turks, which were causing consternation and terror in southeastern Europe. In 1473 the Turks invaded the Austrian dominions of Carniola and Carinthia, plundering, burning villages, and slaughtering the peasants. The Swiss, the best-drilled troops in Europe, were fighting the battles of other countries and, to their shame, even against the empire. "It is a sad sight," said Trithemius, "to see the German-Swiss lose all love of the fatherland so completely that for French gold they will fire upon their countrymen."¹⁹

Under Maximilian I of Hapsburg (1493-1519), however, a serious attempt was made to reform the constitution of the empire. At the Diet of Worms, in 1495, Maximilian succeeded in inducing the princes to pass a perpetual land peace which made private warfare of all kinds definitely illegal. It declared that

No one, no matter of what rank or position, shall carry on a feud against another, or make war on him, or rob, seize, attack, or besiege him, or aid anyone else to do so. And no one shall attack, seize, burn, or in any other way damage any castle, city, market town, fortress, village, farmhouse, or group of houses, or in any way aid others to do such things.²⁰

All feuds and private wars were forbidden throughout the whole empire. All breaches of the peace as well as all disputes were to be brought before an imperial supreme court, the *Reichskammergericht*, which was permanently established at Frankfurt-am-Main.

Maximilian also sought to induce the princes to grant him taxes for the purpose of maintaining an army and thus upholding the dignity of the empire. But beyond a few paltry sums he received nothing from them. Not only were

they opposed to making such a concession, but even what money was granted they declared should be handled by the diet, which should also retain the right of declaring war and concluding peace. "When there is a question of money," said Froissart, "the princes are always ill or out of funds." "The knights depend on the emperor," complained Maximilian, "when they want to resist the princes; but when the empire requires anything of them they shelter themselves behind the princes, as if these were their only rulers."²¹ As a consequence Maximilian, and the rest of the Hapsburgs after him, were obliged to rely mainly on the resources of their own hereditary dominions. The strength of the emperor was that of the archduke of Austria. Fortunately, by his marriage with Mary of Burgundy, heiress of Charles the Bold, Maximilian obtained possession of the Netherlands, a rich inheritance that partly explains the dominant role the Hapsburgs were to play in the sixteenth century.

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CHAPTER XXXII

Italy in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

LIKE Germany, Italy failed to achieve political unity during the Middle Ages. After the extinction of the Hohenstaufen, imperial authority waned, and the peninsula was split up into a number of independent states that were frequently warring against each other. It was anarchy developed into a system. In the south were the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; in the center, the Papal States and Tuscan republics; in the north, Venice, Milan, and Genoa. Of these the most characteristic were the city-states.

The City-states. The Lombard and Tuscan communes, formed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, had succeeded in maintaining their republican constitutions in the face of Hohenstaufen opposition, although they recognized imperial suzerainty. Not only had they maintained their independence, but they had conquered the adjoining territory (the *contado*), bringing the rural population, the feudal nobles, and even — as did Florence and Milan — other cities under their rule. They thus resembled the city-states of antiquity. With the conquest of the *contado*, the feudal nobles had been compelled or encouraged to build palaces within the city walls and to reside there for a time each year. The presence of these nobles (or *grandi*, as they were called), who had little but contempt for artisans and people of the guilds, especially if these were newcomers and had not acquired the rights of citizenship, was a cause of much turbulence and strife. When they did not actually dominate the government of the commune, they frequently fostered the seething discontent of the masses or created disturbances by their

feuds with one another. A feature of their mode of life was their organization into "tower societies."

But by the thirteenth century the *grandi* were everywhere being overshadowed by the merchant class, the bourgeoisie, or *popolo grasso* (fat commonalty) as they were called, who were more and more getting the control of the cities into their own hands. Thus the nobles were ousted from a share in the government and consequently became, along with the proletariat, a discordant factor in Italian politics. Many of the nobles met the situation by divesting themselves of their rank and joining the guilds. The working classes likewise were excluded from all share in the governments, which thus became extremely narrow oligarchies or plutocracies. The Italian city-state might be republican in form, but it was far from being democratic. As late as 1494 Florence, with a population of ninety thousand, had only about three thousand enfranchised citizens. A large discontented proletariat was thus a feature of these cities.

Party divisions were still further accentuated by the existence of Guelfs and Ghibellines. Originally, as we have seen, the Guelfs had been supporters of the papacy, the Ghibellines adherents of the empire. But by the middle of the thirteenth century the original significance of these parties was largely lost, and they came to have a purely local meaning. In Florence the Ghibellines were the party of the nobles and the Guelfs that of the burghers. In Siena a law of 1277 decreed that "only good merchants of the Guelf party" should control the government.¹

The endless strife between parties led to the discrediting of the republican governments and their transformation into veritable monarchies or tyrannies. In order to strengthen the government of the commune against the strife of parties, the executive power was more and more concentrated in the hands of a *podestà*. At first the *podestà* acted in concert with the consuls; then he replaced them altogether. His term of office was extended from one to three, five, and ten years, and

finally to life tenure. Along with this extension of his term of office went the expansion of his power. In time of war he was frequently given full military control, and in domestic strife discretionary powers to punish offenders. Sometimes it was the captain of the people, whose origin was more popular than that of the *podestà*, who rose to supreme power. His term of office was gradually extended, and he was endowed with full military, executive, and judicial power. The republican, or communal, form of government being unable to prevent domestic dissension, power was thus more and more concentrated in the hands of one individual, whether *podestà* or captain of the people. In this way prominent families rose to power and created the *signorie*, or tyrannies, which characterized the Italian cities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Revolutions, often accompanied by proscription, banishment, even murder, of the defeated rivals, gradually effected these changes. Nevertheless, they disturbed the commercial, industrial, and artistic development of the Italian cities little more than a change of party in modern politics. Moreover, the despot frequently maintained his position through popular support, which he held by suppressing factional strife, by fostering prosperity, by lavish expenditure on spectacles and pageants that satisfied the crowd, and by the maintenance of a court life that appealed to the imagination of all. The decline of military training on the part of the citizens and the use of mercenary soldiers enabled the despot to gain and to hold his position. This general shifting of confidence from republican institutions to individual despots was illustrated by a clause in the charter of Cremona which declared, "To be without a prince is impossible; cities and all else without a prince are in confusion."²

The Condottieri. In their struggles with rival factions or with other cities, Italian leaders began by the fourteenth century to make use of mercenary troops, under the command of captains known as *condottieri*. The needs of defense

and the protection of an increasing commerce, for which the citizen militia no longer sufficed, also led to the change. Moreover, the *popolo grasso*, in their struggle for power, could not arm the masses; for the latter would have turned their arms against them. These mercenaries were bands of soldiers of every nationality, under the leadership of a *condottiere*, who hired themselves out to anyone needing their services, often to the highest bidder. They wandered over Italy in search of employment, frequently plundering on their own account. One of the most notorious of these *condottieri* was the Englishman Sir John Hawkwood, who, after the Treaty of Calais (1360), between France and England, led into Italy an army of mercenaries, called the "White Company," which took part in the wars of the next thirty years.

Milan under the Visconti. One of the first of the Italian cities to surrender itself to the despot was Milan. By the close of the twelfth century there were three parties in Milanese politics: that of the higher nobility, represented by the consuls; that of the lesser nobility and the wealthy burghers; and, finally, that of the craft guilds of Saint Ambrose, at the head of which was the captain of the people. It was through this office of captain of the people that, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the family of Della Torre rose to power. Filippo della Torre was elected (1263–1265) as "perpetual lord of the people of Milan." Resistance to the power of the Torriani, however, was organized by Otto Visconti, who, appointed by Urban IV in 1262 archbishop of Milan, became the leader of the nobles against the ruling house. For fifteen years the opposition of the Torriani prevented him from occupying his see; but in 1277 he defeated them in battle and was received in Milan with popular acclaim. Until his death, in 1295, Otto Visconti was the actual ruler, though he never seems to have used the title "Lord of Milan." It was his purpose to found a dynasty; and he prepared the

way by having his great-nephew, Matteo Visconti, elected captain of the people, at first for one year and then for five years. For some obscure reason, the Visconti in 1302 went into exile, and the Torriani returned to power. But with the advent of Henry VII in Italy, Matteo was made imperial vicar and shortly afterwards again elected captain of the people. Thenceforth the rule of the city virtually became hereditary in his house, although this was not explicitly recognized until 1349. Matteo was one of the most able and powerful of all the Ghibelline leaders. By treating the Milanese with consideration he won their esteem. "Without being virtuous," says Sismondi, "he had preserved his reputation unstained by crime. His mind was enlightened. To a perfect knowledge of mankind he added quick-sightedness, prompt decision, and a certain military glory, heightened by that of four sons, his faithful lieutenants, who were all distinguished and brave."³ It was he who inaugurated the policy that aimed at nothing short of making the lords of Milan the rulers of Italy. The power of the Visconti was greatly increased and extended by Matteo's sons, especially by Archbishop Giovanni (1349-1354), who ruled over sixteen of the largest cities of Lombardy and, besides, acquired Bologna from the Pope. When Clement VI sent his legate to Milan to demand its restoration, the archbishop appeared before him with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other. "Here are both spiritual and temporal weapons," he declared; "I shall know how to defend the one with the other." On being summoned to Avignon to answer for his conduct, he replied that he would go with twelve hundred cavalry and six thousand infantry at his back. In alarm the Pope ceded him Bologna on condition of the payment of an annual tribute of twelve thousand florins.

The remorselessly cruel character of the Visconti — the viper on their coat of arms was appropriate — is well illustrated by the career of Bernabo (1354-1385), the nephew of Archbishop Giovanni. He kept five thousand ferocious dogs,

and it was one of his delights to cast his victims into their midst and watch them being torn to pieces. When Urban V dispatched two legates to Milan bearing a bull of excommunication against Bernabo, the latter led them to a bridge over the Naviglio and said to them, "Choose whether, before leaving me, you prefer to eat or drink," adding, "Be assured that we shall not part company until you have either eaten or drunk in a way that will cause you to remember me." Perceiving the guards that surrounded the tyrant, the hostile glances of the populace, and the torrent that flowed beneath where they stood, one of the legates ventured to reply, "I prefer to eat rather than to drink from so great a stream." Whereupon Bernabo retorted, "Here are the bulls of excommunication which you have brought me; you shall not depart from this bridge until you have eaten, in my presence, the parchment on which they are written, the leaden seals appended to them, and the silk threads that hold them." ⁴ In vain did the legates protest the inviolable character of priests and of ambassadors; they were obliged to do his bidding.

It was the ambition of the Visconti to unite Italy under their rule, — an ambition that Gian Galeazzo (1378–1402) came "within measurable distance" of realizing.⁵ Regarded by his uncle Bernabo as pusillanimous and unworthy of ruling, he was fearful of assassination, and shut himself up in Pavia, where he had fixed his residence. He affected the deepest devotion and piety. Surrounding himself with monks, he was always at prayers and "talked only of pilgrimages and expiatory ceremonies." In May, 1385, he sent word to Bernabo that he intended to fulfill a vow by undertaking a pilgrimage to our Lady of Varese, near Lake Maggiore, and invited Bernabo to meet him outside Milan. On meeting his uncle, he dismounted and embraced him affectionately; but while holding him in his arms he commanded his German guard to seize him. Bernabo and his two sons were disarmed and thrown into a dungeon to end their days.

Gian now became ruler of Milan, welcomed by a populace with whom Bernabo had never been popular. He was cold and calculating, he knew no scruple, he yielded to no generous impulse, he gave away to no passion or weakness — the type of Italian prince that Machiavelli later extolled. After making away with his uncle, Gian subdued all Lombardy to his rule. He employed his enormous wealth with prodigality to appease the people, to reward his faithful servants, and to maintain his mercenary army. All the *condottiere* captains received pensions from him and were ready to execute his commands. He also endeavored to strengthen his position by marriage alliance, and married Isabella, daughter of King John of France, who after Poitiers “paid his ransom to the English with Visconti ducats.” In 1395 he obtained from Emperor Wenzel the title of Duke and became a prince of the empire. When he died in 1402, it is said that he had scepter, diadem, and robes all ready for his coronation as King of Italy. The rule of Gian, in spite of his vices, brought peace, material prosperity, and good government to the Milanese. Like all the other despots of his age, he was a patron of art and learning. He subsidized the University of Milan, and the University of Pavia owed much to his support. He began the Cathedral of Milan and the Certosa of Pavia.⁶

In their administration the Visconti wisely permitted the conquered cities to retain their local government. Although they levied heavy taxes, they did it intelligently. Privileges were abolished, and the burden was distributed over all classes, including even the clergy. In a measure the cities were compensated by the peace, prosperity, and good communications which the despotism afforded. Gian Galeazzo in particular was an able financier, applying, it has been said, the methods of a banker to the conduct of the state.⁷ He created a special class of bureaucrats — paid clerks and secretaries who minutely superintended revenues and expenditures. The public debt was bonded by selling to his subjects government securities bearing 10 per cent interest. Milan

was provided with a water supply, its streets were paved, quarantine regulations were introduced to stay the plague, and a postal system was established. Early in the fifteenth century the silk industry was developed, employing, it is said, as many as fifteen thousand workmen.⁸

In 1450 the family of Visconti was replaced by that of the Sforzas, who, obscure in origin, had risen to prominence by their fame as *condottieri*. Francesco Sforza (1450–1466), a *condottiere* captain in the employ of Filippo Maria Visconti, had married his daughter Bianca; and on the death of his father-in-law without male heir he succeeded in establishing himself as Duke of Milan.

Florence. As Lombardy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was dominated by Milan, so Tuscany was dominated by Florence. By the close of the thirteenth century Florence had become important for her commerce, banking, and industry, organized into the seven greater and the fourteen lesser guilds. Of these the Guild of Calimala, the Guild of Wool, the Guild of Silk, and the Guild of Money-Changers — all greater guilds — were the most powerful. The prosperity of Florence, like that of England, may be said to have been built on wool. From the manufacture of a coarse wool that Tuscany produced, the Florentine weavers had turned to the finer cloths of Flanders, which were often badly dressed, dyed, and finished, and began to refinish them. Hence grew up the Guild of Calimala, or dressers of foreign cloth. They conceived the idea of importing these stuffs in order to dress and dye them in their own workshops. This treatment, consisting of carding, shaving, and dressing, made a finer surface, which could be dyed in delicate tints — an art in which the Florentines excelled, especially with their new dyes made from lichens. Then they resold these cloths at a much higher price. From the first there was a great demand for them in Italy. Afterwards they were sent to the East, to be bartered for drugs, dyes, and other Oriental

products, and even back to England, France, and Flanders. The chronicler Villani states that in 1338 the Guild of Calimala owned twenty warehouses in Florence, "yearly receiving more than ten thousand pieces of cloth, to the value of three hundred thousand florins,"⁹ and sustained thirty thousand persons. Nevertheless, the Guild of Wool, which manufactured native yarns, remained important. In the middle of the fourteenth century there were more than two hundred wool factories, turning out annually a total of seventy to eighty thousand pieces of cloth.

Even more important was the banking business, conducted by the Guild of Money-Changers, whose members were past masters in the art of finance. If they did not, as sometimes asserted, invent the letter of exchange, they used it extensively. Almost all the complicated operations and practices of modern bankers were known to them. They speculated on exchange, and dispatched gold to markets where it was scarce in order to command a higher price. Florentine banking business was greatly aided by the striking (1252) of the gold *florin*, which, at a time when coinage was everywhere debased, became the standard of value throughout Europe. In 1338 Florence coined between 350,000 and 400,000 gold florins. Realizing the importance of the financial business of the papacy, the Florentine bankers sought to get it into their hands; for it was the largest floating capital in the world. Kings and princes repeatedly sought their aid in financing their undertakings. The Bardi and the Peruzzi were creditors of Edward III of England for over a million florins; and at the close of the fifteenth century, it was said, Edward IV owed his crown to the Florentine bankers.¹⁰ In the middle of the fourteenth century the house of Alberti had banks at Siena, Perugia, Rome, Naples, Venice, Avignon, Paris, Brussels, and even Constantinople.

The expanding trade and industry of Florence led her merchants to pursue an imperialistic policy, and one city after another in Tuscany was brought under her rule. But

the greatest struggle was with Pisa. Although occupying both banks of the Arno, Florence was disadvantageously placed for trade; for Pisa, at the mouth of the river, blocked her free access to the sea. By the fourteenth century a war of extermination was inevitable, and in 1406 Pisa was captured and Florentine supremacy extended to the seacoast.

With this imperialistic policy the masses of the Florentine populace had scant sympathy. Financial or political expedients which led bankers and merchants to indulge in costly wars weighed little with the masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, and members of the other lesser guilds who constituted the bulk of the population.

It mattered far more to them [says Villari] that Florence should be inhabited by rich and splendid gentry; that sumptuous palaces, villas, and monumental churches should have to be built; that there should be a continual increase of luxury and good living among the citizens of rank and wealth, by whom they earned their subsistence. Warfare, on the contrary, put a check upon luxury, and the greater guilds were always issuing decrees against it, precisely on account of the exigencies of the wars they so constantly had on hand.¹¹

During most of the fourteenth century the republic was dominated by the Guelf party, which consisted chiefly of the members of the greater guilds, or *popolo grasso*. They made use of their power to proscribe all their Ghibelline enemies and to banish them from the city. Beneath them lay not only the members of the lesser guilds but the great mass of the people, a proletariat without political rights or organization, whose condition had been adversely affected by the rise in prices following the devastation wrought by the Black Death. They were obliged to obey the consuls of the guilds and to accept fixed wages, and were forbidden to form unauthorized associations or even to hold assemblies. Some of the guilds went so far as to prohibit associations of workmen for religious purposes. Corporal punishments, fines, and deprivation of rank were the customary penalties imposed. The

gallows was the fitting end of a workman guilty of propaganda for workingmen's associations; and the guild statutes decreed that faith should always be placed in a master who accused an employee. In addition to this domestic situation, war, famine, and pestilence in France and England in the fourteenth century injured markets that had been a source of profit to Italian merchants. Strikes and insurrections of the discontented and restless workmen were of not uncommon occurrence, and in 1378 they culminated in the Revolt of the Ciompi.*

Under the leadership of a carder, Michele Lando, the proletariat rebelled, seized control of the government, and issued a more popular constitution. Their aim was to put an end to class divisions as well as to improve their lot. Three new guilds were formed, and the constitution distributed power equally among all the guilds, which now numbered twenty-four. But the revolt was a failure. The capitalist merchants and manufacturers closed their shops and threw multitudes out of work. Dissension among the proletariat was fostered by the *popolo grasso*; many of the *ciompi* were dissatisfied with the constitution; and Michele Lando betrayed their cause, bought off by the upper classes. The new constitution was overthrown, and the Guelf party gradually regained its lost power.

The ruling oligarchy now became smaller and smaller. From 1382 to 1434 the family of Albizzi dominated politics; but in the latter year they were overthrown by Cosimo de' Medici (d. 1464), whose accession to power virtually meant the end of the republic. The Medici, who were bankers, with no military resources or experience of war, ruled less by overturning the old form of government than by manipulating it, keeping the political machinery under their control by tact or ruthlessness. They permitted no names to slip into the ballot bags that were not acceptable to them, and made

* *Ciampo* is the Italian for "carder."

it clear to all that opposition would entail political annihilation and financial ruin. The most famous ruler of the house was Lorenzo, the grandson of Cosimo, called "the Magnificent" (1469-1492). His, says Villari, was a

dark-skinned, sinister, unpleasing face, with a flattened, irregular nose and a wide, thin-lipped, crooked mouth, suited to the accents of his nasal voice. But his eyes were lively and penetrating, his forehead lofty, and his manners marked by the most perfect finish of that cultured and elegant age; his conversation was full of vivacity, wit and learning; and he won the genuine affection of all who were admitted to his intimacy.¹²

In character he was thoroughly unscrupulous: he held honesty and honor in light esteem; and all considerations, whether divine or human, were disregarded when they stood in the way of his designs. At the same time Lorenzo was pre-eminent as a patron of art and learning, and under his rule Florence probably experienced the most brilliant epoch of her history.

Venice. The one great exception to this almost universal transformation of oligarchic republics into despotisms was Venice. While others were a prey to internal feuds or threw themselves into the hands of despots, Venice alone achieved a type of government that was "both constitutional and efficient, free and strong."¹³ Owing her origin to settlements from the mainland on the islands in the lagoons between the mouths of the Piave and the Adige during the Hunnish and Lombard invasions, Venice, by virtue of her geographical location, was well situated to profit by the revival of Mediterranean commerce. Her isolated position enabled her to play a neutral role during the long struggle between the imperial and the papal power. The early development of commerce gave rise to an important merchant class determined to retain the control of the city in their hands and to resist all attempts to establish either a democracy or a tyranny. Venetian merchant princes had astutely made use of the

Crusades to enrich themselves and their city and to break the power of their great rival Constantinople, which fell into their hands during the Fourth Crusade.

The original political machinery of Venice consisted of a *doge*, or duke, elected by the general assembly, or *parlamento*, of all the people. He was assisted by two councilors and had the right to invite the assistance of other prominent citizens as he saw fit. Although the consent of the assembly was necessary to make war or peace, the real control of the state was vested in him. But in the twelfth century the merchant princes deprived the mass of the citizens of all political rights and reduced the doge to the position of one who reigned but did not govern.

About 1171 a Great Council, consisting of four hundred and eighty magnates, was substituted for the general assembly. Its first members were nominated for one year by twelve popularly elected deputies; but thereafter it appointed its own electors. At the same time the authority of the doge was curbed by increasing the number of his councilors from two to six. Upon them was imposed the duty of checking the personal aggrandizement of the doge, who, in turn, was compensated by the elaboration of ceremony attending his person and by the appointment of a guard of honor. A still further modification of the constitution was the creation, in 1187, of the Council of Forty, the members of which were selected from the Great Council for the control of all judicial matters, and the institution, early in the thirteenth century, of a Senate, or Upper House, composed of a hundred and twenty members of the Great Council together with all magistrates or important officials. The Senate was henceforth the principal legislative body and directed the foreign affairs of the republic. Then, early in the fourteenth century, came the appointment of the Council of Ten. Originally established as a sort of Committee of Public Safety to investigate treasonable plots against the republic, it remained as a permanent part of the government. Owing to the secrecy

of its sessions, its rapidity of action, and the terror that it inspired, it gradually usurped the position and function of the Senate on all urgent occasions.

By the closing of the Great Council (1297) the merchant princes excluded the mass of the people from all voice in the government and made Venice an oligarchic republic. Only those who could prove that a paternal ancestor had sat in the Great Council were eligible as members. Thus the vast majority of Venetians were disfranchised. In 1315 there was opened the so-called "Golden Book," in which the names of all eligible persons were entered when they attained the age of eighteen. By this means membership in the Great Council was restricted to about two hundred families, and frequently many members of one family appeared. At the close of the thirteenth century eighteen Contarini, eleven Morosini, and ten Foscari were sitting in it.

How inviolable this oligarchic constitution of Venice was held to be is illustrated by the fate of Marino Faliero, who apparently engaged in a conspiracy to have himself proclaimed despot. The plot was discovered and the doge was beheaded.

This doge [said Petrarch], a magistrate, inviolate through all the ages of their history, whom in that city antiquity ever honored as some Divinity, the Venetians, after a few days' reign, beheaded in the vestibule of his own palace. . . . No one excuses him, all say that he wished to make some change in the ancient constitution of the Republic.

At the conclusion of this letter Petrarch describes the position that the doge occupied, burdened as he was with a weight of fetters with which the aristocracy had shackled him. "Those who are for a time doges I would warn to study the mirror set before their eyes, that they may see in it that they are leaders not lords, nay not even leaders, but honored servants of the State."¹⁴ Venice was unwilling to tolerate a lord such as the Visconti had become in Milan and the Medici were to become in Florence.

The later Middle Ages, until the discovery of new trade routes, was an era of great prosperity for Venice. Geographical position and command of natural products gave her a position of supremacy in Mediterranean commerce. Originally built up by her control of the salt and fish trade, Venice, after the Crusades and especially after the capture of Constantinople, became the great trade emporium of the eastern Mediterranean. It was her commercial policy to accumulate vast stores of goods in the city for distribution, on the ground that "where the goods are, there will the merchants be gathered together."¹⁵ Merchants from north of the Alps traveled to Venice with their linen or woollen goods, furs, hides, and leather to exchange for silks, spices, or other Oriental products. So numerous were the German merchants in Venice that the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, a combination of inn, warehouse, and shop, was established for their use.

Not content with dominating the trade routes of the eastern Mediterranean, Venice also ventured into the west and even into the Atlantic. Either late in the thirteenth century or early in the fourteenth, Genoa, shut out from the eastern Mediterranean by Venice, inaugurated a galley service between the home port, Bruges, and London which revolutionized the medieval trade routes. In spite of the obstacles confronting such a venture, such as storms, shoals, and pirates, it prospered; for it reduced freight rates and avoided tolls. Venice, ever watchful of her great rival and eager to develop new routes, soon followed. Throughout the fourteenth century the importance of this Atlantic trade continued to grow, to the injury of the overland trade via the Alps and the fairs of Champagne. Venetian merchants sent glass, sugar, spices, silk, and wines to England in exchange for wool, tin, and hides. The wool they took to Flanders, whence they carried woven cloth in webs to Dalmatia and the Levant.

Commercial development led a certain number of industries to take root in Venice. Silk-weaving was introduced

by fugitives from Lucca, the greatest center of the silk industry in Italy before 1300. Cloth of gold, wrought leather, metal work in both copper and iron, paper, soap, and salt were the products of important Venetian industries. One of the most famous of all was the manufacture of glassware and looking-glasses. The products of her glass factories at Murano were known throughout the world. These industries were fostered by high protective tariffs and embargoes. Foreign workmen were encouraged to settle in Venice, and native artisans were forbidden to emigrate. Trade secrets were carefully guarded, and the export of raw materials — especially that of sand and alkali, in the interests of the glass industry, and of rags for paper — was prohibited.

Hand in hand with Venetian commercial expansion went growth in imperialism. The chronic rivalry with Genoa for the monopoly of Mediterranean commerce culminated in the War of Chioggia (1378–1380), which broke the sea power of Genoa and left Venice supreme. The entire navy of Genoa surrendered. The republic of Genoa then became a prey to internal dissension, and at the close of the fourteenth century renounced her independence, receiving a governor from Charles VI of France. Genoa crushed, Venice turned her attention to the acquisition of the mainland. This was essential for two reasons: (1) the obtaining of food supplies, and (2) the control of the approaches to the passes of the Alps. If the mainland to the foot of the Alps remained in the hands of another power, that power could levy taxes on Venetian commerce and in time of war put a stop to land traffic and cut off her food supplies. In a series of wars lasting half a century, Venice extended her rule as far west as the Adda, largely at the expense of the Visconti of Milan. At the same time she was acquiring Istria and Dalmatia in the Adriatic, the Morea, Crete, Cyprus, and many islands in the Aegean Sea. This brought her face to face with the rising power of the Turk, which she ultimately was unable to withstand.

Venetian imperialism was accompanied by a mercantilistic policy. Her dominant position in the eastern Mediterranean led Venice to pass the *Statuti Nautici* (1229–1255), a code governing merchant service and inspired by much the same mercantilist ideas as those of England in 1651 — “the attempt to secure for Venetian bottoms the carrying trade of the world.” Foreign ships were compelled to discharge at least two thirds of their cargoes in Venice on pain of being refused a return cargo. The right of search was maintained. Monopoly was carried still further by the regulation that in theory only Venetian citizens had a right to trade in the Levant, the markets of which were regarded as the exclusive property of the state, acquired either by arms or by treaty. But the foreigner who for fifteen consecutive years had lived in Venice and paid taxes was conceded a modified form of citizenship (*de intus*), which gave him the right to carry on industry and made him eligible for election by the trade guilds. A residence of twenty-five years and payment of taxes bestowed a still greater franchise (*de intus et extra*) and enabled him to trade in the Levant on the same footing as a citizen by birth.¹⁶

Great attention was paid to the quality of ships and crews. In order to secure uniformity and similar action of ships in rough weather, it was decreed that no ships might be built outside Venice. Ships might be loaded only to a certain load line; and large deck loads were prohibited because they endangered the stability of ships and prevented efficient handling in storms. The training of officers and crews was given careful attention, and the law provided that every merchantman sailing from Venice must carry two young nobles as apprentices. Thus a permanent school for the training of two hundred or more cadets was established. Seamen's homes, founded by private charity and under state protection, existed in many parts of Venetian territory. All this tended to maintain on a high level the mercantile marine on which Venetian wealth depended.¹⁷

The States of the Church. The removal of the Popes to Avignon menaced their authority, never very secure, over the States of the Church. Ferrara was virtually independent under the Estensi. The Visconti seized Bologna. In the Marches the Malatesta extended their domains, and the Ordelaffi, the tyrants of Forlì, occupied numerous cities in the Romagna. Even in the Patrimony of St. Peter, the territory most thoroughly subject to papal rule, petty tyrants, the chief of whom was Giovanni di Vico, arose who sought to carve out seigneuries for themselves at the expense of the church. But it was Rome, perhaps, that felt the absence of the Popes most keenly of all. The nobility, more unbridled than ever, regarded themselves as masters of a city from which its ruler had withdrawn. Prosperity declined. The streets, churches, and palaces were deserted; assassinations and violent robberies were of daily occurrence; and the populace, who had frequently felt the Pope's presence irksome, now found his absence a calamity.

From this deplorable situation Rome was rescued by the republican revolution and the rise to power of Rienzi. The son of a peasant, Cola di Rienzi (c. 1313–1354) had read the Latin classics and become intoxicated by the grandeur of ancient Rome. He believed that he was appointed by the Holy Spirit to deliver the city from the confusion that had befallen it and to restore its ancient splendor. By his impassioned eloquence, his sonorous voice, his bewitching smile, he won the favor of the populace and imparted to them some of his enthusiasm. The nobles at first regarded him as a harmless lunatic; but, entering into a conspiracy with the bourgeoisie, Rienzi had himself proclaimed "Tribune of the People." Edicts were issued to restore law and order, and it was ordained that every murderer should be punished with death. A regular militia was raised from the thirteen regions of Rome, the nobles were banished from their city fortresses, and the finances were reformed. Cowed into submission, the nobles themselves came to the Capitol to do homage. The

well-ordered administration that was now introduced restored a large measure of prosperity.

Besides restoring peace to Rome, Rienzi dreamed of uniting all the Italian states into a federation under the presidency of the Roman republic. The Italian rulers were invited to seek confirmation of their authority from the Capitol, whither they were also summoned to a national parliament. Only twenty-five cities, however, sent deputies, and they were little interested in Italian unity. To them Rienzi boldly announced the scheme of electing a national emperor. The Pope, who had at first been well disposed toward him, now became alarmed and launched against him a bull of excommunication. The fickle populace turned against him, and he was obliged to flee.

Meanwhile Innocent VI sent Cardinal Albornoz, a Spanish legate renowned for his military and diplomatic ability, into Italy to restore papal authority. The choice was a wise one; for when Albornoz died, in 1367, the Papal States had once more been brought under papal authority. To preserve this authority, the Popes were obliged to return to Rome.

The Great Schism which followed, again undermined papal authority, both in Rome and in the States of the Church. Twice did Ladislas of Naples occupy Rome and drive out the pope. The Schism also afforded an excuse to this or that lordling to throw off the papal yoke. After the healing of the Schism and the defeat of the reform councils the States of the Church became little more than an Italian principality, and the Popes despots almost altogether dominated by dynastic interests, intent on promoting their relatives or children. Like other Italian princes, they pursued a policy of undisguised selfishness, cunning, and force. It was the son of a Pope, Caesar Borgia, who afforded Machiavelli the model for his ideal despot in *The Prince*.

Naples and Sicily. The throne of Naples and Sicily, after the death of the emperor Frederick II, was given by the

Pope to Charles of Anjou, who, with the assistance of a French army, firmly established himself in power. The supporters of the Hohenstaufen were ruthlessly proscribed, French officials were introduced, and the country was exploited financially. The new Neapolitan monarch was no mere tool of the papacy, however, but a crafty, strong-willed politician with an overweening ambition, who determined to play a predominant role not only in Italy but also in the Mediterranean. His great design was nothing less than the capture of Constantinople and the restoration of the Latin empire in the East. But just as his alliances were formed and his plans completed, the revolt of the "Sicilian Vespers" broke out. Sicilian discontent with French rule and fiscal oppression, fostered by Aragonese intrigue, flamed into insurrection at the hour of vespers on March 30, 1282, in Palermo, and soon spread throughout the island. The Sicilians offered the crown to Peter of Aragon, the son-in-law of King Manfred of Hohenstaufen, and effectually resisted all efforts of the Angevins to recover it. Thenceforth Angevin rule was confined to Naples and the mainland.

The kingdom of Naples, weakened by the loss of Sicily and by Aragonese aggression, was still further rent in the fourteenth century by a dynastic struggle between two branches of the Angevin family. For forty years the ruler was the notorious Joanna I, whose career was one of murders, intrigues, and civil war. But under Ladislao (1386-1414) the kingdom of Naples once more played an important role in the peninsula. Ladislao dreamed of the establishment of a kingdom of Italy. Taking advantage of the Great Schism and the weakened position of the papacy, he occupied Rome, which he intended to be the first step in the conquest of the peninsula. Umbria and a large part of the Papal States speedily fell into his power. But his successes were soon turned into reverses when he began aggression against the territory of Florence, and he was even obliged to evacuate the States of the Church. His sudden death in 1414 ended

this attempt to unite Italy under Neapolitan leadership. The kingdom of Naples, ruined by the designs of Ladislas, sank into a state of decay under his sister Joanna II, with whom the Angevin line came to an end. After her death Naples was conquered (1443) by Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, who once more united it with Sicily. Establishing his capital at Naples, he made it a center of culture, as it had been in the days of Frederick II. Alfonso continued the Angevin policy of enhancing the power of the baronage — a policy that ran counter to the centralizing tendencies of Frederick II. Hence at the beginning of modern times the kingdom of Sicily was still a feudalized state.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

Eastern Europe

The Balkan Peninsula. During the reign of Justinian the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire were harassed by hordes of barbarians from the north, particularly Slavs, and, in spite of the efforts of the imperial forces to repel them beyond the Danube, some of them doubtless remained. These barbarian irruptions continued after the death of Justinian, until the European provinces of the empire were largely occupied by Slavonic settlers. These ethnographic changes in the peninsula laid the basis of the modern Balkan states. By the year 700 A.D. this process of Slav infiltration was virtually complete.

One of the most important of these Slav groups were the Serbs, whom the Emperor Heraclius (610-641), making a virtue out of necessity, permitted to occupy the western part of the peninsula. To the north of the Serbs, between the river Drava and the Adriatic, were their kinsfolk the Croats. The coming of these peoples pushed south the original Illyrian inhabitants, who since 1079 have been known as Albanians.

In the latter part of the seventh century a people of Ural-Altaic race, akin to the Huns, the Bulgars, entered the peninsula. The first detachment of these people crossed the Danube about 679 and occupied the territory between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains. The Byzantine emperor, absorbed in warding off attacks of the Arabs and unable to offer effective resistance, ceded them the territory they had occupied and bound himself to pay them an annual tribute. The Bulgars subdued the Slavs, among whom they introduced their military discipline and political organiza-

tion. Numerically weaker than their Slavic subjects, they gradually adopted their language and customs, and, after two centuries of intermarriage, lost their racial identity, although they still continued to bear their old name of Bulgarians. The Bulgarians of today are thus Slavic with an Asiatic strain. Gradually they extended their conquests, dominating the adjacent provinces.

Bulgaria. Taking advantage of the weakened condition of the Byzantine Empire in the ninth century, following the rule of the empress Irene, and under the leadership of the terrible khan Krum, the Bulgars extended their sovereignty over the Slavs north of the Danube and advanced to the southwest into Macedonia. Attempting to stop them, the emperor Nicephorus was defeated, his army almost completely annihilated, and he himself killed. Krum ordered the emperor's skull made into a drinking-cup lined with silver and forced his nobles to drink from it at banquets. There was now no obstacle to his advance. He harried Thrace, captured its strong places, and laid siege to Constantinople itself (813). But as the Bulgars had no fleet to cut off the sea communications, they could make little impression on the city. Krum offered human and animal sacrifices and performed his ablutions before the Golden Gate; but neither these nor his assaults availed. The Bulgarian advance was temporarily checked by the sudden death of Krum. The emperor then signed a treaty with his followers, ceding them northern Thrace, with the valley of Maritza and the city of Philippopolis. Under the successors of Krum, Bulgaria continued to expand into Macedonia until almost all the southern part of the present Yugoslavia was incorporated.

Conversion of the Bulgars. Until the middle of the ninth century the Bulgars had remained pagan. Christianity had spread into their country, but it met with the bitter opposition of Krum and his successors, who feared that its adoption

would bring Bulgaria into the sphere of Byzantine influence. But in 864 the khan Boris made a treaty with the emperor at Constantinople whereby the latter recognized Bulgarian conquests to the southwest on condition that he and his subjects should accept the religion preached by Byzantine missionaries. Boris was accordingly baptized, and suppressed an insurrection against the new faith with ruthless severity. But, fearing that the emperor, who refused to grant ecclesiastical autonomy to Bulgaria, would make use of religion to bring his people politically under the control of Constantinople, Boris opened negotiations with Rome, to play off the one against the other. Bishops and missionaries were sent with alacrity by the Pope; but when the Pope refused to consecrate his nominee as archbishop, Boris indignantly turned once more to Constantinople. Bulgaria was granted a national church, with its own archbishops and bishops, the only restriction being a sort of honorary recognition of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Through the activity of the famous missionaries Cyril and Methodius, the Bulgarians were provided with an alphabet, and the Scriptures were translated into their language. The disciples of Cyril and Methodius prepared a Slavonic liturgy, so that Slavonic, rather than Greek, became the official language of the Bulgarian Church.

Bulgarian Expansion and Collapse. A further period of expansion of Bulgaria took place under King Simeon (893–927), the son of Boris. The Magyars, the Ural-Altaic people who were now disturbing the Danube valley, egged on by the Byzantine emperor, were making numerous raids into Bulgarian territory; but they were ultimately defeated, and Simeon turned his attention to Constantinople, taking advantage of a dispute over the succession there. The Greeks were defeated in several battles, Adrianople was captured, and most of Thrace was overrun. But, like others before him, Simeon failed to take Constantinople. Practically all

Thrace as well as Macedonia, save Thessalonike, was added to the Bulgarian kingdom, which now extended from the Black Sea to the Adriatic and from the lower Danube to Thessalonike.¹ That Simeon intended to crowd out the Byzantines altogether is evident from his adoption of the title "Tsar of the Bulgars and Autocrat of the Romans [Greeks]."

The reign of Simeon constituted the zenith of medieval Bulgaria. Never again was it to obtain so favorable an opportunity to unite all the Balkan Slavs under its rule. Shortly after Simeon's death, owing to internal dissensions, Bulgaria split up into two kingdoms, an eastern and a western. The Byzantine Empire, in the middle of the tenth century undergoing a revival, was not slow to profit by this situation. Under John Tzimisce, a brilliant military leader, eastern Bulgaria was conquered, and once more Byzantine rule extended to the Danube. Some years later John's successor Basil II, known as "the Slayer of the Bulgarians," waged ruthless war against them, blinded some fourteen thousand Bulgars, it is said, and completely extinguished the Bulgarian kingdom. Thus in 1018 Bulgaria was made a Byzantine province, ruled by an imperial governor.

The Second Bulgarian Kingdom. Bulgaria was conquered but not annihilated. The Bulgarians retained the memory of their independence, which they made repeated attempts to regain. Finally, during a period of disorganization within the Byzantine Empire under Isaac Angelus (1185-1195), they met with success. The occasion was the imposition of a new and burdensome tax, designed, it was rumored, to provide for the wedding festivities of the emperor himself. Under the leadership of two brothers, Peter and John Asen (descendants of the former Bulgarian czars), who rallied to their cause the support of the Walachs (Vlachs), or Rumanians, among whom they had been brought up, the Bulgarians gained their independence (1186) and established the second Bulgarian kingdom, with its capital at Trnovo. After the as-

sassination of the two Asen brothers the throne of Bulgaria was seized by their younger brother, Kalojan (John the Handsome), known for his remorseless cruelty. Kalojan made Bulgaria a powerful rival of the Byzantine Empire, and the blows he dealt that power helped to make it fall a ready prey to the crusaders in 1204. For a time in the thirteenth century, under Kalojan's successor John Asen II (1218-1241), Bulgaria was the leading power in the Balkans. Like his predecessors, John Asen II dreamed of creating a greater Bulgarian kingdom which should unite all the peoples of the Balkans, with its capital at Constantinople. But he failed to gain Constantinople, even with the assistance of the emperor of Nicaea. After his death his weak and inexperienced successors were unable to maintain his conquests, and the second Bulgarian kingdom declined, to fall a prey to the Turks in the fourteenth century.

The Kingdom of the Serbs. Until the twelfth century the Serbs, divided into two separate states, Zeta and Rashka, the medieval Montenegro and Serbia proper, were largely under Byzantine or Bulgarian rule, though they seldom let an opportunity slip to rise in revolt. In the ninth century both Rome and Constantinople strove to convert the Serbs, along with the other Slavs, to their particular types of Christianity. Although they became Greek Catholics (doubtless largely for political reasons), the Serbs continued to flirt with Rome when it suited them. Their faith was probably superficial, but their conversion had important cultural consequences. The two most celebrated missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, who traveled through the Balkans evangelizing the Slavs, reduced their language to writing by adapting the Greek script. Greek learning and civilization were thus made available to them. In the second half of the twelfth century the Serbs became unified under Stephen Nemanja, who laid the foundation of the medieval Serbian kingdom. In a series of successful wars with Byzantium and Bulgaria



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he considerably enlarged the Serb state. Under his son and successor Stephen (1196-1228), Serbia obtained her independence through the overthrow of the Greek empire by Venice in the Fourth Crusade. By playing off the Pope against the Greek patriarch, Stephen succeeded in obtaining from the one the title of King and from the other a Serbian archbishopric that made the Serbian Church autonomous and free from all jurisdiction save that of the patriarch himself.

It was during the reign of Stephen Dushan (1331-1355), however, that the medieval Serb kingdom attained the apogee of its power. As a general and lawgiver Stephen Dushan has been compared to Napoleon. He possessed all the finesse of the Oriental diplomat, employing promises, ruses, alliances, corruption, and threats to serve his purposes. It was his dream to found on the ruins of Byzantium a great Serbian empire, and he came within measurable distance of success. He inflicted a severe defeat upon Bulgaria and made it innocuous. He conquered Albania, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus, and brought them under Serb rule. He had himself proclaimed "Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks" and dreamed of capturing Constantinople. For this purpose he sought unavailingly to ally himself with the Venetians and the Turks. His dream remained unfulfilled. A few years after his death Stephen Dushan's empire fell to pieces, although a diminished Serbian principality lingered on until the middle of the fifteenth century, when it was absorbed into the Turkish Empire, like the rest of the Balkan states, not to reappear as an independent state until modern times.

Social Organization of Serbia. The Serbian monarchy was neither an autocracy nor a democratic monarchy. The power of the monarch in both political and financial matters was limited by an assembly composed of ecclesiastics and nobles. What authority he had rested largely upon his own per-

sonal prestige or his ability in war. The feudal system never gained the complete control that it did in the West. Great lords ruling over a serf class, though present, were outnumbered by a free landowning peasant class. The serfs constituted the smallest class in the community. Yet this system, socially distinctive, was militarily disastrous. A strong military organization was lacking, and this in the end brought about Serbia's destruction. There was relatively little town life among the Serbs. The merchants were largely foreigners, — from Ragusa, on the Adriatic, or from Italy, — upon whom numerous privileges were conferred by the king.

A peculiarity of Serbian social life was the *zadruga*, or house community, in which authority was not patriarchally vested in the father, as in the West, but shared by the entire community. Primogeniture was not recognized, but property was divided among all members of the family. A good idea of the *zadruga* can be obtained from some parts of old Serbia today.

You can see there [says Temperley] vast shapeless buildings, consisting of a number of rooms and lean-tos added on to a central cottage, containing in all some sixty or seventy persons housed under one roof. . . . As each son marries he builds a new room, and the total building represents a primitive communal house. It is now only a survival, but it represents the medieval Serb system.²

A group of *zadrugas* constituted a clan, or *zupa*, at the head of which was an elected official, the *zupan*. Within the clan all freemen were equal, and thus it was a sort of democracy. But however admirable this may seem to us, in medieval Serbia it undoubtedly prevented military efficiency.

Under the medieval kingdom Serbian wealth increased, and a beginning was made of Serbian culture. The Serbs seem to have been mainly trappers, herdsmen, and foresters; but they developed agriculture, and Serbian flour became famous. The silver, gold, tin, and copper mines that were known in Roman times again began to be worked,

chiefly by German, Italian, and Ragusan colonists. An important index of the increasing wealth was the minting of gold coins at the close of the thirteenth century. This increase in wealth enabled the Serbian monarchs to hire mercenaries, indispensable for success against the highly trained Latin or Greek armies. At the same time there was an outburst of church and monastic building, fostered by Stephen Nemanja and his successors. Monasteries became centers of learning, and a Serbian medieval literature, inspired by Greek models, was making its appearance and beginning to reflect a feeling of national unity. "There is every reason to suppose," says Temperley, "that the Turkish conquest destroyed a rising and rapid civilization and important artistic and cultural developments which the wealth and policy of the Serbian kings had fostered into vigorous life."³

The Byzantine Empire. With the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204, the Latins by no means succeeded in establishing their rule over all the territory of the former Byzantine Empire. In addition to the Bulgarian and Serbian kingdoms, there were the despotat of Epirus, along the Adriatic in northern Greece; the empire of Trebizond, on the southern shore of the Black Sea; and the empire of Nicaea, in Asia Minor. Thus the Latins were confined to the Peloponnesus, southern Thessaly, and the environs of Constantinople on both sides of the straits.

The most important of these states was the empire of Nicaea, which, in the middle of the thirteenth century, overthrew Latin rule in Constantinople and re-established that of the Greeks. The founder of this empire of Nicaea was Theodore I (Lascaris), a relative of the old emperors, who combined great energy with shrewd diplomatic ability. He defeated the Sultan of Iconium, or Rum, the Turkish ruler in Asia Minor, and forestalled attempts of the Latins to extinguish his principality. Under the Lascarids, as Theodore

and his successors are called, the power of the empire of Nicaea was consolidated by the development of internal prosperity and by the cultivation of foreign alliances. Their successor Michael Palaeologus made an alliance with the Genoese, who were given control of commerce in the Black Sea. In return they promised the aid of their fleet against Constantinople. But before their flotilla could arrive, Constantinople capitulated (July, 1261), doubtless with the connivance of the Greeks within the city, who were sympathetic with Michael's cause. Thus the Latin Empire established by the Fourth Crusade was overthrown, and Michael became the restorer of the Byzantine Empire and the founder of the last dynasty of rulers, the Palaeologoi. He moved his capital from Nicaea to Constantinople, where he was crowned emperor.

But the territory over which Michael now ruled was much less extensive than that of the empire in the twelfth century. In 1261 it comprised the northwestern corner of Asia Minor, the greater part of Thrace and Macedonia, Thessalonike, and some islands in the Aegean. The empire, said Diehl, was "a slender, dislocated, miserable body upon which rested an enormous head — Constantinople." The greater part of Asia Minor had been lost to the Turks, and the Morea remained in the hands of the Latins. Socially too the empire had been greatly weakened by Latin rule. Constantinople, plundered by the Westerners, had lost its ancient splendor. The introduction of Western feudalism had gradually undermined the skillfully organized central administration. Agriculture had declined, and many fertile provinces had been lost. The peasants were ruined and in the power of the great landlords. The finances were in a bad state, and taxes were collected with difficulty.

In this weakened state the Byzantine Empire had to struggle almost constantly against external foes: the Western powers, who wished to restore Latin rule; the Serbs, who

sought to create a Serbian-Greek state; and the Turks, before whom the empire was to succumb altogether. To these were added internal dissensions.

Attempts to Restore the Latin Empire. The emperor Frederick II had been an ally of the rulers of Nicaea; but Charles of Anjou, whom the Pope had invited to occupy the throne of the Two Sicilies, became the implacable foe of the restored empire at Constantinople. Indeed, one of the Pope's objects in calling in the French prince seems to have been to secure help in re-establishing the Latin Empire. In 1265 Clement IV expressed the hope that the Roman Empire would be restored with the aid of Charles of Anjou. The deposed Latin emperor bestowed his claims to supreme power at Constantinople upon Charles, who began to make his preparations. He seized the island of Corfu; he secured a foothold in the Balkans by occupying Durazzo and other fortified places; and he allied himself with the ruler of Epirus, who took oath to him, as well as with the Serbs and Bulgars. But skillful diplomat though he was, Charles of Anjou confronted one who was no less skillful. Michael VIII (Palaeologus), threatened by such a coalition, concentrated his attention upon the papacy and promised Pope Gregory X, who seems to have become alarmed at the prospect of Charles's becoming too powerful, the reunion of the Greek with the Latin Church. Pending the negotiations, which aroused the hostility of the emperor Michael's subjects, the Pope induced Charles to postpone his expedition. Michael's intrigues had done their work. After the death of Gregory, however, Charles succeeded in seating a Frenchman upon the papal throne — one of his best friends, Martin IV, who wholeheartedly supported the Angevin plans against Constantinople. The co-operation of Venice was secured in 1281, in addition to that of the Serbs and Bulgars. It was a critical moment for the emperor Michael; but he was equal to the occasion and began intriguing in Sicily against

French rule. The result was the "Sicilian Vespers," which proved his salvation. The attempt to recover Sicily and to expel Peter of Aragon, who had been invited in to assume the crown, fully occupied Charles of Anjou, and he was obliged to renounce his plans against Constantinople, especially when Venice deserted him and made a treaty with the Byzantine ruler.

But the Popes did not abandon the idea of restoring the Latin Empire at Constantinople. They had failed to obtain the reunion with the Greek Church by negotiation, and now proposed to secure it by force. Constantinople was to be captured and a descendant of the last Latin emperor placed upon the throne. Venice, the king of France, and Charles of Anjou all pledged their aid. The expedition languished, however, and by 1324 was abandoned. But there was one important consequence of this coalition. The Byzantine emperor, Andronicus II, called to his aid the "Catalan companies," mercenaries of various nationalities, under the leadership of a German, Roger di Flor, who had fought in the war of the "Sicilian Vespers." Although they aided in the Byzantine struggle against the Turks and erected fortifications, nevertheless these Catalans, who numbered some eight thousand, wrought great devastation in the provinces and greatly aggravated the plight of the peasants. To this day, in parts of Greece, "Catalan" is synonymous with "savage, robber, criminal."

The greatest peril of the Byzantine Empire, however, came not from the West but from the East; not from the Latins but from the Turks.

Rise of the Turkish Power. From the eleventh century an almost constant stream of Turkish immigrants flowed from central Asia westward into Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. One group of these were the Seljuk Turks, who established the empire of Iconium, or Rum. But there were many other tribes of these nomads, one of the most important of which

became known as the Ottoman Turks. Originally they seem to have settled, early in the thirteenth century, in Khorasan, in Persia, whence they were dislodged and driven westward by the great Mongol invasion. Entering Asia Minor, they were apparently employed by the Sultan of Rum to combat the Mongols, and settled near Dorylaeum. At the close of the thirteenth century their leader was Osman, or Othman (1299–1326), from whom they took their name. The Ottomans eventually conquered and ruled over the other Turkish tribes, and the dynasty founded by Osman endured until 1923.

From the close of the thirteenth century the Ottoman Turks began to menace the possessions of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor, and it was against them that the Catalans were employed. In spite of several victories by the Catalans, Osman gradually invested and captured one Greek fortress after another that guarded the approach to the three strategic fortresses of Brusa, Nicomedia, and Nicaea. Before his death he captured Brusa, which he made his capital.

This aggression against the Byzantine possessions begun by Osman was continued by his sons Orkhan (1326–1359), and 'Ala-ad-Din, who became Orkhan's vizier. Nicaea was captured in 1329, and Nicomedia eight years later. By 1340 Byzantine rule in Asia Minor was virtually at an end, the Greeks, with difficulty, maintaining themselves at Scutari and in the territory opposite Constantinople. Meanwhile the Turkish army was reorganized. The primitive tribal organization was abandoned and a militia based on land tenure created. In addition, a standing army of paid troops, of which the Janissaries soon became the most famous part, was established. Under Orkhan's successor, Murad, the practice was introduced of taking one out of every five of the children of Christian parents and rearing them as Moslems. Some were trained as Janissaries; others were educated to be civil servants in the Turkish state.

The rule of Orkhan is significant also for the obtaining of the first Turkish foothold in Europe. John Cantacuzene, a pretender to the imperial throne, in his struggle with the legitimate emperor, John Palaeologus, married his daughter to Orkhan and invited the co-operation of Turkish troops in his usurpation. Then, in 1356, an army of some thirty thousand Turkish troops crossed the Dardanelles and occupied the Gallipoli peninsula, whence they began their advance into Thrace. This advance was continued by Orkhan's son and successor, Murad (1359-1389), who in 1360 captured Adrianople, in the richest plain of the Balkans, and established his capital there. The empire, still further weakened by the civil war and by the struggle against the Serbs, was in no position to offer effective resistance. Wisely refraining from dissipating his energies by an attack on the capital, the Sultan concentrated on the occupation of Thrace. Constantinople was cut off from the fertile plains from which it drew its supplies, and the emperor was obliged to recognize the Sultan as his suzerain.

The conquest of Thrace and Macedonia brought the Turks into immediate contact with the Bulgars and Serbs, whose fate was sealed by the battles of Maritza (1371) and Kosovo (1389). The complete occupation of the Balkans by the Turks was henceforth inevitable. Murad, who perished in the battle of Kosovo, was succeeded by Bajazet (1389-1403), often called "the Thunderbolt" from his rapid manœuvres. He quickly reduced the Serbs and Bulgarians to complete submission; he strengthened his fleet and overran the islands in the Aegean as far as Euboea and the Piræus; he conducted a swift campaign in Asia Minor, which made him complete master of Bithynia and Phrygia. When the emperor sought to rebuild the fortifications of the Golden Gate, Bajazet bullied him into desisting by threatening to put out the eyes of his son, whom he held as a hostage. Then Bajazet so completely blockaded Constantinople that the city was speedily reduced to distress.

At last Europe had become thoroughly alarmed over the progress of the Turks. Hitherto the Great Schism and the dissensions that it aroused in Europe had diverted attention from events in the Near East, in spite of the warnings of those who, like Philip of Mézières, preached reconciliation for a crusade against the Turks. But now England and France had concluded a truce. Sigismund, the new king of Hungary (and later emperor), fully alive to the menace on his southern frontier, made an appeal to western Europe for a crusade against the Ottomans. His appeal and the promptings of the church led to a widespread response among the chivalry of England, Germany, Italy, and especially France. After some minor successes, the allied army laid siege to Nicopolis, where they were utterly routed by Bajazet, September 25, 1396. The Christians lacked unity and discipline and were outgeneraled by the Turks. Sigismund fled to the Black Sea, where he was picked up by a Venetian ship; but many, including John the Fearless of Burgundy, were taken prisoner and held for enormous ransoms.

Constantinople was apparently doomed. After the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet summoned the emperor to surrender to him the keys of the city. On his refusal the blockade of the city was renewed. The position of the emperor Manuel was almost desperate. After reiterated appeals a French force under Marshal Boucicaut entered Constantinople (1399) and afforded some relief. In order to obtain further assistance Manuel undertook a voyage to western Europe, to lay a personal appeal before the Western countries. He was magnificently entertained at Venice, Paris, and London, and obtained many fair promises; but he received neither troops nor subsidies. The Genoese and the Venetians held too many trading privileges, which the Turks had confirmed, in lands under Ottoman rule, to run the risk of losing them; the Lancastrians were too insecure on the English throne to embark on such an enterprise; and not only was Charles VI

insane but the conflict between Burgundians and Armagnacs was beginning.

Failing to obtain aid in Europe, Constantinople received relief from the East, through the rise of Tamerlane (or Timur the Lame) of Samarkand, who aroused the Mongols of central Asia to new exploits. Having conquered Persia, Tamerlane turned westward into Syria and Asia Minor, leaving ruin in his wake. "When Timur's Mongols," said Ducas, a Byzantine historian, "left one city to go to another, they left it so deserted and abandoned that in it was heard neither barking of dog nor cackling of fowl, nor cry of child."⁴ Incited by the monkish agents of the Byzantine emperor, Tamerlane attacked the Turkish possessions in Asia Minor and completely defeated Bajazet near Angora (1402), taking the Sultan a prisoner. After Bajazet's death, the following year, his sons quarreled over the succession. Ottoman power was so weakened by these events that Constantinople was given a reprieve for fifty years. For a time even friendly relations prevailed between the emperor and the Sultan, especially during the rule of Mohammed I, the "Gentleman" (1413-1421).

Fall of Constantinople (1453). This situation was changed after the accession of Murad II (1421-1451), who almost immediately laid siege once more to Constantinople. Unsuccessful, the Sultan applied himself to the reconquest of the Balkans. The Turks in Asia Minor had greatly increased in numbers, and the tribute children were everywhere exacted from the Christian parents, so that almost unlimited forces were at his disposal. The reconquest of the Balkans, however, was rendered more difficult by one of the few heroic figures of the entire struggle, John Hunyadi, the commander of the Hungarian army. He drove the Turks out of Serbia and won notable victories. Pope Eugenius preached a new crusade; but although he failed to arouse the English, French, or Germans, the Poles, Hungarians, and Rumanians

responded and placed themselves under the command of Hunyadi. Their defeat at Varna (1444) and the destruction of the Christian army marked the end of the attempts of Europe to aid the Byzantine Empire.

Murad's successor, Mohammed II (1451-1481), determined to make himself supreme lord of the Balkan Peninsula, and to this end he coolly and carefully laid his plans for the capture of Constantinople. During the summer of 1452 he erected at the narrowest part of the Bosphorus, where it is only half a mile wide, a fortress at Rumelia-Hisar, which with its big guns prevented ships from passing without permission from the Turks. Beleaguered by land and by sea, the city was doomed, and on May 29, 1453, it fell into the hands of the Turks and, under its new name of Istanbul, became the capital of the Sultan.

Russia. From their original abode north of the Carpathian Mountains, the Slavs that later became known as Russians began in the seventh century to expand, and in the following centuries occupied the eastern plain of Europe from the steppes of the south, along the Black Sea, to the Gulf of Finland in the north. This territory was then almost entirely wooded and was intersected by numerous streams that constituted the chief means of communication. These Slavic tribes had passed the nomadic stage and lived by agriculture and the chase. Along the great water highways, such as the Dnieper, the Dvina, and the Volkhov, they established, as places of refuge for their agricultural colonies, fortresses which eventually became important commercial centers.

The first political organization that these Slavs assumed was created, as we have seen, by Scandinavian merchants and soldiers who passed down the Dnieper to trade with or enter the service of the Byzantine Empire. In the ninth century these Northmen, or Vikings, were plundering the Slavic settlements as their kinsmen were ravaging the coasts of the

West. They were known as Varangians or Rus (whence "Russian"), from the Finnish description of them as "rowers." From plunderers the Varangians became organizers, settling among the Slavs and, as in the West, adopting the language, religion, and customs of the people among whom they settled. They thus formed a series of Varangian principalities, notably those at Novgorod, at Turov, at Polotsk, and at Kiev. Finally, by the beginning of the tenth century, all these principalities were loosely organized into a vast state, which legend ascribes to a Viking prince named Rurik and to his successors Igor and Oleg. Oleg is certainly a historic figure, who fixed his capital at Kiev, undertook an expedition against Constantinople, and obtained from the Byzantines a favorable trade treaty.

Principality of Kiev. The princes of Kiev appear primarily as the protectors of commerce, and it was doubtless this that enabled them to extend their dominion over all the Russias. To them belonged exclusively the title of "Grand Prince," and their law was supreme over all the provinces. Each province was left under the rule of its local prince or, more frequently, given to a relative of the prince of Kiev, whose lieutenant, or *posadnik*, he became. In any case he was obliged to pay tribute to the ruler of the "mother city" of Kiev. This tribute was usually paid in kind — in furs, skins, wax, honey, grain, and slaves; and these commodities formed the staple articles of trade with Constantinople. Each year in June a great flotilla, adequately guarded to protect it against the Petchenegs, an Asiatic people who occupied the steppes immediately north of the Black Sea, was dispatched down the Dnieper and the Don to Constantinople.⁵

This commercial intercourse with the Byzantine Empire brought into Russia Christianity and much of Byzantine civilization. At the end of the tenth century Vladimir, prince of Kiev, became Christian, received baptism according to the

rites of the Greek Church, and made the Orthodox Greek faith the religion of Russia. Vladimir aided Greek missionaries in spreading the new faith, which was usually well received, although sometimes — as at Novgorod — imposed by force. Gradually the church was organized under the Patriarch of Kiev, who received ordination at the hands of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and a native clergy took the place of the Greek. With Christianity came not only monasticism, law, and letters but also Byzantine art. The princes of Kiev brought artists from Constantinople who erected churches and adorned them after the Eastern fashion. Thus Russian art received its inspiration from Constantinople.

Under Vladimir and his son Yaroslav (1016–1054) early Russia attained the apogee of its power, its greatest territorial extent, and its most complete organization, although never becoming a thoroughly unified state. Yaroslav built up and beautified Kiev, where he erected the Cathedral of St. Sophia; he defeated the Petchenegs of the Black Sea steppes, who interfered with commerce; he issued the first draft of the *Russkaya Pravda*, or Russian law; and he obtained European recognition of his dynasty by marrying three of his daughters to the kings of France, Norway, and Hungary.

After the death of Yaroslav the disintegration of the old Russian state began. Before his death he had divided his dominions among his five sons, the eldest of whom received Kiev and Novgorod, the richest and most extensive provinces. The eldest likewise remained Grand Prince of Kiev, and to him the others owed allegiance. Theoretically this did not break the unity of the state; but it practically meant its destruction. By the time of the grandsons of Yaroslav, particularism dominated the princes, as among the descendants of Charlemagne in the West, and they were frequently at war with one another. Frequently, also, the people interfered and refused to accept this or that prince,

rejecting the authority of Kiev. By the middle of the twelfth century all hope of an effective Russian monarchy or of a centralized Russian state under the leadership of Kiev had disappeared.

But other and more fundamental reasons than strife between the princes led to the decline of old Russia. Commerce with the Black Sea and Constantinople, on which Russian prosperity was based, was cut off by the coming of a new Asiatic horde, the Polovtsi, or Kumans, who invaded the steppes of Azov, overwhelmed the Petchenegs, and laid waste Russian villages. Between 1061 and 1210 they made not less than fifty great invasions of Russian territory. "In the springtime," said Vladimir Monomakh, "the Russian peasant goes to labor in his field; a Kuman comes, slays him, seizes his horse, enters the village, burns his barn, carries off his goods, his wife and his children." ⁶ As the civil wars became more frequent and the power of the prince of Kiev declined, the Russians were less and less able to repel the invaders or to ensure safe convoy for their commerce. By the second half of the twelfth century a prince of Kiev bitterly complained that all the routes were occupied by the Kumans. The border region south and southeast of Kiev was almost a complete waste until "men began to ask themselves whether life was possible under such conditions." Two streams of migration accordingly began: one toward the west into Galicia, Poland, and Lithuania (Little Russians and White Russians); the other toward the north and northeast, into the lands of the upper Volga basin, where they laid the foundation of a new Russia around Moscow (the Great Russians).

Republic of Novgorod. With the decline of Kiev, Novgorod became the second great center of Russian life. Always more or less independent in its attitude toward the princes of Kiev, its semi-sovereign position in the north was enhanced by the decline of Kiev. At the same time the power

of the prince gave way before popular will until he became the elected head of a republic. The importance of Novgorod rested upon its commerce. The sterile soil and rich forests of its environs early led its inhabitants to turn toward trade and industry. Built on both banks of the river Volkhov where that stream emerges from Lake Ilmen, Novgorod was favorably placed for trade with the East through the Volga or with the West through the Baltic. Not only was it the depot for all products of the north, especially furs, but it was a distributing center for commodities from the Orient. Foreign as well as Russian merchants came to Novgorod to buy and sell, and here the Hanseatic League had an important "factory" — St. Peter's Hof. The republic was a veritable democracy; for all free men, whether artisans, cultivators, landed proprietors, bankers, or merchants, had the same political rights. Even the free inhabitants of the neighboring villages formed part of the assembly, or *vêche*, of Novgorod.

The Tatar Invasions. Early in the thirteenth century a new Asiatic invasion, that of the Tatars, inundated eastern Europe and the Russian principalities. Under the leadership of a military genius Genghis Khan, or the Great Khan, the chief of a petty Mongol tribe, the Tatars conquered Mongolia, the greater part of Manchuria, and north China, and then swept westward over Turkestan, Persia, and much of the territory north of the Caspian and Black seas. All the Russian principalities, save Novgorod in the north, by the middle of the thirteenth century had fallen a prey to them. The Tatar invasion completed the ruin of Kiev, which was reduced to a small village. The Franciscan friar John of Plano Carpini, passing through the city in 1246, found scarcely two hundred houses remaining. The Russian princes, however, were left in power, subject to the payment of tribute and the occupation of the country by a Tatar representative, the *baskak*, with a military de-

tachment, to watch over what inhabitants were left after the invasion.⁷

The Tatar invasions had the effect of completing the work of the Petchenegs and Kumans: by occupying the southern steppes they completely severed Russia from the Byzantine Empire. The terrible ravages they had wrought completed the disunion of the Russian principalities. Those of the west and south were so weakened that they fell a prey to the Hungarians, Poles, and Lithuanians. The extinction of democratic tendencies and the promotion of autocracy, the half-Oriental seclusion of women, the severity of Russian laws, the civil dress and military equipment, have all been ascribed to Tatar domination. But the recent tendency among historians is to minimize the effect of Tatar rule on Russian civilization and to ascribe many things formerly attributed to the Tatars to the general influence of the Orient and of Byzantium.⁸

Rise of Moscow. The migration from the south that accompanied the decline of Kiev led to the creation of new principalities in the northeast, between the Oka and the upper Volga. Following the rivers, the colonists penetrated the forests, in which they carved out new homes for themselves. One of these new states was the principality of Moscow. Founded about the middle of the twelfth century on a hill overlooking the Moskva River, it rose to importance a century later. Its strategic location was favorable for commerce, and its surrounding forests gave it a large measure of protection against the Tatar invaders. The influx of inhabitants in the course of the thirteenth century laid the foundation of a prosperous principality and enhanced the importance of the prince of Moscow. Purchasing the favor of the Tatars by magnificent gifts, the prince of Moscow was made "Grand Prince" and a sort of intendant for the khan, especially, in the matter of taxation. In addition to its location, Moscow was favored in its princes. Ivan, known

as Kalita (the moneybag) from his financial ability, Simeon the Proud, Dmitri, Basil I, and Basil II gradually built up the prosperity of their state and extended its sway. Their activity has aptly been compared with the assembling of medieval France by the Capetians. Above all it was Ivan III (1462–1505) who ranks as the founder of the Russian Empire. He seized the territory of the republic of Novgorod and extended his rule over the entire North to the White Sea and the Urals; he freed the Russians from the domination of the Tatars; and he assumed the title of “Czar of all the Russias.”* By his marriage with Sophia Palaeologus, niece of the last Emperor of Constantinople, he claimed that he was the true heir of the Caesars (of which Czar is the Russian form) and head of Orthodox Christendom.

The Russians who, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, migrated from the south to the northeast laid the foundation of modern Russia; those who turned to the west fell under the domination of Lithuania, Poland, and Hungary, states which thus separated Russia from the rest of Europe.

Lithuania. Little is certainly known about the origin and early history of the Lithuanians. Occupying the forests and marshes along the upper Niemen, they long remained pagans and savages. Grouped into tribes without any political organization, they were unable to resist the expansion of the Russian Slavs and were pushed back toward the Baltic. But the thirteenth century saw the beginning of a Lithuanian state. In 1250 their ruler Mendowg accepted baptism and received in return a crown from Pope Innocent IV. The fourteenth century inaugurated a period of expansion. King Gedymin (1316–1341) introduced elements of Western civilization, consolidated his realm by establishing wise laws, and extended his sway over the Russians to the south. Soon

* Ivan IV was the first to have himself crowned “Czar,” in 1547.

Lithuania extended from the Baltic (which it just touched near Memel) to the Black Sea.

Poland. Next to nothing is known about the early history of that group of northern Slavs known as Poles. About the middle of the tenth century they emerged from obscurity under the leadership of the peasant dynasty of the Piasts, who created a Polish state in the basin of the Vistula, between the Carpathians and the Baltic. Latin Christianity was adopted, largely out of political motives — to secure papal protection against the German emperors. After a period of disintegration in the eleventh century, owing to the attacks of their enemies the Germans and Czechs, the state was reconstructed by Boleslaw III (1102–1139). On his death, however, Boleslaw divided his kingdom among his sons, so that Poland was split up into four and eventually into eight rival principalities, which fell an easy prey to their neighbors. This period of disunion, which was known as the Partitional Period, lasted until the early fourteenth century. During the thirteenth century the country was overrun by the Tatars, who left it a smoking ruin. To fill the gaps left in the population by the ravages of the Tatars, German colonists were invited in. The German peasant introduced the iron plow, the three-field system, and new methods of reclaiming marshes and clearing forests.⁹ German artisans also settled in the towns and laid the foundation of a middle class, hitherto nonexistent in Polish society. These settlers eventually were absorbed into the Polish population and became devoted to their adopted country.

At the time when Lithuania was becoming a state and entering on a period of expansion, Poland seemed to be rapidly disintegrating. From this fate, however, she was rescued by Ladislas I (1306–1333), who revived the royal dignity, defeated the Teutonic Knights, and began the reassembling of the Polish territories. His work was carried on by his son Casimir the Great (1333–1370), a clever diplomat and states-

man, who acquired the greater part of Red Russia, or Galicia, repressed disorder, and introduced economic and administrative reforms. The power of the nobility was curtailed, the peasants were favored, the building of towns was encouraged, trade and industry were fostered, the University of Cracow was founded — in short, Poland enjoyed a peace and prosperity such as she had never experienced before. In 1386 the heiress to the Polish throne, Jadwiga, married Jagello, the grand duke of Lithuania. This was the beginning not only of the Lithuanian dynasty on the throne of Poland, but also of the union between the two states. The Lithuanians, however, disliked being ruled by a king of Poland and later separated from the Polish state. The final union of the two countries did not take place until 1569.

Then, in the fifteenth century, Poland underwent expansion at the expense of the Teutonic Knights. The latter, in the thirteenth century, had conquered and converted the Prussians, becoming sovereigns of a large and well-organized state; but the order had grown corrupt and failed to retain the loyalty of the conquered population. Taking advantage of this discontent, Poland, after a lengthy struggle, annexed the valley of the lower Vistula, including Pomerelia, the territories of Chelmno and Michelau, the bishopric of Ermland, and the important cities of Thorn, Marienburg, Elbing, and Danzig. The Teutonic order continued to exist, though with diminished territory, until the Reformation. The outlet to the sea and to foreign markets led to an economic transformation of Poland. It became a great producer of grain, which it exported through the new Baltic port of Danzig. This, in turn, led to the depression of the peasants and their attachment to the soil by the landowners, the enrichment of the nobles, and their increasing influence in the government.¹⁰

Hungary. After their defeat by Otto the Great the Magyars gradually gave up their nomadic life and love of

plunder, becoming peasants attached to the soil. The close of the tenth century marked the beginning of their conversion to Roman Catholicism and the introduction of Western civilization. The monarchy was organized after the Western model, and Pope Sylvester II bestowed the crown upon a Magyar prince of the House of Arpád, which accordingly became the ruling dynasty. Monasteries were established and became centers of instruction in methods of agriculture and the crafts. Venetian priests adapted the Latin alphabet to the Magyar language and laid the basis of education. King Stephen I (997-1038), one of the great constructive statesmen of Hungary, abolished the tribal system and divided the country into counties under counts, granting land on condition of military service. During the eleventh and early twelfth centuries Hungary underwent a period of expansion, extending her frontiers on the east to include Transylvania and on the southwest to embrace Slavonia and Croatia. Not only did Hungary thus obtain a foothold on the Dalmatian coast, but the Slovenes, Croats, and Rumanians were brought under Magyar rule. As these alien peoples were never assimilated, they laid the foundation for one of the great problems of modern Hungary.

Early in the thirteenth century the power of the crown was weakened by lavish gifts from the royal fisc, and the king was compelled to grant an aggressive and grasping nobility a charter, the Golden Bull,* sometimes called the Magna Carta of Hungary, which, like the English charter, was an act of capitulation of the monarchy to the barons. The king engaged to summon the diet once a year, to imprison no noble without trial, to levy no taxes upon the estates of nobles and clergy, to remove counts and officials who were guilty of misconduct, and not to debase the currency. The Golden Bull recognized the right of the barons to take up arms if the king should fail to fulfill his promises.

* To be distinguished from the Golden Bull of Germany.

So greatly weakened was the power of the crown and so incapable were the nobles, who were little better than brigands, of exercising their authority that in the latter part of the century Hungary was in a state of anarchy.

From this plight Hungary was rescued by the accession of the Angevin house from Naples, which, after a long struggle, obtained the crown, repressed the nobles, and rebuilt the Hungarian state. From Naples they brought with them the best traditions of government that the Middle Ages knew. Louis I (1342-1382) gradually reduced the importance of the diet and made himself virtually an absolute monarch, governing with the aid of a council composed largely of middle-class Italians. The capital, transferred to Buda, became the center of a brilliant life in which Hungarian and Italian elements mingled. Urban life was fostered, order was maintained, and trade and industry, especially mining, were encouraged.

The great peril of Hungary in the fifteenth century came from the Turks, before whom the state succumbed early in the sixteenth century.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

The Rise of Spain

BY THE middle of the thirteenth century the Iberian Peninsula was divided into five kingdoms: Portugal, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Granada. For two centuries they remained outwardly little changed. Their political history is a dreary story of dynastic struggles, internal dissensions, and national rivalries, fostered by Spanish particularism. The Christian states had little interest in completing the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula by the destruction of the kingdom of Granada, which continued to exist, though with slightly diminished boundaries, to the close of the fifteenth century. With the aid of the emir of Morocco, the king of Granada, in the fourteenth century, made an effort to reconquer Spain. The danger led Castile and Aragon for the moment to forget their quarrels; and they won so signal a victory that the Moors never again seriously made the attempt.

The Cortes. Yet the period is one of marked progress in the growth of institutions and in social and economic life. The most important political development was that of the Cortes, or parliaments. Having their origin in the councils of nobles and clergy at Toledo under the Visigothic kings, the Cortes of Castile, by the thirteenth century, consisted of representatives of the clergy, nobles, and third estate. The clergy and nobles were summoned by the king; the representatives of the towns (the *procuradores*), chosen by lot or by election. Although the summoning of them depended upon the king's pleasure, they had more power than the States-General of France, if somewhat less than the

English Parliament. They had the right to present to the crown petitions which, if accepted, became law; their consent — theoretically, at least — was necessary to the revocation of a valid law; complete freedom of speech, security, and immunity from arrest and seizure of property were privileges of members; and all extra taxation over and above the king's regular revenue had to obtain their consent. Unlike the English Parliament, however, the Cortes never succeeded in exalting these rights of petition and finance into rights of legislation and financial control. The power of the Castilian crown was restricted more by the humiliations to which the nobility subjected the monarch than by constitutional limitations.

More powerful were the Cortes in the Aragonese dominions, each of which — Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia — had its own representative body. Membership in the Cortes was, unlike that in the Cortes of Castile, a right of which the king could not deprive the nobility, the clergy, or the towns, once that right had been demonstrated. Without their consent the king might not make laws, levy taxes, impose duties, or expend the public revenues. A new king was obliged to swear before the Cortes to observe the laws. Declarations of war and treaties of peace were ratified and ambassadors usually nominated by them. Not only were the rights of the Cortes of Aragon theoretically greater than those of Castile, but Aragon more fully realized those rights and privileges in practice. Perhaps even more than the medieval English monarchy did the Aragonese monarchy resemble the constitutional monarchies of modern times.

Social Organization. As in other countries of medieval Europe, the nobles played a preponderant role in the Spanish states. They were divided into three main classes: the grandees, or *ricos hombres*, who often claimed descent from the Visigothic conquerors; the *hidalgos*, or lesser nobles; and the *caballeros*, or knights. They possessed vast privileges.

They were exempt from direct taxation, imprisonment for debt, and derogatory punishments; they had the right to avenge personal insult by the judicial duel, to display a personal standard and raise an army, to levy taxes and administer justice on their own domains. Armed with such powers, the nobles, especially in Castile, often defied the king and made the existence of peace and efficient government impossible.

In Spain, in contrast to other countries of western Europe, the feudal system was not highly developed and there was no feudal hierarchy except in Aragon and Catalonia, where the French influence was strong.¹ The constantly shifting boundaries during the period of conquest, the undeveloped state of agriculture in the north, and the prevalence of grazing over tillage militated against the manorial system, the economic basis of feudalism.

Both serfs and slaves were numerous in Christian Spain. During the period of reconquest the need of the rural population for protection tended to keep them in a greater or less degree of servitude. But from the close of the twelfth century the lot of the serfs, especially in Castile, began to improve through the relaxation of *formariage*, by the commutation of services, and by the loosening of the ties binding them to the soil. They could no longer be sold with the land by the lords. The migration of peasants to the towns compelled the lords to make concessions, and, as in England, the Black Death created a situation favorable to the serfs. When the latter began to demand higher wages, the lords sought to establish a maximum wage and to stop migration to the cities. They complained before the Cortes in Valladolid that the increase in wages, by reducing cultivation, was threatening the destruction of landed property. To remedy this situation the nobles brought in Moorish slaves. This, combined with other circumstances, led to a series of peasants' revolts. In 1391 and again in 1451 revolts broke out in the island of Majorca, where the urban proletariat made

common cause with the peasants. Insurrections occurred also in Castile, Valencia, and Navarre. But it was in Aragon and Catalonia that the struggle assumed its most bitter proportions. About 1432 deputies to the Cortes declared that the peasants dug graves and erected crosses over them as a threat of what they would do to the lords. The queen espoused the cause of the peasants and endeavored to collect money to indemnify the lords for the loss of peasant services. When the peasants paid the money and saw no immediate result, they again revolted (1462). They attacked the lords' castles and houses and molested the lords on the highway, but gained nothing. After the outbreak of a fresh insurrection in 1482, Ferdinand the Catholic decreed the abolition of serfdom (1486) and fixed the compensation the serfs should pay the lords. At the same time the latter were deprived of criminal jurisdiction.² This policy was more successful in Catalonia than in Aragon, where certain abuses were allowed to continue.

Agriculture, acutely depressed by the wars of reconquest, recovered after they had ceased. In this revival a leading part was played by the Moors, who were skilled farmers, and by the monasteries, which followed the expanding frontiers and encouraged tillage. But the natural infertility of much of the land, together with the devastations wrought by the wars of reconquest, tended to develop in the average Castilian an aversion to labor in the fields that has persisted ever since. Sheep-raising, on the other hand, was favored by the rainy valleys of the northwest, which furnished abundant pasture in summer, as well as by the warmer plains of the south in winter. The driving back and forth, during the intermediate seasons, of large flocks of sheep inevitably injured the interests of the farmers in the regions traversed and led to acute conflicts with the graziers. The shepherds were blamed for the destruction of agriculture, and regulations were introduced to prevent the abuses. When the kings of Castile, at the close of the twelfth century, granted

extensive privileges to the graziers, they forbade the migratory flocks to trespass upon the "'five forbidden things,' to wit, pastures reserved for local animals, cornfields, vineyards, orchards, and mown meadows, though they were occasionally allowed to graze on the stubble after harvest."³ To protect their interests the graziers, in the thirteenth century, formed a guild, the *Mesta*, which secured important immunities and privileges from the crown, for which, however, they were obliged to pay in taxes. The *Mesta* had some three thousand members, most of whom were small graziers, though a few nobles and one monastery belonged to it. It held meetings three times a year, to regulate the seasonal migrations of the flocks and to protect the interests of the sheep-owners against the farmers.

A distinctive feature of medieval Spain was the early development of municipal life. While the populace in other countries was distributed in villages, in Spain it was concentrated in cities. Villages were fewer and more sparsely scattered than north of the Pyrenees. Whether the constitution of the Spanish municipality can be traced back to Roman or even to Visigothic times is one of the most disputed points in Spanish medieval history. But whether or no, the fact remains that whereas, Italy excepted, town life was scarcely manifested in the rest of Europe before the twelfth century, it was vigorous in Castile. The Castilian communes were, apart from those of Italy, the oldest in Europe and held charters or *fueros* that compare favorably with those of Flanders and Lombardy in the liberties they conferred. This was particularly true of the new cities founded in the wake of the reconquered territory, upon which privileges and liberties were bestowed as an inducement to settlers. Almost all the municipal *fueros* conceded assemblies which annually chose the municipal officers. One of the most striking proofs of the vigor of Castilian cities was furnished by the brotherhoods, or *hermandades*, formed by them, primarily against the nobles. During a minority or the rule

of a weak king, the *hermandades* were an important instrument in the maintenance of law and order, as well as in the protection of the interests of citizens. Each *hermandad* was an association of a number of cities "to protect the lives and property of their members, to maintain justice, and to prevent illegal taxation."⁴ It had its assembly, composed of representatives of the cities belonging to the brotherhood, for deciding on a common policy; it had a common fund, from which expenses were defrayed, and a common seal. In the fifteenth century the Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella used the *hermandades* to strengthen royal authority.

The Jews and Moors were an important element in Spanish urban life. Finding toleration in Mohammedan Spain at a time when they were persecuted in or excluded from other countries of Europe, the Jews flocked thither and made great contributions to the intellectual and economic life of the country. After the reconquest, until the close of the thirteenth century, although segregated in their own quarters and burdened with special taxes, they were tolerated and even encouraged by being allowed their own religion, laws, and magistrates. Similar privileges were conferred upon the Moors, who, together with the Jews, largely controlled the commercial and industrial life of the country.

Learning and Art. Spain, after the reconquest, became the door through which much of the Arabic learning and art and the lore of the East, with their elements absorbed from classical civilization, entered Christian Europe. The renaissance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries owed a great deal to Christian Spain and to the liberal hospitality she extended to Jewish and Arabic writers, physicians, and philosophers. As we have already seen, Toledo, after its capture by the forces of Castile in 1085, became the center of a school of translators, some of whom were Jewish, whence Greek and Arabic philosophy and science passed over into Christian Europe.

Out of Spain [says Haskins] came the new Euclid, the new algebra, and treatises on perspective and optics. Spain was the home of astronomical tables and astronomical observation from the days of Maslama and al-Zarkali to those of Alfonso the Wise, and the meridian of Toledo was long the standard of computation for the West, while we must also note the current compends of astronomy, like al-Fargani, as well as the generally received version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, for the love of which Gerard of Cremona made the long journey to Toledo. The great body of Eastern astrology came through Spain, as did something of Eastern alchemy.⁵

Medieval Spain was more or less influenced by European trends in art, but she produced an original type, known as Mudéjar, the work of Moslems in Christian territory. A combination of Gothic and Arabic elements, the Mudéjar style revealed itself in beautiful brickwork, decorated with glazed tiles and tier upon tier of blank arches. In the interiors it expressed itself in marvelous ceilings, executed with paneling, carving, and painting. Toledo was its center, but Mudéjar work was spread over all Spain. Private houses and palaces — notably the Alcázar at Seville, built for Pedro the Cruel — were built in this style, as well as churches. Mudéjar workmen excelled also in the minor arts — pottery, textiles, and woodwork. Mudéjar pottery and silks especially were in great demand and highly prized.⁶

Expansion of Aragon. Excluded from central and southern Spain by the expansion of Castile, and blocked from expanding across the Pyrenees by France, Aragon, with which Catalonia and Valencia were united, early in the thirteenth century realized that her destiny lay in the Mediterranean. This ambition to extend her power in the Mediterranean was made more easy of fulfillment by the union with Catalonia, predominantly a commercial and naval state. James the Conqueror (1213–1276), aided by Catalan energy and valor and under the guise of a crusade, conquered the Balearic Isles (1228–1235) and incorporated them into the

Aragonese dominions. During the reign of the same monarch the basis was laid of Aragon's claim to Sicily and southern Italy. In 1262 the Conqueror's son Pedro was married to Constance, the daughter of the Hohenstaufen Manfred and granddaughter of Frederick II. Groaning under the oppression of its new sovereign, Charles of Anjou, Sicily in 1282 threw off the French yoke and invited Pedro to become its king. In spite of papal anathema and the futile efforts of the French to dislodge them, the House of Aragon maintained its hold upon Sicily, although the island was usually ruled by a separate monarch, the Sicilians themselves objecting to a union with Aragon. The island of Malta was also captured from the French by the Catalan admiral Roger de Lauria.

In the next century King James II drove the Pisans from the island of Sardinia (1326) and added it to the crown of Aragon. Then, in the first part of the fifteenth century, was realized the Aragonese ambition to acquire the remainder of the old Norman inheritance of the Hohenstaufen, namely Naples. Alfonso the Magnanimous, in 1443, after a struggle of twenty-two years, finally added Naples to Aragon's Mediterranean empire. After long opposition to Aragonese ambitions in southern Italy the papacy was obliged to give in. Thus it was that at the beginning of modern times the so-called "Kingdom of the Two Sicilies" formed part of the Spanish dominions.

The acquisition of these territories gave Aragon a strategic position for the development of commerce in the Mediterranean. Of special importance was the acquisition of Sicily, for it opened up the Adriatic to Catalan merchants, who were now to be found everywhere, rivaling those of Venice and Genoa. Barcelona in particular became a wealthy and thriving seaport, "richer than all the realms of the Crown of Aragon put together."⁷

Union of Castile and Aragon. The most important political event in Spain in the fifteenth century was the union of

Castile and Aragon. When it became apparent that Isabella, the sister of Henry IV (1454–1474) of Castile, was likely to succeed her brother on the throne, King John II (1458–1479) of Aragon resolved that she should marry his son Ferdinand, and began negotiations toward this end. Isabella, keenly alive to the political advantages of the union, and having heard favorable reports of the personal charms of the Aragonese prince, accepted the proposal. The marriage treaty was drawn up in 1469 and the marriage itself consummated in the same year. The alliance was opposed both by Portugal and by France, who saw in it the union of Castile and Aragon. Louis XI of France feared the creation of a strong state on the south and thus anticipated the French attitude toward the unification of Italy and Germany in the nineteenth century. But in spite of this opposition Ferdinand and Isabella in 1474 succeeded to the crown of Castile, and five years later to that of Aragon. Isabella was pious, dignified, highly courageous, endowed with an inflexible will, intolerant, and excessively fond of pomp and display; Ferdinand, parsimonious, calculating, cautious, deficient in generosity and frankness, and a lover of Machiavellian diplomacy.⁸ Such were the sovereigns under whom the foundation was laid for the greatness of Spain in the sixteenth century.

A threefold purpose dominated the new rulers: to establish internal peace and order, to enhance the power of the crown, and to complete the reconquest by the destruction of the kingdom of Granada.

Establishment of Order. It has been pointed out that Castile had a powerful nobility who enjoyed innumerable privileges and immunities, trampled on the rights of the crown, and made stable and efficient government impossible. This situation was now to be corrected by converting the proud grandees and hidalgos into servile courtiers. The nobles were flattered by being allowed to retain the empty honors and rights to which they had been accustomed; but they

were deprived of important political offices. In their stead were advanced, as in France and England, lowborn and subservient lawyers and clerks. When the nobles rebelled, according to custom, they were defeated and their castles destroyed. At the same time the erection of new castles and the practice of duelling were forbidden.⁹ As a means of maintaining order, the ancient institution of *hermandad* was reorganized and, while completely subordinated to the crown, was given full powers to deal with certain classes of crimes, such as robbery, rape, arson, and all acts of rebellion against the government.¹⁰ All classes of people, even the nobles, were obliged to contribute toward the maintenance of the *hermandad*, a step that must be regarded as a blow struck at the ancient privileges. At the same time the three great military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcántara were subordinated to the crown and their grand master-ships, with papal consent, vested in Ferdinand.

Building up the Power of the Crown. While curbing the enemies of strong central government and of good order, the Catholic sovereigns sought to build up their own power. The royal council was reformed and made an efficient instrument of despotism. Ecclesiastical and noble members were reduced to a minimum, and the lower-class element, whose obedience could be counted on, was increased. Both the administration of justice and the financial system were reformed. That the state might yield greater revenues, Ferdinand and Isabella fostered agriculture, industry, and commerce, but regulated them according to the mercantilist ideas of the time. Municipal rights and liberties were abolished, elected officials in the cities being gradually replaced by appointees of the crown. The powers of the Cortes offended the absolutist theories of the Catholic sovereigns, and though they were glad to make use of them to break the power of the nobles, they summoned them as infrequently as possible. That the Cortes finally disappeared

as an institution of the government of Spain was due in part to the work of the Catholic sovereigns, who laid broad and deep the foundations of Spanish despotism.

Conquest of Granada. The kingdom of Granada had survived largely owing to the internal dissensions and weakness of Castile and the lack of interest in completing the reconquest. For over two centuries the emirs had paid tribute to Castile; but when, in 1476, their Catholic majesties demanded the annual payment, the emir returned the insolent reply that "the mints of Granada [coin] no longer gold, but steel."¹¹ The Catholic sovereigns were too preoccupied with other affairs to punish this insolence immediately, and in 1482 the emir surprised and captured the fortress of Zahara, on the borders of the province of Cádiz. These circumstances led, in 1482, to the inauguration of a regular campaign for the reduction of Granada. To prevent aid from being sent from across the strait, Isabella dispatched the Castilian fleet to cut off communications with Africa. The enterprise was made easier by revolt within the Moorish dominions and by the use of new siege artillery which their fortresses were not prepared to withstand. After a campaign of ten years the conquest was complete, Granada itself surrendering in January, 1492. Favorable terms were granted the Moors, who were allowed to retain their own customs, laws, and religion, and to have their own magistrates, and who were to be guarded against extortionate taxes.¹² But in reality Moslem civilization in Spain was at an end. In spite of their promises, the conquerors could not respect institutions they hated, and within a few years the Christianization of Granada was begun.

The Inquisition. Except for the intolerance in the latter part of the Visigothic period and a wave of fanaticism, clerically stimulated, that had swept over the country in the fourteenth century, the Spanish tradition had been one

of toleration of creeds and races. "Intolerance," says Merri-man, "was emphatically not an indigenous national trait."¹³ But to Ferdinand and Isabella, with their ideas of absolutism and unity, the presence of large numbers of Jews and Moors, both converted and unconverted, was hateful. The *conversos*, Jews nominally Christian, yet believed to be secretly attached to the faith of their fathers, were particularly obnoxious. To deal with them the Catholic sovereigns applied to the papacy for permission to introduce the inquisition into Castile, where it had not been known during the Middle Ages. This permission was granted by a papal bull of November, 1478. The control of the inquisition was kept in the power of the crown, its officials being appointed, dismissed, supervised, and salaried by the state. Consequently it became an instrument of despotism and won the notoriety that attached to it in the sixteenth century. Though it was at first unpopular, the Spaniards gradually became accustomed to it and were transformed "from the most tolerant to the most intolerant nation in Europe."¹⁴ In 1492 the Jews were given the alternative of accepting conversion or expulsion, and some two hundred thousand were driven out. The turn of the Moors came next. When persuasion and gentle methods ceased to be speedy enough for their Catholic majesties, compulsion and terrorism were employed. In 1502 the Moors of Castile were given the alternative of conversion or expulsion. In this persecution of the most industrious element in her population, Spain was sowing the seeds of her decay in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Catalonia and Aragon had expanded in the Mediterranean; Castile began to expand in the Atlantic. In 1344 the Pope had invested a Castilian prince with the Canary Islands, known to the Romans as Canaria, or Isles of the Dogs; but little was done to conquer or colonize them until the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Between 1478 and 1496, however, the natives were systematically reduced to subjection and the islands brought under Castilian ad-

ministration. The Spaniards became accustomed to navigation in the Atlantic, and a Spanish outpost was created that was a step in the direction of the New World.

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CHAPTER XXXV

*The Waning of the Middle Ages*¹

LOOKING back at the Middle Ages from our vantage point of the twentieth century, we perceive certain tendencies and events in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries symptomatic of the coming of a new era. In politics there were the development of the power of monarchs and the centralization of government in their hands, the rise of nationalism and of patriotism; in economic life, the development of capitalism and of the bourgeoisie, the decay of the guilds and the appearance of the domestic system in industry, the breakup of the manor and the disappearance of serfdom; in religion, the decline of medieval Christianity; in letters, the humanistic movement and the invention of printing; in art, a revival of antiquity and a renewed emphasis upon nature; in exploration, the discovery of a new world. All these grew out of historic conditions in the Middle Ages through a long process of development; but it was their appearance that marked the beginning of modern civilization.

Rise of the National State. Prominent among the signs of a new era apparent in the fifteenth century was the rise of the national state. With the barbarian invasions and the disruption of the Roman Empire the unity which Rome had created in the Mediterranean basin had been shattered. The imperial idea lived on in the universal church and sought unavailingly to recreate itself in the medieval empire. Feudalism was an insuperable obstacle to European unification, even if there had been no geographic or racial barriers. From the thirteenth century, feudalism was on the wane; but it gave place to the national state rather than to the all-

embracing empire. This rise of the national spirit, with the consciousness of unity against all others that it gave the people of a particular land, was a new thing in Europe, and one of the signs of the coming of a new age.

This nascent national spirit manifests itself in struggles against the foreigner, invader, or oppressor, or in the literature which they called forth. The long contest of the Spaniards against the Moors, of the Czechs against the Germans, of the Swiss against the Austrians, of the Scotch against the English, and of the French against the English are outstanding examples. The sermons of John Hus in Bohemia, the legend of William Tell (c. 1474) in Switzerland, Wynthoun's *Orygnale Cronykil* (c. 1420) and Blind Harry's *Sir William Wallace* (c. 1460) in Scotland, and the poems by Robert Blondel (c. 1420) and Alain Chartier (c. 1422) in France bear witness to this rising national spirit. The Hundred Years' War saw the birth of the French as of the English nation. Gascons, Picards, and Normans came to think of themselves as bound to each other by common national interests in their struggle against the English. Joan of Arc was but reflecting this national sentiment when she declared: "As to the peace with the English, the only one possible is that they should go back to their country in England." "I know well that these English will kill me, because they hope, after my death, to gain the kingdom of France. But were there 100,000 more of them, they shall conquer it never, never!"² In a similar way Norman knight and Saxon yeoman forgot their old feuds and racial differences and became conscious of English nationality. The establishment of English as the language of the law courts in 1362 and of Parliament in the following year is but another sign of the new tendency.

The birth of the national idea in the later Middle Ages is also demonstrated by the growing centralization of government: in Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, in England under the Yorkists and Tudors, and in France under the

later Valois. Patriotism tended to express itself in devotion to the monarchy and to the person of the monarch. The weakening of the position of the feudal nobility, in England by the Wars of the Roses, in Spain by the efforts of Ferdinand and Isabella; the creation of national and mercenary armies; and the consciousness that the only alternative to anarchy was a strong central government led to the development of royal power. In this centralization of the government in his hands the king was greatly aided by the wealthy bourgeoisie, who perceived that their interests could be furthered by supporting the monarchical power against the nobility. So true was this that Louis XI of France has been called "king only of the wealthy bourgeoisie," who gave him their money without stint. And in England Henry VII laid the foundation of the Tudor policy of fostering trade and the trading classes. It was during his reign that a mercantile system was firmly established.

Rise of Capitalism and the Middle Class. At the beginning of the eleventh century Bishop Adalberon was able to write that society comprised two species of men, nobles and clergy on the one hand and wretched serfs on the other, the latter laboring to support the former. But in the later Middle Ages this description was no longer true. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there had arisen a middle class that became more important with each succeeding century. By the fifteenth century wealthy middle-class families became pre-eminent in every country: the Medici in Italy, the Fuggers and Welsers in Germany, the Coeurs and Rolins in France. These capitalists, as such men have come to be called, formed an entirely new social class. Possessing abundance of floating wealth, they became the financiers of commercial enterprises, of monarchs, and of nations. It was their support that enabled the rulers of Europe at the beginning of modern times to conduct wars on a vaster scale

than ever before. Among the most notable of these capitalist families were the Fuggers of Augsburg. Beginning as weavers, they became traders, bankers, and owners of silver mines in the Tyrol and of copper mines in Hungary. It was largely owing to the financial backing of the Fuggers that the Hapsburgs were enabled to play the dominant role in Europe in the sixteenth century. The great commercial companies of modern times were foreshadowed by the company of Joseph Humpis of Ravensburg (*Societas Magna Alemaniae*), founded about 1380, the enterprises of which extended over all Europe. At the close of the fifteenth century it possessed counting-houses at Genoa, Milan, Barcelona, Saragossa, Valencia, Lyon, Avignon, Marseille, Bruges, Bern, Geneva, Cologne, Nuremberg, Vienna, and Pest; its capital amounted to some ten million francs, and its commerce both by land and by sea was exclusively wholesale.³

Rise of the Domestic System in Industry. The new capitalism soon began to lay hands on industry and to prepare the way for the destruction in modern times of the guild system. This transformation first appeared in the textile and especially in the woolen industry. Wealthy merchants began, by the fifteenth century, to purchase for their export trade the woolens produced in the peasants' cottages. The rural textile industry thus stimulated underwent a rapid development. The peasants, owing to their cheaper living conditions, could labor for lower wages than the artisans in the towns, who soon felt the competition keenly. In 1428, while the weavers of Ypres were idle, the surrounding villages were so occupied with weaving that laborers had to be brought in to till the fields. The guilds in the towns made an attempt to stamp out this rural industry, but without avail. These peasant artisans were subject to no organization, and they dealt directly with the capitalist merchants who provided them with wool, took their product, and paid them for their

labor. Thus a new artisan class sprang up that was quite distinct from the privileged workers of the Middle Ages. The capitalist merchants favored them, says Boissonnade, because they could more easily impose their conditions, increase or reduce production at their will, and diminish their expenses, profiting by the smaller demands of peasant labor, while the peasants, on their side, found in the exercise of a craft, even though intermittent, an occupation for the dead season and an appreciable supplement to their means of existence. Rural industry soon prospered in most European countries, more especially in the Low Countries, France, Germany, England, the Lowlands of Scotland, and even in Poland and Bohemia, under the direction of great merchants and entrepreneurs.⁴

Not only did the woolen industry thus escape from the control of the guild system, but to a certain degree the industries of linen, lace, glass, coal, and mining. The necessary location of iron and other metal works in the country, especially in the vicinity of forests, where wood could be obtained for smelting, fostered their emancipation from guild control.

The Breakup of the Manorial System. Since the manorial system was part of a regime of natural economy, it was inevitable that with the coming of money economy it should disintegrate. In the later Middle Ages the lords of the soil, in increasing numbers, were finding it advantageous to commute personal services and payments in kind into money payments. Not only was forced labor unprofitable, but the payment of money enabled the lord to introduce more flexible methods of estate management, to dispense with a crowd of officials, and to reduce the expenses of his demesne. The demesne farm was thus cultivated by hired laborers instead of by the forced labor of serfs. But the depreciation in value of the precious metals at the close of the Middle Ages, owing to the greater supply, and the scarcity of labor created by the Black Death and by the Hundred Years'

War, with the consequent rise in wages, led many to abandon the cultivation of the demesne farm and to rent it to one or more tenants. The demesne was frequently leased for a term of years at a fixed rent. In France the system of *métayage*, according to which the tenant performed the labor and shared the crop with the lord, was often employed. Rents became a common form of income and were frequently acquired by bourgeois, bequeathed, or given as dowries. In an age in which interest was *usury*, forbidden by the church, the acquisition of rents took its place. The commutation of services therefore tended to break up the manor into a group of tenant holdings, the rents for which were often alienated.

In the main, however, this transformation did not affect the method of soil exploitation: the open-field and three-field systems remained dominant. But in England, and to a lesser degree in other countries, there was a tendency to enclose the commons. The English lords, finding it profitable to produce wool, began enclosing the common lands and even the tilled fields and converting them into pastures for sheep. A given amount of land would yield greater profits with less expense if devoted to sheep-raising than if tilled. A contemporary writer declared there was more profit "by grazing of ten acres to the occupyer alone" than "in tillage of twenty." "Where twenty tillers of the soil had once been employed," says Lipson, "a single shepherd now sufficed, and shepherds were the worst paid of all classes of rural laborers."⁵ Many peasants were dispossessed in the process and became agricultural day laborers. In France as well as in England, during the later Middle Ages, there arose an agricultural laboring class divorced from the soil. Another tendency in England, partly the result of enclosures, was the consolidation of tenant holdings into large farms and the concentration of land in the hands of fewer persons. In France, on the other hand, owing to the custom of dividing up the family holding, small farms became common.

Decline of Serfdom. The transformation of the manorial system profoundly affected the status of the serf and promoted his emancipation. "When servile labor ceased to be the basis of the manorial system," says Lipson, "the legal aspect of serfdom lost in a large measure its practical importance."⁶ Although the serf became legally free only through manumission, the fundamental cause of the disappearance of his bondage was economic rather than legal. His status was greatly improved by emancipation from labor service; and commutation, in destroying the foundations of serfdom, became an important factor in enfranchisement. With the increasing mobility of the peasant classes, the inducements offered in works of deforestation, recovery of waste lands and colonization, and the attractions of towns (especially of new towns) the lords found it difficult to retain their serfs. At first they seem to have tried oppressive measures; but when these proved unavailing, they were obliged to improve the lot of the serfs by commutation and emancipation. Those estates where *mainmorte* and the arbitrary *taille* still existed became depopulated to the advantage of those where conditions were lighter. Emancipation was often effected by individuals, but regional emancipation, especially in the vicinity of towns, also became common. Yet emancipation was rarely gratuitous, and here again it was the economic motive that made the lords more willing to grant it. The pious motives expressed in the charters were but a cloak to conceal a financial transaction. The serf was obliged to purchase his freedom with his hard-earned savings.

The decline of serfdom, however, was by no means universal. By the year 1500 perhaps the most extensive emancipation had been achieved in England, one estimate declaring that only about 1 per cent of the rural population was unfree. France had also made great strides toward emancipation, though as late as 1789 it is estimated that there were still a million serfs in the country. Less progress had been made in central and eastern Europe. There serfdom took on a

new lease of life at the close of the Middle Ages. In Germany a new type of estate appeared, capitalistically organized, differing from the old manor in that it was cultivated by landless labor. At first the estate was worked by free laborers, but gradually the peasants were reduced to serfdom. The lords seized upon Roman law, which had now become fashionable, "as an instrument to give legal sanction to its harshest exactions."⁷ But this transformation was not effected without a protest, as the numerous peasants' revolts in Germany at the close of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth attest. They culminated in the disastrous Peasants' Revolt of 1525, which, suppressed with ruthless cruelty, sealed the bondage of the German peasant.

Decline of Medieval Christianity. Another feature of the age was the decline of medieval Christianity.

After the defeat of the reforming councils the papacy underwent a marked change. The States of the Church, as we have seen, became little more than an Italian principality. The Popes were more and more dominated by dynastic interests, intent on promoting their own relatives or children. Not only unmoral politics but also sensuality, vicious living, and skepticism entered into the palaces of Popes and cardinals. Most notorious of all was Rodrigo Borgia, Pope Alexander VI, who cast aside all show of decency and displayed his vices with undisguised cynicism. Only the zeal of a few of these Popes for the art and learning of the Renaissance tones down to some extent the picture of the degeneracy of the papacy.

The old abuses of the secular church continued. Bishops and archbishops were great lords, frequently appointed from the ranks of the nobility whose life they imitated. Often nominated by monarchs because of their political qualifications, bishops were employed as ministers and diplomats; for clerical diplomats had the advantage of being supported

by their benefices, and thus the salary could be dispensed with. In an age in which monarchs constantly found difficulty in balancing their budgets, wherever possible they rewarded their faithful supporters at the expense of the church. Pluralities and absenteeism were common. Favorites of monarch or Pope were not content with one benefice; for the more they held, the greater were their revenue and dignity. The bishops' neglect of their sees was one of the scandals of the age.

In the parishes the patronage system militated against an efficient priesthood. Revenues that should have been used for the maintenance of a capable priest and for the upkeep of the fabric of the church went to swell the revenues of the patron. In a visitation held in the diocese of Lausanne during the years 1416-1417 it was found that, out of two hundred and seventy-three churches reported on, 98 per cent revealed more or less serious deficiencies. Absenteeism was common in the parishes as well as in the episcopate. Benefices were frequently bestowed upon sons of influential persons and constituted a sort of endowment to provide for their education. Once through the university, there was no guarantee that such incumbents would settle down to lead the life of a parish priest. Too often they preferred to live elsewhere, leaving the parish in the hands of a vicar who was underpaid and not seldom illiterate or immoral.

In no part of the church were evidences of decay more apparent than in the monasteries. Repeated reforms had been unable to stem the tide of decline, and even the friars had obtained an ill repute and fallen away from their earlier ideals. Monasteries had become capitalistic institutions, and the abbot was a great lord who, in the largest houses, occupied a fine mansion and lived in grand style, entertaining the rich and highborn. The monks lived like country squires, keeping multitudes of servants. It has been estimated that on the eve of the dissolution of the monasteries in England the workmen and servants outnumbered the

monks two to one. In spite of their great endowments, many monasteries were heavily in debt, owing to poor management and extravagant expenditure. One of the root causes of monastic decay was that the cloister was frequently used as "a dumping ground for portionless children of good families."

Many are the complaints [declares the Belgian scholar Dom Berlière] of deformed or incapable children thrust upon the monasteries; especially noblemen's bastards or children below the age of discretion whom men wanted to get rid of cheaply. . . . All these defective vocations, provoked by family ambitions, or love of gain, or the struggle for comfort, brought about a complete decay of religious life in a great part of Christendom; and the scandals were all the more terrible because they were covered with the veil of religion.⁸

Notwithstanding these evils, the church still held the devotion of the masses; and many reformers, such as Savonarola and Erasmus, denounced the abuses and sought to bring about reform. Moreover, the close of the Middle Ages was by no means an irreligious period. Religion was popular among the masses, as the religious practices of the day attest. Much religion, however, was a thing of outward symbols, of relics and pilgrimages, of veneration of saints, of indulgences and pardons. Many impostors were abroad who, in the name of religion, imposed upon the credulity of the common people. The vender of relics (often false) and the preacher of indulgences (frequently unauthorized), commercializing the religious aspirations of the age, were everywhere. It was this popular religion, so frequently exploited by impostor or charlatan, that aroused the ridicule of the humanist or the anger of the reformer.

One of the healthiest religious movements at the close of the Middle Ages was the so-called "Christian Renaissance," or "New Devotion," inaugurated by the Brethren of the Common Life. The founder of this movement was Gerhard Groot (1340-1384), a native of Deventer, in the Nether-

lands. A typical cleric of his day, holding two benefices and employing their revenues to study at universities in Germany and France, he experienced a conversion, became an ascetic, and laid the foundation of a semimonastic movement, that of the Brethren of the Common Life. Groot held that the chief concern of the Brethren should be with the young and with the masses of the people. Hence they became famous for their schools and for their inculcation of Gospel precepts. To follow the example and teachings of Christ, in Groot's estimation, constituted true religion. "To love God and worship him is religion," he declared, "not the taking of special vows." "Many so-called religious people go about in cowls and wear other outward garbs of religio, but within they are lions, bears, — terrible beasts.' There are many who are not protected by the name *religio*, and yet they may be more religious than those whom the Church calls religious." ⁹ "Christ would rather see a wife obedient to her husband and quietly performing her daily tasks than any ascetic doing penitence, and not obedient, or kind-hearted." ¹⁰

In their schools the Brethren of the Common Life broke with the old scholasticism and placed the emphasis upon classical studies. They stressed the necessity of education not only for the clergy but for the laity as well. So popular did they become that the school of Deventer soon boasted twenty-two hundred pupils. Thomas à Kempis, the author (or, rather, the compiler) of the *Imitation of Christ*, belonged to the brotherhood, and both Luther and Erasmus studied in their schools. In their emphasis upon reading the Bible in the vernacular, following Christ, justification by faith, and the possibility of living a life pleasing to God in secular occupations they were anticipating doctrines of the Reformation. It is by no means improbable that Erasmus obtained from them his conception of religion as observing the "philosophy of Christ."

Humanism. Perhaps nothing did more to undermine the old faith than the revival of interest in classical antiquity, commonly known as the Renaissance. The classical revival of the twelfth century was overshadowed by scholastic interests; but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries scholasticism began to give way before a new classical movement, humanism. If the humanistic movement of the later Middle Ages may be said to have originated with one man, that man was the Italian scholar and poet Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374). Conceiving a passionate love for the beauty of ancient literature, he devoted himself to its study. Vergil and, above all, Cicero were the objects of his adoration. He endeavored to learn Greek, but he made little progress, owing to the lack of an efficient teacher, and was obliged to read the Greek classics in poor Latin translations. In our day Petrarch is more famous for his Italian sonnets, but he himself preferred his Latin writings, composed in imitation of the ancients.

The humanistic movement popularized the study of Greek and led to a great Greek revival in western Europe. Boccaccio, a younger contemporary of Petrarch, at the latter's suggestion took up the study of Greek and, with the assistance of a Calabrian, Leontius Pilatus, wrote out a translation of the Iliad and Odyssey. But Boccaccio's knowledge of Greek was never more than superficial. The first great Greek teacher in Italy was Manuel Chrysoloras, who in 1393 came to Italy in the name of the Greek emperor to seek assistance against the Turks. Induced by influential citizens, he remained in Florence as professor of Greek, where he counted among his pupils many of the most famous scholars of the next generation. Later he taught at Rome, Venice, Milan, and Pavia, and fostered Greek studies by the preparation of a Greek grammar, an instrument of study hitherto lacking. Bruni, then a law student, tells us in his *History of His Own Times in Italy* how he was induced to sit at the feet of Chrysoloras.

I burned with love of academic studies, and had spent no little pains on dialectic and rhetoric. At the coming of Chrysoloras I was torn in mind, deeming it shameful to desert the law, and yet a crime to lose such a chance of studying Greek literature; and often with youthful impulse I would say to myself: "Thou, when it is permitted thee to gaze on Homer, Plato and Demosthenes, and the other poets, philosophers, orators, of whom such glorious things are spread abroad, and [to] speak with them and be instructed in their admirable teaching, wilt thou desert and rob thyself?" . . . Overcome at length by these reasons, I gave myself to Chrysoloras, with such zeal to learn, that what through the wakeful day I gathered, I followed after in the night, even when asleep.¹¹

Each decade saw large numbers of Greeks taking refuge in Italy and fostering the Hellenic revival. By the beginning of the sixteenth century or shortly afterwards most European universities had professors of Greek.

Another important phase of humanism was bibliophilism, or the passion for collecting books. Many scholars, with the enthusiasm of explorers, ransacked the monastic libraries of Europe for classical treasures or purchased them from the Byzantines. Poggio Bracciolini, for fifty years secretary to the Roman curia, searched the libraries of Switzerland and southern Germany, disinterring six orations of Cicero and the first complete Quintilian. Niccolo de' Niccoli, another noted bibliophile, devoted a large part of his fortune to the acquisition of manuscripts. Tomaso Parentucelli, later Pope Nicholas V, collected some five thousand manuscripts, paying enormous amounts for several of them. On his death he bequeathed his library to the curia, and it became the nucleus of the Vatican Library, one of the most celebrated collections of books in the world. Humanism was responsible for the foundation of many of the great libraries of modern times.

The humanists absorbed much of the spirit of the classics, to which they were devoted — a spirit opposed to a good deal of the ecclesiasticism of the day. Thus humanism meant a

devotion to ancient ideals as well as to the ancient classics, and humanists revolted against the ideal that made this life merely a preparation for a future one. This life is worth living in and for itself, without any future considerations, they declared; and the ideal of the monk became repulsive to them. Lorenzo Valla (c. 1406-1457) and Machiavelli (1469-1527) admirably illustrate this influence of paganism on ethics. In his dialogue "On Pleasure," Valla denounced the doctrines of monasticism as false and opposed to the laws of nature. He combated the notion that a man bound by religious vows attained greater merit and a higher reward than one under no such vows. "What has been produced and formed by nature," declared an exponent of Valla's views, "cannot be otherwise than praiseworthy and holy." "Nature is the same or almost the same as God."¹² And Machiavelli wrote:

This religion [Christianity] makes us prize less highly the honor of the world and therefore makes us gentler and meeker. But the ancients looked upon that honor as the highest good, and were therefore bolder in their deeds. Their religion declared only those men blessed who were splendid in the eyes of the world as leaders of armies or rulers of States. Christianity, on the other hand, distinguishes the humble and lowly more than men of action. It considers the highest good to be humility, meekness, and contempt of the things of the world. The old religion looked upon greatness of soul, bodily strength, and all else that makes men brave, as the chief things to be desired. Our religion requires strength more as a means of bearing suffering than as a means of accomplishing doughty deeds. Thus the world has become a prey to wicked men who, undisturbed, dispose of it as they will.¹³

Introduction of Paper and Invention of Printing. The humanistic movement was greatly fostered by the introduction of paper and the invention of printing.

During the Middle Ages books were written on parchment or vellum and laboriously wrought by hand. For instance, it took forty-five copyists nearly two years to produce two

hundred volumes for Cosimo de' Medici, the grandfather of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The new processes wrought a revolution in the book trade.

Paper was a Chinese product, said to have been invented by Ts'ai Lun about 105 A.D. At first made from silk fibers, paper was very imperfect; but it soon came to be made of linen rags and was sized to produce a fine, smooth writing surface. Almost from the time of its invention, paper began working its way westward until, in the middle of the eighth century, it had reached Samarkand, in Turkestan. Early in the century the Arabs conquered Turkestan and in 751 defeated the Chinese. Among the prisoners there were some Chinese papermakers, "who taught the art of papermaking at Samarkand." "Paper of Samarkand" soon became well known throughout the Caliphate. An eleventh-century writer declares: "Among the specialties of Samarkand that should be mentioned is paper. It has replaced the rolls of Egyptian papyrus and the parchment which were formerly used for writing, because it is more beautiful, more agreeable and more convenient. It is found only here and in China."¹⁴ The paper-manufacturers, however, soon spread still farther westward, and factories were established at Baghdad, at Damascus, and in Arabia. These places, as well as Samarkand, now supplied the Arab world. Paper more and more came into favor for documents instead of papyrus, the last Arabic papyrus document dating from 936. Spain was the first country of Europe to boast a paper mill. According to El Edrisi, paper was being manufactured at Jativa as early as 1150. But paper made its way slowly in Christian countries, where there was a good deal of prejudice against it because of its fragility, and both Roger II and Frederick II of Sicily forbade its use for public documents. The first manufacture of paper in Italy was at Montefano, in 1276, and in Germany at Nuremberg, in 1391. By the fifteenth century paper was manufactured in France, at Troyes and Paris; in Flanders; and in northern Germany, at Lübeck and Bautzen. Thus by

the fifteenth century paper was widely used in Europe. An admirable and cheap material was at hand for the use of the printer.

Like paper, printing also was a Chinese invention. Pi Shêng, a man of the lower classes, seems to have invented printing with movable clay type between 1041 and 1049. By the fifteenth century, printing with movable *metal* type developed. But it is impossible, owing to the lack of historical data, to say that it was the knowledge of the Chinese process that gave rise to printing in Europe. So far as we know, this was an independent invention, the honor of which belongs to John Gutenberg of Mainz, who completed his invention about 1450 and published a copy of the Latin Bible by 1456. At a time when there were no patent laws, the new invention spread with great rapidity, and by the close of the fifteenth century only a few of the more backward countries were without presses. The names of more than one thousand printers are known by the year 1500, and the titles of some thirty thousand printed books. "Assuming," says Preserved Smith, "that the editions were small, averaging 300 copies, there would have been in Europe by 1500 about 9,000,000 books, as against the few score thousand manuscripts that lately had held all the precious lore of time."¹⁵ Not only did printing make the multiplication of books rapid and easy, but within a few years their price sank to a mere fraction of what it had been before. Printing made possible the spread of propaganda, such as that of Luther, the dissemination of knowledge, and the ultimate spread of education to the masses. It was one of the most important symptoms of the coming of a new age.

Art. The revived interest in antiquity manifested itself in art as well as in literature. By the middle of the fifteenth century Gothic architecture was giving place to the Renaissance style, so called because it was a revival of the styles of Greece and Rome. Like the literary renaissance, the artistic revival

also arose on Italian soil, where there were numerous remains of Roman art to study. The father of Renaissance architecture, who bore much the same relation to architecture that Petrarch did to humanism, was Filippo Brunelleschi (1379–1446). Beginning his career, like so many artists of his day, as an apprentice to a goldsmith, he soon turned his attention to sculpture and went to Rome to study the ancient monuments there. When he beheld for the first time, Vasari tells us, the majestic ruins of the Capitol, he was entranced and “gave himself up so exclusively to his studies, that he took no time either to eat or sleep,” and thought of nothing but the architecture of Greece and Rome.¹⁶ The one idea that dominated him was to restore architecture to the ancient model. His first great achievement was the erection of a dome, the third-largest in the world, over the octagon of the cathedral at Florence. A better idea of his contribution can be obtained from his church of San Lorenzo at Florence. Here he adapted what he had learned from the ancient monuments at Rome to his own artistic instinct and constructed a church of basilican type, enriched with a wealth of classical detail — classical columns, capitals, pilasters, arches, coffering, and decorations. The new style became immediately popular, and Gothic was branded as barbarous. The Renaissance style was adapted to palace designs in the Riccardi Palace, built in 1444 for Cosimo de’ Medici in Florence.

Even more classical in design was the Rucellai Palace, built by Alberti (1404–1472), a Florentine humanist and artist. In the façade Alberti introduced for the first time the engaged orders of the Tabularium and the Roman amphitheaters. Between the windows he placed pilasters with entablatures. Alberti is significant also for his introduction of the triumphal-arch motive in the church of Sant’ Andrea at Mantua (begun in 1472). For the first time the nave was vaulted with a coffered barrel vault in the classical manner, a style later employed in St. Peter’s, St. Paul’s, and multi-

tudes of other churches. From Italy the new architecture spread north of the Alps and in early modern times displaced Gothic.

Sculpture. We have seen the influence of classical models in the sculpture of the Pisani in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries — the *trecento* and *quattrocento* — sculptors not only possessed a more profound knowledge of the antique but more completely caught its spirit, paid more attention to the study of anatomy, and were more realistic. This emphasis upon nature appears in the bronze doors which Ghiberti (1378–1455) executed for the baptistry at Florence. When they were gilded and set up, Michelangelo remarked that they were worthy to be the gates of paradise.

But the father of Renaissance sculpture was Donatello (c. 1386–1466). Early in his youth Donatello had accompanied Brunelleschi to Rome, where he had made a thorough study of the extant monuments of Roman art. Like his predecessors, he devoted himself to religious themes, but he handled them in a realistic rather than in a conventional fashion. He broke violently with medieval tradition in depicting the prophets by highly individualized portraits of old men. In his Annunciation group, not only are the figures set in a classical frame but the ample proportions of their bodies and the smooth youthfulness of the faces breathe the spirit of the Renaissance. In his *David* — the first nude bronze of the Renaissance — Donatello is more interested in depicting the lithe, graceful figure of a young Florentine than in being true to Biblical tradition. The characteristics of the Biblical hero must be sought in the sword, in the half-concealed stone, and in the giant's head on which one foot rests. The *Singing Gallery* which Donatello made for the cathedral at Florence reveals the influence of the Roman motive, the cupid. The abandonment of children to the joyous rhythm of music, the drapery which reveals rather

than conceals the form of the body, and the setting in which the theme is placed are all classical. Another noteworthy work of Donatello was the statue of the condottiere general Gattamelata, the first equestrian statue since the Marcus Aurelius at Rome. The execution of the horse is noteworthy. In the preparation of it Donatello made a careful anatomical study of the horse, which he portrayed with spirit.

The most distinguished of Donatello's pupils was Andrea del Verrocchio (1435-1488), who carried the realism of his master to the height of its development. In his *David* he has "reproduced with unsparing truth the wiry young athlete of the fields." Another famous bit of realistic work of Verrocchio is the *Boy and the Dolphin*, in the court of the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence; and the most famous of all his works is the equestrian statue of the condottiere Bartolommeo Colleoni, perhaps the finest equestrian work of modern times.

Luca della Robbia (c. 1400-1482) ranks with Ghiberti and Donatello as one of the three foremost sculptors of the *quattrocento*. He made a new contribution to art by working in terra cotta, which he glazed in different colors with shining enamel. His color scheme was always simple and restrained. The figures are white, delicately and sparsely tinted with gold and set against a blue background. Only in the decorative details are the hues more vivid. In his love for healthy human nature Della Robbia manifests a purely Greek spirit.

Painting. Tendencies similar to those revealed by the sculpture of the *quattrocento* were making themselves apparent in painting. The break with the style of Giotto was made by Masaccio (c. 1402-1429), who, in spite of the brief span of his life, ranks high in the history of art as the founder of modern realistic painting. The naturalism which Donatello introduced into sculpture Masaccio introduced into painting.

From the first [says Vasari] he realized that painting is nothing else but the simple imitation of natural objects in drawing and color, and by unwearied study he overcame the difficulties and imperfections of art. He was the first to give his figures beautiful attitudes, natural movement, vivacity of expression, and a relief similar to reality.¹⁷

His frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence mark an epoch in the history of art.

An entire group of artists were influenced by Masaccio: Andrea del Castagno (1390-1457), Paolo Uccello (1397-1475), Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449-1494), Fra Lippo Lippi (1406-1469), and Benozzo Gozzoli (c. 1420-c. 1498). Gozzoli had been the pupil and companion of Fra Angelico, and his early productions reveal the purely religious influence; but, falling under the spell of Masaccio, he became a pronounced realist, to such an extent that the religious aspect of his pictures is completely subordinated to the picturesque details. For instance, his *Adoration of the Magi* is a veritable panorama of the life of Florence under the Medici. Fra Lippo (or Filippo) Lippi is of significance, for he was the first systematically to employ nature, instead of architectural decoration, as a background for his pictures. In Ghirlandaio, with his use of perspective and natural scenery as a background, the naturalness of Masaccio triumphed. Another artist of the same school was Botticelli (1444-1510), who was especially noteworthy for his subjects taken from Greek and Roman mythology. The emphasis upon nature and the Greek spirit are predominant in his *Birth of Venus*, *Spring*, and *Mars and Venus*. Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506) and Luca Signorelli (c. 1442-c. 1524) also combined a passion for nature with a passion for antiquity. Signorelli for the first time made the nude figure a prominent feature of painting and devoted himself to the study of anatomy as an aid to his art. All these tendencies — classicism, naturalism, careful study of nature, and anatomy — came to full fruition in the artists of the beginning of the sixteenth century, the golden age of

Italian art. Religious themes still dominated ; yet they were treated in such a free fashion that they became transformed. Outwardly religious, inwardly art had become secular and pagan.

Italy was not the only center of painting in the fifteenth century. Equally important was the Flemish school, which enjoyed the patronage of the dukes of Burgundy and flourished under the Van Eyck brothers, Hubert (c. 1366-1426) and Jan (c. 1385-1441). So important were they that tradition credited them with the invention of the modern method of oil painting. Although it is now established that oil painting had been known since the twelfth century, nevertheless credit is due to the Van Eycks for having perfected drying mediums, developed colors, and elaborated easel painting as opposed to mural painting. They are noteworthy not only for their development of technique but also for their portrait painting. Jan van Eyck has been called the "greatest portraitist" of all time. "Never," says Reinach, "did keener eye scrutinize the living form, never did more skillful hand fix its image on the panel."¹⁸ His *Madonna of Chancellor Rolin* reveals his skill as a landscape painter, as well as his ability to depict the human countenance. His portraits of Arnolfini, and Arnolfini and his wife, as well as his *Leal Souvenir*, show the highest gifts of analysis and execution. Roger van der Weyden, known for his portraits of Charles the Rash and Chancellor Rolin and his *Descent from the Cross*, was the most important continuator of the Van Eyck tradition.

Geographical Discovery. We have seen that the European of the Middle Ages had a limited knowledge of the surface of the earth and that the drama of medieval civilization was played within comparatively narrow limits of latitude and longitude. In contrast, modern European civilization has spread itself over the entire globe. The discoveries of the close of the Middle Ages that made this expansion possible

may therefore be said to mark the end of one age and the beginning of a new.

By the close of the Middle Ages new aids to navigation had been introduced which facilitated discovery. The magnetic needle, known as early as the twelfth century, was made more useful to mariners by Flavio Gioja, a native of Amalfi, who, early in the fourteenth century, fitted it into a box and poised it on a pivot. Then, in the fifteenth century, the astrolabe, an instrument for measuring the altitude of the stars and thus finding one's location at sea, came into use.

An impetus toward discovery was the desire for closer contact with Asia, which legend had pictured as a land of fabulous wealth. From the time of the Crusades, western Europe had been familiar with the products of the Far East, for which there was an increasing demand. The desire to share in the riches of Asia through trade was fostered by Marco Polo's account of his residence at the court of the Great Khan and his description of the Asiatic cities and their wealth.

The pioneer in exploration was Portugal, under the leadership of Prince Henry the Navigator, who seems, however, to have been more interested in crusading against the Moors in Africa than — as he has sometimes been represented — in discovering a new route to India. Be that as it may, his mariners kept pushing farther and farther south along the western coast of Africa. The mouth of the Senegal River was explored, and in 1447 the Cape Verde Islands were discovered and Cape Verde itself was passed. About 1471 Lopo Gonçalves crossed the equator, exploding the notion that the Southern Hemisphere was uninhabitable. For a time, exploration was checked by a war with Castile and by the difficulty of navigating where the pole star was no longer visible and where the constellations were strange. But after 1481 these difficulties were remedied by the compilation of new tables for navigation in the Southern Hemisphere. During two voyages, between 1482 and 1486, Diogo Cam

reached the Congo and Cape Cross, and in 1487 Bartholomew Diaz gained the southernmost point of Africa. Rounding the Cape in the face of strong head winds, by reason of which he named it "Cape of Storms," he sailed five hundred miles beyond, on the route to India. In spite of these achievements, another decade passed before the Portuguese, under Vasco da Gama (June, 1497), again rounded the Cape and reached Calicut, on the Malabar coast. On his return to Portugal in 1499, Da Gama carried back with him Oriental products to the value of sixty times the cost of the expedition. The country of spices had been found, and the route to India was open. In the meantime Columbus, under the patronage of Spain, had discovered a new world. The foundation was laid for the colonial and commercial expansion of modern times.

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